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## TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT, ARABIC, AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.



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I

ANCIENT INDIAN GENEALOGIES AND CHRONOLOGY

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THE subject that I venture to discuss in this paper is one that may seem surprising and even fantastic, and yet, if any orderliness can be introduced into the earliest Indian ages, it can only be attained by examining and co-ordinating all the genealogical and quasi-historical data which have been handed down in Sanskrit books. The subject has been before my mind for many years, and it has been only after long consideration of all the relevant information, which I have been able to collect out of all those books, especially the Epics and Purāṇas, that it has seemed to me some measure of order may be educed out of the chaos of material. That information is condensed in the following pages, and no statement is made without citing the authorities that support it. I may say that the conclusions set out here were not reached from any preconceived ideas, except this one (if it merits that description), that the ancient kṣatriya literature deserves to be *examined* from a common-sense point of view on the supposition that it may contain genuine tradition, however much distorted in the course of time. It was only after investigating the subject piecemeal, following each détail

into other details to which it led and continually rearranging them as their number and mutual relations developed, that something definite seemed at first to emerge out of the chaos, and then gradually the subject seemed to shape itself into some degree of order. Even if my views should not commend themselves to others, yet the material collected here and the method of treatment may, I hope, be of some service to others in elucidating the subject. Hitherto ancient India has appeared rather like a view in a photograph, with the various distant objects shown, it is true, yet somewhat flattened in perspective; and it has been my endeavour in this paper to apply the stereoscopic process to it, so as to make the vista of the past stand out in something like its true distances.

It is a commonplace that early history concerns itself almost entirely with celebrated men and their personal deeds. Nothing more than that can then be expected in the accounts that have come down to us about ancient India, and on the whole that is all that is offered in Sanskrit books, if we consider the matter that is primarily genealogical or quasi-historical and the stories introduced therein to explain or illustrate it.

In ancient India there were two classes of celebrated men, kings and rishis (this word may fairly be Anglicized), and early Indian chronicles deal almost wholly with them. A remarkable distinction must, however, be noted between the genealogical accounts of kings and rishis. A king's life was conditioned by his family, his capital, and his territories. The rishi's life had no such bounds; his youth was spent in the hermitage of some spiritual preceptor whose teaching he desired, and after he had finished his studies his life was passed wherever he chose to fix his hermitage, or in any capital where a king welcomed his ministrations, or in any spot where he could best carry out austerities (*tapas*). The kings belonged to dynasties, and were proud of and cherished the memory and fame of

their ancestors. The rishis developed no similar priestly succession; they cared little about preserving particulars of their lineage, though a patronymic or *gotra* name attested descent in most families. Kings hoped to transmit their realm and lineage, enhanced by their own fame, to an enduring posterity. The rishis sought eminence in sacred erudition and the power of austerities, and their successors were their spiritual rather than their natural sons. With kings the dynasty was the great idea, each king being a link in its perpetuation and exaltation. With the rishis sacred lore was the great idea, each rishi being a link in its transmission and glorification. Individual ambition existed among both classes, but the main result ultimately was this—among *ksatriyas* the royal dynasty formed the enduring memory, and among brahmanas religious doctrine and priestly power constituted the permanent achievement.

It is clear, then, that genealogical accounts and stories of royal exploits were the essential features of the *ksatriya* record, while genealogies were but a collateral detail with the ancient brahmanas. Royal genealogies have been handed down in many compositions;<sup>1</sup> brahmanical genealogies can hardly be said to exist. The former constituted one of the main subjects which every *Purāṇa* was expected to set out; the latter are nowhere mentioned as a matter that required particular attention. Marriage alliances were subjects of great moment with kings; the stories told about rishis indicate that their lineage was by no means unblemished. The three great *ksatriya* lines,

<sup>1</sup> The references to the various works cited are taken from the following editions:—*Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa*, Calc., 1835; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bomb.; *Kūrma*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, and *Vāyu* *Purāṇas*, Biblioth. Indica; *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, *Līṅga*, and *Matsya* *Purāṇas*, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's Calc. editions of 1882, 1890, 1885, and 1876 respectively; *Bhāgavata* *Purāṇa*, Bomb.; *Brahma* and *Padma* *Purāṇas*, Ānandāśrama Bomb. Series; *Viṣṇu* *Purāṇa*, Wilson's Translation. The chapter is quoted as well as the verse in the *MBh.* and *Hariv.*, because the numbering of the verses is not always correct. It is indicated throughout by *italic* figures.

the Solar and Lunar and Yādava dynasties, profess to exhibit more than fifty well-remembered generations; among rishi families it is rare to find a list of five continuous descents. The longest that I am aware of is this—Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, Śuka Āraṇeya and his sons<sup>1</sup>—yet even in this line Vasiṣṭha is probably only a *gotra* name. The most copious list of brahman families of common origin is that of the sons and descendants of Viśvāmitra,<sup>2</sup> and the longest line of brahmanical descent is that attributed to Vitahavya the Haihaya;<sup>3</sup> and both of them were kṣatriyas by birth who became brahmins.<sup>4</sup> This marked difference can only be explained on the ground that royal lineages were not the concern of rishis, but of court bards and court priests. This kṣatriya literature grew up in virtual independence of brahmanical literature, and only when it had developed into an imposing mass and had attained great popular appreciation was it taken over by the brahmins as a not unworthy branch of knowledge. It was then that it was arranged and augmented with stories and discourses fashioned after brahmanical ideas.

The desire of handing down their genealogies and royal exploits existed thus among kings, and they had the

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* i, 177, 6757-60; 178, 6792-4; 60, 2208-9; xii, 351, 13642-3; 331, 8483-5; 326, 12195-7. *Kūrma*, i, 19, 20-7. *Hariv.* 18, 977-81.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* xii, 49, 1771-2; xiii, 4, 248-60. *Bhāgav.* ix, 16, 28-37. *Brahma*, 10, 55-66. *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 93-9. *Hariv.* 27, 1460-74; 32, 1767-76.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1997-2005.

<sup>4</sup> Vitahavya gained brahmanhood (*MBh.* xiii, 30, 1983-97, 2005-6) because a Bhārgava rishi falsely asserted by implication that he was a brahmin, and the assertion had to stand good. Viśvāmitra's difficulty lay in the fact that he was of pure kṣatriya lineage. Not a few royal kṣatriyas had no difficulty in becoming brahmins, because there had been brahman paternity in their near ancestry; thus among King Vitatha's descendants (see p. 45) were Kāṇva, Maudgalya, and other brahmins. Brahman paternity was sufficient in those days. See p. 37 and p. 45, n. 8. The mother might be of the lowest class, as was Vyāsa's mother, or was unnecessary according to various stories.

means of doing so in bards and court priests. There was also a strong popular interest in the traditions and ballads relating to famous kings, and a class of men existed who learnt the old stories and genealogies, for nothing less than this can be implied by the many terms used to describe them, such as *purā-vid*, *purāṇa-jña*, *paurāṇika*, *vaṁśa-vid*, *vaṁśa-purāṇa-jña*; and they were both brahmans and others, for the words *dvija*, *vipra*, and *jana* are often added to the description. Such men or perhaps popular traditions are referred to in other expressions, such as *ity anusūśrūmah*, *iti śrutam*, *udāharanti*, etc.

These old genealogies, therefore, with their incidental stories are not to be looked upon as legends or fables devoid of basis or substance. but contain genuine historical tradition, and may well be considered and dealt with from a common-sense point of view. They give us an opportunity of viewing ancient India from the kṣatriya standpoint. The kṣatriyas played a very great part in those early days, and a consideration of the literature that they originated is essential to a right understanding of those distant times. The reproach that there was no historical faculty in ancient India is true only as regards the brahmans. The kṣatriyas did display almost as much of that faculty as could be expected in such ages in the appreciation bestowed on the dynastical genealogies and ballads of royal exploits. In Babylonia and Egypt permanent records were made in inscriptions and on clay tablets. In ancient India there was (as far as we know) no such method of perpetuation, and ancient deeds could be handed down only by memory. We have the results in the Epics and Purāṇas, together with a great quantity of brahmanical accretions.

It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that the kings on whom praise is bestowed in the brahmanical literature are by no means those who are highly extolled in the kṣatriya

literature. The *Rig-Veda* contains hymns composed during the ages that intervened between Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva<sup>1</sup> and Devāpi, who lived about a century before the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas (see p. 53). During that long period the most famous monarchs were Arjuna, Marutta, Sagara, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Dilipa II, and Rāma,<sup>2</sup> besides famous kings such as Hariścandra, Alarka, Ajamiḍha, Kuru, Brahmadaṭṭa, and others,<sup>3</sup> yet none of these are mentioned in the hymns except Bharata,<sup>4</sup> and apparently Ajamiḍha,<sup>5</sup> and possibly Rāma.<sup>6</sup> The accounts, as they stand now, generally extol such great rulers as munificent sacrificers, yet the rishis have preserved no hymns composed in their honour, if any were composed. It can hardly be supposed that no rishis capable of song existed during the reigns of all those monarchs. On the other hand, the kings who are lauded in the hymns, such as the Pāṇcāla kings, Divodāsa, Sudās, and others (see p. 21), are hardly known to kṣatriya fame. It would seem, first, that the really famous kings, confident in themselves and their big battalions, cared little about the divine assistance which the rishis professed to bestow, or that the brahmanical sacrificial rites were not fully elaborated in their time; and, secondly, that the rishis established their spiritual ascendancy through the later, less powerful, but devout-minded kings of Central Madhyadeśa, such as Bharata's successors and the Pāṇcāla kings. Hence, probably, in great measure the special sanctity and claims asserted for that region.

It is not to be expected that precision in genealogical

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 30 and 31. *Rig-V.* x, 134, is attributed to him.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See Table of genealogical lists, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Rig-V.* vi, 16, 4, and other passages. Bharata is, I believe, the only really great king who receives appropriate esteem in the brahmanical literature, and he reigned in Central Madhyadeśa. He appears to have been decidedly *brahmanya*.

<sup>5</sup> *Rig-V.* iv, 44, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Rig-V.* x, 93, 14.

details can be found, and for obvious reasons. In fact, it is often frankly stated that, while the lists are given "at length" and "in correct succession", *vistareṇa* and *ānupūrveṇa*,<sup>1</sup> yet they are not complete, and that the names of those kings only are mentioned who were famous or were specially remembered.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it is stated that a long list is only a succinct one, *saṅkṣepeṇa* or *saṃāseṇa*.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, then, the lists are not exhaustive, and this conclusion is confirmed by three considerations.<sup>4</sup> First, some of the lists omit even well-known names; thus, if we look at the Solar dynasty, the *Agni* and *Padma* Purāṇas omit Sudāsa, father of Mitrāsaha Kalmāṣapāda, who was famed by his patronymic Saudāsa, and the *Bhāgavata* and *Kūrma* omit Ambarīṣa, who was a celebrated king. Secondly, little-known names are supplied by some of the authorities; thus, in the same dynasty the *Kūrma*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, and *Padma* insert Pramoda between Drdhāśva and Haryaśva, while the other authorities ignore him. There is no ground for suspecting that Pramoda has been invented; as an insignificant king he has simply been dropped out of the other lists. Thirdly, names occur which are obviously or probably patronymics; thus, in the Yādava dynasty Satvat and his son Sātvata are given only by the *Garuda*, *Liṅga*, and *Vāyu*, while the other Purāṇas omit one or other of these names. A king who is remembered only by his patronymic is on the verge of dropping out.

Notwithstanding such omissions, the lineage is generally given as being continuous; thus, in the Lunar dynasty some authorities give from ten to thirteen generations between

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma*, 13, 2; *Matsya*, 43, 5; *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 1; 37, 115; *Hariv.* 31, 1653; 32, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma*, 15, 831-2; *Kūrma*, i, 21, 60; *Liṅga*, i, 66, 43; *Padma*, v, 8, 161-2; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 211; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4; *Hariv.* 15, 831.

<sup>3</sup> *Liṅga*, i, 68, 1; *Kūrma*, i, 21, 60.

<sup>4</sup> See also p. 11, and the names in brackets in the Table of lists are further instances of omissions.

Kuru and Pratipa, while others reduce them to five or six. And it is generally said or implied that the successor after a gap was son of the predecessor before the gap. There are four ways in which the relationship between two kings is expressed, and they may be explained most easily by styling the predecessor A and the successor B; and A may be either named or referred to by the pronoun *tad*. They are these: (1) B was A's son, the relation being defined by some word meaning son or begotten;<sup>1</sup> (2) B was — of A, no relationship being specified;<sup>2</sup> (3) B was from or after A, the ablative case being used or the equivalent adverbial form;<sup>3</sup> and (4) B was heir of A.<sup>4</sup> These different ways no doubt often mean only the same thing, namely, sonship; still, the first does not always mean *immediate* sonship; the second and fourth might cover cases where brothers, nephews, or grandsons succeeded; and the third might imply simply that one king followed another with little or no relationship between them. Such being the conditions, the additional names which some lists give may be genuine names; and, if allowance must be made for omissions, such names may show with some probability where gaps occur. Exactitude, however, in these points is not indispensable for the present purpose. All that is necessary is that the genealogies should be set out with approximate fullness, and synchronisms will introduce fixed points among them, from which the generations may be reviewed and adjusted either backwards or forwards.

As regards names, the kings who were especially

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Vijayād Ruruko jajñe, Rurukāt tu Vṛkaḥ sutaḥ. Garuḍa, i, 138, 28.*

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Dṛḍhāśvasya Pramodas ca and Haryaśvasya Nikumbho 'bhūt. Matsya, 12, 33.*

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Nābhāgād Ambariṣo 'bhut, Sindhudvīpo 'mbariṣataḥ. Garuḍa, i, 138, 31.* Ways (2) and (3) become indistinguishable where the abl. and the gen. are alike, e.g. *Bāhos tu Sagarah smṛtaḥ. Ibid. 28.*

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *Śasādasya tu dāyādaḥ Kakutstho nāma. Brahma, ix, 7, 51.*

celebrated are well known, and the names of the others are mainly useful as marking steps in the descent, so that as long as the steps are labelled, it is not material whether insignificant names are perfectly correct. Where a name appears in several forms, I have taken that form which is supported by most of the authorities or the best of them; and if the variations are too many to render that possible, I have adopted what seems the most likely form. Only such names are included in the lists as are found in at least two authorities.<sup>1</sup>

In these ways, though absolute accuracy is unattainable, it may yet be possible to reach such an approximation as may be sufficient for working purposes.

The most salient feature that appears on a comparison of the genealogies is the great length of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. It contains some ninety-three names, whereas the two next longest lists are much shorter, namely, the Yādava line of Western India with some sixty-two names, and the Lunar or Paurava line with about fifty names. There are good reasons for holding that the Solar list is fairly complete and that the latter two are far from being so.

India has often suffered from invading hosts from the north-west, and there can be no doubt that similar invasions occurred during the earliest ages. The Aryan invasion is the first of which we have any evidence, and there are indications that other races poured into and swept over North India afterwards. The most striking instance of this is the story of the struggle of Sagara,

<sup>1</sup> The *Brahma Purāṇa* and the *Harivamśa* (which is virtually a *Purāṇa*) cannot generally be regarded as distinct authorities, for their lists have such close and even verbal resemblance as to indicate that they are little more than two versions of one authority. The other *Purāṇas*, while showing much similarity in some places, differ considerably in others, and do not readily fall into separate groups. The general exposition of the dynasties (pp. 16-25) will give some idea of the connexions which they show with one another in some, though not in all, portions of the genealogies.

king of Ayodhyā, against the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas (see p. 36, etc.) and hordes of Śakas, Pahlavas, Kāmbojas, etc. All the authorities which relate the story say this.<sup>1</sup> Bāhu, king of Ayodhyā,<sup>2</sup> was driven from his throne by the invaders and died afterwards in the forest; his queen gave birth to Sagara; Sagara was brought up in Aurva Bhārgava's hermitage and on attaining manhood fought against and finally subjugated the invaders. If there is any historical truth in this story, it can only mean that the whole of North India had been overrun by those hordes, that every kingdom in the north-west and Madhyadeśa had fallen, that Kosala, the most easterly kingdom of Madhyadeśa which encountered the invaders last, went down for a time, and that Sagara subdued them and re-established the Solar dynasty. Those events imply a period of some thirty years at least in Kosala, and indicate that North-Western and Western India and Madhyadeśa must have been submerged for half a century at least. The Kosala line remained unbroken, but all the dynasties west of it must have suffered seriously, and if we can synchronize this period with some period in the other dynasties, confusion or a material gap may

<sup>1</sup> *MBh* iii, 106, 8831-2; *Bhagat* ix, 8, 2-7; *Brahma*, 8, 47-51; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 121-42; *Hara* ii, 760-1; 784, *Ramay.* i, 70, 27-37; ii, 110, 15-25 (imperfectly). The map published by me in this Journal for 1908, p. 332, will help to elucidate this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ramay.* calls him Asita.

\* During this period the invaders were in power and had probably begun to settle down in the countries they had conquered; and this also seems implied by their appealing to Vasistha (that is, one of the Vasistha family) and his taking them under his protection, for the Vasisthas were the court priests of Ayodhyā (as mentioned in p. 14), and he as a brahman may have maintained his position as court priest under the Haihaya Tālajaṅgha rule. Sagara's repressive treatment of the different peoples (as explained in the passages cited above), therefore, means probably that the rules which he imposed on them applied to those barbarians who had settled down and remained in the territories which he ruled as cakravartin and not to the nations outside India. He marked off and degraded them from the rest of his subjects, and the distinctions naturally disappeared in the course of time.

be expected in them. That is what we do find. A great gap occurs in the Lunar line; the Kānyakubja dynasty disappeared; the Kāśī genealogy is confused; and new dynasties sprang up afterwards in Madhyadeśa.

This story shows that Kosala from its eastward position escaped various calamities that befell the more westerly kingdoms. Its dynastic list therefore remained continuous and full, while the lists of other dynasties will be found to have suffered breaks, and thus necessarily fall short of it in their numbers. Further, other dynasties were not so great and important *continuously* as the Solar monarchy, and their lists were not handed down with the same veneration and fullness. Their lists are manifestly far from complete, as the Table of genealogies shows. The length of the Solar line, therefore, is not to be corrected and reduced by a comparison with the other lines, but is a standard by which we may measure the deficiencies and gaps in the other lists, and the Table of genealogies will show how truly it serves this purpose.

Besides such vicissitudes, changes were also produced by internal conquests. Thus the dynasties of North and South Pañcāla sprang from the Paurava Ajamīdha of the Lunar race. He or his sons conquered those countries and established separate thrones in them. Again, one of the near descendants of Jyānuagha's son Vidarbha of the Yādava race was Cidi or Cedi, and he originated the Caidya kings,<sup>1</sup> that is, the kingdom of Cedi. That dynasty, however, was conquered afterwards by the Paurava Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru, and established himself as Caidya - Uparicara. He also conquered the neighbouring countries as far as Magadha, and established his five sons in five kingdoms there, two of which were Cedi and Magadha, and two others were

<sup>1</sup> *Agni*, 274, 17-18; *Bhāgav.* ix, 24, 1-2; *Matsya*, 44, 35-8; *Padma*, v, 13, 19-21; *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 36-8; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12; *Līṅga*, i, 68, 37-40; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 29-30.

probably Karuṣa and Kauśāmbī. His eldest son, Bṛhadratha, obtained Magadha and founded the dynasty which flourished under Jarāsandha in the Pāṇḍavas' time.<sup>1</sup>

In dealing with these ancient genealogies synchronisms are the most important points to be considered. The genealogies are of little practical value by themselves. It is only by co-ordinating them that they can be made to furnish any chronological results which may possess any value, and this can only be done by establishing synchronisms between the various lines. Synchronisms, therefore, are the essential facts in the present inquiry. Now, stories and allusions exist in plenty connecting various kings and rishis, but are obviously not equally worthy of credence, and it is necessary to ascertain some criteria by which their trustworthiness may be estimated. The following distinctions are put forward as likely to help, with reasonable sureness, to eliminate what cannot be genuine tradition :- -

Passages which connect different kings and rishis may be divided into four broad classes: (1) allusions or comments, incidental or explanatory, in the course of a genealogy; (2) incidental allusions elsewhere; (3) stories which are primarily kṣatriya stories; and (4) stories which are primarily brahmanical.

The first class occur as professedly genuine details and are introduced simply because they belong naturally to the genealogical accounts. They are most trustworthy when moderate in number and really explanatory, and they are open to doubt the more they show signs of amplification and exaggeration.<sup>2</sup> Passages of the second class are met with by way of explanation or comparison, and are most trustworthy when they are brief and are introduced simply and naturally.

The third class comprises a great number of stories of

<sup>1</sup> See *MBh.* i, 63, 2334-65, and passages cited for this dynasty, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The *Garuḍa* contains very little explanatory matter.

various kinds, and may be broadly divided into those that describe some alleged occurrence and those that are mainly laudatory. The latter kind are generally replete with exaggeration, and often disregard conditions of time and place. As an instance may be mentioned the long fight between Bhīṣma and Rāma Jāmadagnya in *MBh.* v, 179, etc., which is impossible, because Rāma lived many centuries before Bhīṣma. This latter kind may be discarded as worthless, but stories of the former kind may afford useful information if they agree with other stories, and this much is in their favour, that their kṣatriya features probably go back to early times, before the Epic and Paurāṇic literature was taken over and manipulated by the brahmins.

The fourth class of stories, that are principally brahmanical, bear their character unmistakably on their face. They may be roughly divided into three kinds: (1) those that exalt the dignity of some rishi, (2) those that inculcate some doctrine, and (3) those that extol the majesty of some god or the sanctity of some spot. Probably only the first kind merit any attention, yet there is always a doubt whether they represent the original story. The other two kinds are generally fabrications. As an example of a pious story blending moral delinquencies and chronological absurdities, it would be difficult to match that of Gālava in *MBh.* v, 113, etc.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary for the present purpose to sift such stories, and this circumspection is requisite in the stories told in the Śānti-p. of the *MBh.*, which cannot be accepted without corroboration.

In these ways some discrimination is possible among the great quantity of material, and a considerable number of synchronisms can be collected which can claim some degree of genuineness; still, in drawing inferences from them certain cautions must be borne in mind. These

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough it finds an echo in *MBh.* iii, 197, 13301-2.

cautions are more or less obvious and well known, and yet it is well to state them so that the use made of the materials may not seem capricious. They are these.

First, patronymics do not always indicate the relation of father and son, but often designate a descendant. Putting aside such generic terms as Paurava, Yādava, Bhārata, Ātreya, Bhārgava, etc., we find Viśvāmitra called Kauśika<sup>1</sup> after his grandfather, Rāma Dāśarathi called Rāghava<sup>2</sup> after his great-grandfather, and Kṛṣṇa called Mādhava, Sātvata, Vārṣṇeya, and also Dāśārha<sup>3</sup> after distant ancestors, as well as Śauri<sup>4</sup> after a nearer ancestor. The primary inference would be that a patronymic means a son or daughter, yet we must be quite ready to take it as meaning a descendant if the context or other considerations should so indicate.

Secondly and conversely, the simple name does not always refer to the forefather of that name, but is also at times applied to his descendants. This is a common use collectively in the *Rig-Veda*. As an instance of its application singly we find Kuvalāśva of the Solar dynasty styled Ikṣvāku;<sup>5</sup> but this use is rare as regards kṣatriyas in the Epics and Purāṇas. This caution applies with special force to the names of rishis, and unless it is carefully observed we may fall into all kinds of errors. Thus the name Vasīṣṭha occurs at all periods of the Solar dynasty,<sup>6</sup> and plainly refers to a long succession of members of the Vasīṣṭha family; in fact, that family appears to have held the office of court-priests to that dynasty, as the Kaśyapas were hereditary priests of Janamejaya Pāriṣita.<sup>7</sup>

In the same way must be understood the frequent

<sup>1</sup> MBh. i, 175, 6695; Markand. 9, 10; Hariv. 13, 753.

<sup>2</sup> MBh. iii, 277, 16030. <sup>3</sup> MBh. i, 222, 8078; 223, 8083-4; v, 71, 2581.

<sup>4</sup> MBh. i, 221, 7989. <sup>5</sup> MBh. iii, 200, 13486, with 201, 13515-19.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, a Vasīṣṭha occurs with Triśaṅku (p. 33), with Sagara (p. 10, n. 3), with Kalmāṣapada (p. 45, n. 3), and with Daśaratha (Rāmāy. i, 7, 4, etc.). Other Vasīṣṭhas occur elsewhere, see p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Āitar. Brāh. vii, 5, 27, and see viii, 4, 22.

mention of Bharadvāja, Kaṇva, Gotama, Bhṛgu, Atri, etc., at different periods. In fact, the indifference which characterized the rishis as regards their genealogies (as already mentioned) led them to neglect the personal name of members of the great *gotras*, and to mention them simply by their *gotra* name, with the result that the personality of the original bearer of the name and that of his descendants have been often confused. This applies even to the name Viśvāmitra, as will be shown among the synchronisms, for the first and great Viśvāmitra's descendants were divided into two *gotras*, the Kauśikas and the Viśvāmitras.<sup>1</sup> The rivalry between him and the great Vasiṣṭha, who was court-priest of Ayodhyā in Trisāṅku's time, was perpetuated among their descendants; and, as the brahmanas were indifferent about personal particulars, the accounts, as they stand now, often show wild confusion, all the Vasiṣṭhas being described more or less closely in terms of the great Vasiṣṭha, and all the Viśvāmitras in terms of the great Viśvāmitra.<sup>2</sup> The only method of unravelling the confusion and of distinguishing the various Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras is to get the royal genealogies clear, and then assign those rishis to their several periods by attaching them to the kings with whom they were associated.

Thirdly, it often happened that the same name was borne by different individuals, so that it by no means follows that the same name in different places means the same person. It is expressly said that among kings there were scores of Dhṛtarāṣṭras, Janamejayas, Brahmādattas, Bhīṣmas, Bhīmas, Kāśas, Kuśas, etc.,<sup>3</sup> and that in the Lunar dynasty there were two Rikṣas, two Parikṣits, three Bhīmasenas, and two Janamejayas.<sup>4</sup> In that dynasty,

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 16, 34-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i, 75, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* ii, 8, 333-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Brahma*, 13, 112-13; *Hariv.* 32, 1817-18. Yet the lists do not show three Bhīmasenas, and two have dropped out. There were three Janamejayas, if we reckon the monarch who reigned after the great battle.

moreover, we have the strange coincidence that the two Parikṣits and the two later Janamejaya were father and son respectively.<sup>1</sup> There were more kings than one that bore the name Divodāsa, Sudāsa, or Śrījaya. This caution also must be considered in dealing with the names of rishis, because similarity of names was probably just as common among brahmins as among ksatriyas; thus there appear to have been two brahmins named Śunaka<sup>2</sup> and two named Śuka.<sup>3</sup> This even applies to such names as Brhaspati<sup>4</sup> and Uśanas,<sup>5</sup> with the result that personal and mythological names have probably been confused at times.

Such appears to be the proper nature and scope of an examination of the genealogies. The next step is to state the various dynasties, notice the authorities, and offer some general remarks on each dynasty.

✓ All the lines are derived from Manu Vaivasvata: the Solar and Videha lines from his son Ikṣvāku, the Viśāla dynasty from his son Dīta or Nediṣṭha, and all the rest from his daughter Ilā's son Purūravas. Purūravas' line was Āyus, Nahusa, Yayāti, and then Yayāti's five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu Anu, and Pūru.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the genealogical lists, *infra*. For the earlier Parikṣit and Janamejaya see also *Brahma*, 1' 9-11; *Vāyu*, II, 31, 21-2; *Hariv* 30, 1608-9, and cf. with *MBh* XII, 170, 5595-6. The later are well known, being Abhimanyu's son and grandson.

<sup>2</sup> One, son of Gṛtsamada, *Bhāgav.* IX, 17, 3; *Brahma*, 11, 33; *Vāyu*, II, 30, 4; *Hariv* 29, 1519; less clearly *Garuda*, I, 139, 9; and *Viṣṇu*, IV, 8; perhaps *Rig V.* II, 1. The other, *MBh* XIII, 50, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> One was father in law of Anuṣa, king of South Pāñcala, *Bhāgav.* IX, 21, 24-5; *Matsya*, 49, 56-7; *Hariv* 18, 981; 20, 1039-40, 1065. See also *Garuda*, I, 140, 13; *Vāyu*, II, 2, 174-5; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 19. The other was Vyāsa's son, see p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 44 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> There was a king Uśanas in the Yadava line; see Table of lists.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* I, 75, 3140-61; 95, 3760-3; V, 148, 5042-52. *Agni*, 272, 5-7; 273, 12-23. *Bhāgav.* IX, 1, 11-35; 17, 1; 18, 1-33. *Brahma*, 7, 1-16; 10, 1-11; 11, 1-2; 12, 1-6. *Garuda*, I, 138, 2-3; 139, 2, 7, 17, 18. *Kurma*, I, 30, 4-7; 22, 1-11. *Linga*, I, 65, 17-24; 66, 55-66. *Matsya*, 11, 40-1; 12, 12-15; 24, 32-4, 49-54. *Padma*, V, 8, 75-120; 12, 85-7, 103-7. *Vāyu*, II, 23, 1-17; 29, 1-4, 48, 114; 30, 1-2; 31, 12-17. *Viṣṇu*, IV, 1, 3, 6-10. *Hariv.* 10, 613-30; 26, 1363-73; 28, 1475; 30, 1599-1604.

The Solar line of Ayodhyā, derived from Manu's son Ikṣvāku, is given by many Purāṇas<sup>1</sup> and by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>2</sup> All the Purāṇas agree, subject to minor variations, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives a list twice over which is irreconcilable with them, though many of the names are the same. It is unquestionably erroneous, when considered as a whole or examined in detail. It is very improbable that the *Rāmāyaṇa* alone should be right and all the other authorities wrong, and the list is manifestly too short as compared with other dynasties. As regards details, it omits Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu,<sup>3</sup> Hariścandra and his son Rohita,<sup>4</sup> and R̥tuparna,<sup>5</sup> who were all well-known kings: and it contradicts itself by saying that Raghu's son was Kalmāsapāda, who was famous as Saudāsa (Sudāsa's son),<sup>6</sup> and yet omits Sudāsa. In all these points the Purāṇas are right, and as regards the early kings from Ikṣvāku to Dṛṇhāśva the *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup> corroborates them and disagrees with the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Hariścandra or his son Rohita bought Śunaḥśepha as a victim in Rohita's stead, so the Purāṇas say, and the *Aitar. Brāhmaṇa*<sup>8</sup> corroborates them against the different version which the *Rāmāy.* narrates of King Ambariṣa.<sup>9</sup> The *Rāmāy.* makes Ambariṣa great-grandfather of Nābhāga, but the *MBh.*<sup>10</sup> agrees with the Purāṇas that he was Nābhāga's son. The Purāṇas make Raghu father of Aja, but the *Rāmāy.* makes him father of Kalmāsapāda and places Aja twelve generations below Raghu; the

<sup>1</sup> *Agni*, 272, 18-39; *Bhāgav.* ix, 6, 4-12, 9; *Brahma*, 7, 44-8, 94; *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 17-44; *Kūrma*, i, 20, 5-21, 60; *Linga*, i, 65, 31-66, 45; *Matsya*, 12, 25-57; *Padma*, v, 8, 130-62; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 9-211; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 2-4; *Hariv.* 10, 613; 11, 660-15, 832. I treat the *Hariv.* as a Purāṇa, which is what it is really.

<sup>2</sup> i, 70, 21-43; ii, 110, 6-35.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* iii, 98, 8606-8; *R̥g-V.* viii, 19, 36; and perhaps vii, 19, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Aitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.* iii, 66, 2627-9; 70, 2766.

<sup>6</sup> ii, 110, 29.

<sup>7</sup> iii, 201, 13515-19; 202, 13620-1.

<sup>8</sup> vii, 3, 14-16.

<sup>9</sup> i, 61 and 62.

<sup>10</sup> iii, 120, 10154; vii, 64, 2303; xii, 29, 993.

*Raghuvamśa*<sup>1</sup> supports the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas give two Dilipas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but the *Rāmāy.* gives only one Dilipa as father of Bhagīratha and great-grandfather of Raghu; the *Raghuvamśa*,<sup>2</sup> so far as it states the genealogy, makes a Dilipa father of Raghu, thus supporting the Purāṇas. Again, the *Rāmāy.* places Kakutstha ten steps below Māndhātṛ, whereas the Purāṇas place him seventeen generations before Māndhātṛ; the *Brhaddevatā*<sup>3</sup> corroborates them that Kakutstha was before Māndhātṛ's grandson Trasadasyu.

It appears, therefore, that, wherever it is possible to check the two lists by other authorities, they support the Purāṇas and disagree with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, notwithstanding its great fame. Its list, therefore, may be put aside as confused and erroneous, and the Purāṇa list must be adopted.

The Purāṇa lists are in general agreement except at two stages, namely, between Kalmāṣapāda and Vṛddhaśarman-Ailavila, and between Ahinagu and the last king Śrutāyus-Bṛhadbala. For the former group the *Agni*, *Brahma*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, and *Harivamśa* give four kings, and all the other authorities give three different kings beginning with Aśmaka. The difference is not important, and I have followed the majority, as the *MBh.* corroborates them about Aśmaka.<sup>4</sup> For the second group, which consists of twenty kings, the *Agni*, *Kūrma*, *Viṅga*, *Matsya*, and *Padma* substitute only five different names; and they are clearly wrong for three reasons: (1) a comparison of the other dynasties and the synchronisms shows that there were a great many more generations; (2) what the *MBh.* says about Parīkṣit and his sons<sup>5</sup> agrees with Pāripātra

<sup>1</sup> v, 35-6.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 13-21.

<sup>3</sup> vi, 50-4.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* i, 122, 4736-8; 177, 6777-91; xii, 234, 8604; xiii, 137, 6262. He was nicknamed Sarvakarman, xii, 49, 1792-3.

<sup>5</sup> iii, 192, 13145-78, 13198.

and his successors in the longer list; and (3) one of those Purāṇas, the *Matsya*, contradicts its own list by stating that Kṛta, king of Dvimidiha's line, was a disciple of Hiranyanābhini Kausalya, which name occurs only in the long list.<sup>1</sup>

The Videha line is derived from Ikṣvāku's son Nimi. It is given in full by four Purāṇas,<sup>2</sup> and down to Śiradhvaja-Janaka by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>3</sup> The *Vāyu* omits all the kings between Śrutāyus and Suśruta. The *Garuḍa*, by the omission of a verse or two which terminated the Solar line and introduced this dynasty, tacks the latter on to the former by making the third king Uḍāvasu son of Prasūruta of the former line. Otherwise all the lists are in substantial agreement. Many of the kings bore the name Janaka,<sup>4</sup> which was not a personal name, but either a *gotra* name or a royal title.

The Yādava race, descended from Yayāti's son Yadu,<sup>6</sup> is given by many Purāṇas. It divided into two lines, one from Yadu's son Salasrajit, which developed after King Haihaya into the Haihayas and after his descendant Tālajaṅgha into the branch of the Tālajaṅghas,<sup>7</sup> and the other line from another son, Kroṣṭu, which formed an

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya*, 43, 75-6; see p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāgar.* ix, 6, 4; 13, 1-27. *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 44-58. *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 9; 27, 1-23. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 5.

<sup>3</sup> i, 71, 3-13

<sup>4</sup> It is given in the Purāṇa lists to Mithi, Dharmadhvaja, Śiradhvaja (Sitā's father), and Khāṇḍikya; and in the *MBh.* to Dharmadhvaja (xii, 322, 11855), Śiradhvaja (iii, 273, 15880), Janadeva (xii, 218, 7883; 321, 11839), Karāla (xii, 304, 11220), Daivarāti (xii, 312, 11545), and two others (xii, 322, 10699; 328, 12260).

<sup>5</sup> The *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* says *Janakānām kule* (13, 11); see also *Rāmāy.* i, 71, 4.

<sup>6</sup> The different origin mentioned in *Hariv.* 94, 5142-95, 5257, appears to be an ancient calumny, for it acknowledges the descent from Yayāti and Yadu in verse 5164. See p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Agni*, 274, 1-11. *Bhāgar.* ix, 23, 18-30. *Brahma*, 13, 153-207. *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 19-24. *Kūrma*, i, 22, 12-21; 23, 1-3. *Linga*, i, 68, 2-19. *Matsya*, 43, 5-52. *Padma*, v, 12, 110-49. *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 1-34, 48-53. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 11. *Hariv.* 33, 1843-34, 1900.

enduring lineage.<sup>1</sup> All the authorities are in substantial agreement. The most noteworthy difference is that the *Kūrma* makes the seven Śāśavindava kings whose names began with Pṛthu successive descendants instead of brothers, and the exigencies of the list appear to show that it is right. Satvat or Sātvata had several sons who gave rise to different branches, among which there is much confusion; but all the authorities agree fairly about the branch that ended in Kaṁsa, and that branch has been adopted, Kṛṣṇa being added at the end.

The Paurava (or Lunar) race was descended from Yayāti's son Pūru, and is given in the *MBh.*<sup>2</sup> and many of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>3</sup> All the latter agree fairly well, subject to considerable minor variations, but the former gives two lists which present many differences and do not even agree with each other. Both those lists leave out many of the kings between Pūru and Ahaiṇyāti; the second then inserts between Ahaiṇyāti and Matināra many of the kings which the *Purāṇas* generally place between Vidūratha and Rkṣa II; both fairly agree with the *Purāṇas* from Matināra to Kuru, but reduce the number of kings between Kuru and Pratīpa to five. The second list is wrong in inserting the group of kings between Ahaiṇyāti and Matināra, because it is contrary to all the other authorities, and because the synchronism of Matināra with Prasenañit of the Solar race (see p. 31) proves that the others are right. That group should be placed between

<sup>1</sup> *Agni*, 274, 12-33. *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 30-9; 24, 1-6, 18-24. *Brahma*, 14, 1-15, 31, and 15, 45-59. *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 25-36, 43-8. *Kūrma*, i, 24, 34, 42-65. *Līṅga*, i, 68, 21-49; 69, 2, 32-46. *Matsya*, 44, 14-74. *Padma*, v, 13, 32, 45-60. *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 14-34, 2, and 34, 115-23. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12-15. *Hariv.* 37, 1969-38, 2030.

<sup>2</sup> i, 94, 3695-752; 95, 3764-827.

<sup>3</sup> *Agni*, 277, 1-9, 15, 25-7, 31-40. *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 1-21, 21; 22, 3-4, 9-29. *Brahma*, 13, 2-5, 50-62, 80-1, 102-23. *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 1-8, 24-5, 30-8. *Matsya*, 49, 1-44; 50, 1-23, 34-50. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 115-55, 160-2, 206-13, 223-39. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19, 20. *Hariv.* 31, 1653-9; 32, 1714-32, 1754-6, 1795-1802, 1813-28.

Vidūratha and Rkṣa II, as the Purāṇas place it. The majority of the authorities therefore establish the lineage down to Rkṣa II, and after that all are in substantial agreement.

The North Pañcāla line, which reigned in Ahicchatra,<sup>1</sup> was an offshoot from Ajamīdha of the Lunar dynasty. It is given by many Purāṇas,<sup>2</sup> and all are in substantial agreement, except that the *Brahma* and *Hariv.* mistakenly derive Śrñjaya directly from Bāhyāśva (= Bhṛmyaśva). Much of this genealogy from Bhṛmyaśva to Somaka is supported by the *Rig-Veda*.<sup>3</sup> From Śrñjaya came the family of the Śrñjayas, and from Somaka that of the Somakas,<sup>4</sup> which play such a large part in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

The South Pañcāla line, which reigned in Kāmpilya,<sup>5</sup> was another offshoot from the same Ajamīdha. It is given by several Purāṇas,<sup>6</sup> and all are in substantial agreement.

Another line, which reigned somewhere in Madhyadeśa (though I have not been able to find the name of its capital) was descended from the same Ajamīdha's brother Dvimīdha, and may be called Dvimīdha's line. It is given

<sup>1</sup> *Hariv.* 33, 1111-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Agni*, 277, 15, 18-25. *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 21, 30-4; 22, 1-3. *Brahma*, 13, 81, 93-101. *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 17-24. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 189-206. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. *Hariv.* 32, 1755, 1776-95. *Matsya* (in part), 50, 1-16.

<sup>3</sup> Mudgala, son of Bhṛmyaśva, x, 102. Vadhryaśva, x, 69; vi, 61, 1. Divodāsa, vi, 61, 1; iv, 26, 3; vi, 47, 22, and many other passages. Śrñjaya, who is called son of Devavāta, iv, 15, 4; vi, 27, 7. Cyavana, x, 69, 5-6. Sudās (Sudāsa), vii, 18, 22-5, and other passages. Sahadeva and his son Somaka, iv, 15, 7-10. In vii, 18, 25, Divodāsa is called father of Sudās, but "father" clearly means "ancestor", because Sudās' patronymic was Pūjāvāna (ibid.). This, therefore, harmonizes with the genealogy, and his father Pūjāvāna as a king of no note has dropped out. It is said Sahadeva's original name was Suplan, *Śatap. Brāh.* II, iv, 4, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> Both families accompanied Drupada at the great battle.

<sup>5</sup> *Hariv.* 20, 1062, 1065; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 171; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 22-6; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 10-13; *Matsya*, 49, 47-59; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 165-77; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1052-72.

by some Purāṇas,<sup>1</sup> and all are in close agreement, except that the *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, and *Viṣṇu* omit the four kings between Dr̥dhanemi and Supārśva, and the *Bhāgavata* derives Ugrāyudha from Nipa of the South Pañcāla line. There is admittedly a gap between Sārva-bhauma and Mahat-Paurava.

Another dynasty was founded by Vasu, who was fifth in descent from Kuru. He conquered the kingdom of Cedi, which had been founded by the descendants of Vidarbha of the Yādava race, and took the name Caidya-uparicara. He extended his conquests as far as Magadha, and on his death his eldest son, Br̥hadratha, took that kingdom and established a dynasty there.<sup>2</sup> This line may therefore be called the Magadha line. It is given in some of the Purāṇas,<sup>3</sup> and all are in substantial agreement.

The line to which Gādhi and Viśvāmitra belonged reigned in Kānyakubja.<sup>4</sup> It is given in much the same form by the various authorities, but is derived from two different progenitors. All agree substantially from Jahnu downwards, but above him four Purāṇas<sup>5</sup> state the descent thus—Purūravas, Amāvasu (or Vijaya), Bhīma, Kāñcana, Suhotra Jahnu; while the *Agni*<sup>6</sup> gives it thus—Vitatha (of the Lunar race), Br̥hat, Ajamiḍha, Jahnu. The *MBh.* gives two lists,<sup>7</sup> of which the first leaves the question of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāgar.* ix, 21, 21, 27-30; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 8, 14-16; *Matsya*, 49, 70-9; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 160-2, 179-88; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1075-85.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* i, 63, 2334-65, and next note. *Uparicara* probably meant "he who overran", "conqueror", and afterwards was turned into "walking in the air". Cf. the later term *uparika* in inscriptions. See p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Agni*, 277, 26-30; *Bhāgar.* ix, 22, 4-9; *Garuḍa*, i, 140, 25-9; *Matsya*, 50, 20-34; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 209-22; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1799-1813.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* iii, 115, 10144; v, 118, 4005. The *Rāmāy.* calls its capital Mahodaya (i, 32, 3, 6), which = Kānyakubja (see Gorr. ed., i, 35, 35).

<sup>5</sup> *Bhāgar.* ix, 15, 1-16; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 2-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 48-99; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 7.

<sup>6</sup> 277, 16-18.

<sup>7</sup> One in xii, 49, 1717, etc.; and the other in xiii, 4, 201, etc., with i, 94, 3719-23.

progenitor untouched (as also the *Rāmāy.*<sup>1</sup>), and the second names him as Ajamīḍha, thus agreeing with the *Agni*. The *Brahma*<sup>2</sup> and *Harivamśa*<sup>3</sup> each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. The majority of the authorities derive the dynasty from Purūravas' son Amāvasu, and they are right, because it will be seen from the discussion of Viśvāmitra's contemporaries (p. 32) that it is impossible to relegate this dynasty to a time subsequent to Ajamīḍha. There is a conclusive argument to show that the derivation from Bharata's successor Vitatha is untenable, although the error is ancient.<sup>4</sup> Viśvāmitra was a descendant (by some eight steps) from Jahnu, and must, if Jahnu was descended from Bharata's line, have been many (some sixteen) generations below Bharata; but it is well known that Bharata's mother, Śakuntalā, was daughter of Viśvāmitra.<sup>5</sup> Viśvāmitra cannot have been both an ancestor and a descendant of Bharata. As the story of Śakuntalā is one of the best-alleged incidents in ancient Indian literature, Viśvāmitra was certainly prior to Bharata and the genealogical versions which make his ancestor Jahnu a descendant of Bharata must be wrong. The error arose from confounding Amāvasu's descendant Suhotra with Vitatha's third successor Suhotra, and perhaps also Jahnu's in both lines.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i, 32, 1-34, 6.    <sup>2</sup> 10, 11-60; 13, 80-92.    <sup>3</sup> 27, 1413-63; 32, 1754-69.

<sup>4</sup> Viśvāmitra is called "best of the Bharatas" in *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 17.

<sup>5</sup> He was not the first Viśvāmitra, but a near descendant, see p. 43. This strengthens the antithesis.

<sup>6</sup> The *Brahma* (10, 63) and *Hariv.* (27, 1468-9; 32, 1773) call Viśvāmitra *Paurava*, which is a mistake (helped no doubt by the general confusion) for *Paurūrava*, as the *Vāyu* shows in ii, 29, 98, where *Pauroravasya* should be *Paurūravasya*. Kuru had a son Jahnu (see authorities cited above for the *Paurava* line). The passage in the *Āitar. Brāh.* may have originated the error. The author lived after the great battle, and many centuries later than Bharata. The composers of the *Brāhmaṇas* were not learned in ancient kṣatriya genealogies, as indeed follows from the statement that Vyasa's disciples divided the literature and specialized each in his own department. Sāyaṇa repeats the error in his comment on *Rig-V.* iii, 53, 24.

The Kāśi line reigned at Benares. All the authorities are in general agreement from Suhotra (or Sunahotra) downwards, though they vary in fullness; but they differ regarding his ancestry. Three Purāṇas make him son of Nahuṣa's son Kṣatravṛddha,<sup>1</sup> and one makes him brother of Nahuṣa;<sup>2</sup> but the *Agni*<sup>3</sup> makes him son of Vitatha of the Lunar race. The *Brahma*<sup>4</sup> and *Harivamśa*<sup>5</sup> each give both versions, thus supporting and neutralizing both. Suhotra of the Lunar race, however, was not son of Vitatha, but of Brhatkṣatra. The majority are right, because, as will be seen from the discussion about Divodāsa and Pratardana of this line (p. 38), it is impossible to relegate the line to a period later than Suhotra of the Lunar race. The error arose from confounding Nahuṣa's descendants Kṣatravṛddha and Suhotra with Suhotra and Brhatkṣatra of the Lunar race.

The descendants of Yayāti's son Anu (it is said) branched out in the north-west into the Panjab tribes of the Kekayas, Śivis, etc., and in the east into the Aṅga dynasty.<sup>6</sup> All the authorities agree down to Jayadratha, king of Aṅga, and from him there were two lines of descent, one the royal line, and the other a younger branch, to which Karna belonged, who became king.<sup>7</sup> It is not material which is taken, and I have chosen the latter as being clearer and fuller.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 11, 1-10; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 7-14; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 1-76.

<sup>3</sup> 277, 9-14; but it is confused.

<sup>4</sup> 11, 1-2, 27-60; 13, 62-79.

<sup>5</sup> 29, 1517-98; 32, 1730-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Agni*, 276, 5-16; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 1-14; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 65-74; *Matsya*, 48, 10-108; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 12-114; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 18. The *Brahma* (13, 4-5, 14-49) and *Hariv.* (31, 1658-9, 1668-1710) derive the line from Raudrāśva's son Kakṣeyu of the Lunar race, but these two books are so closely alike that they constitute only one authority. I have followed the majority.

<sup>7</sup> The former in the *Agni* and *Brahma*, the latter in the *Bhāgav.*, *Garuḍa*, and *Viṣṇu*, and both in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Hariv.*

Another line is derived from Manu's son Diṣṭa (or Nediṣṭha), in which Viśāla and the later kings, if not the earlier also, constituted the dynasty of Viśālā or Vaiśālī.<sup>1</sup> It may be called Diṣṭa's line. All the authorities are in substantial agreement.<sup>2</sup>

Having offered these general remarks it remains to set out the genealogical lists, explain the synchronisms, and show their results in the Table of lists. In the following Table the most important lines of descent are shown, and all start from Manu, because that is how the authorities begin them. The three Bhārgava rishis, Ŗeiku, Jamadagni, and Rāma, are also included in order to bring out the synchronisms at their period more clearly. The lines of descent have been placed according to geographical position as nearly as is feasible, that is, dynasties that reigned in the west are placed on the left, those of Madhyadeśa in the middle, and those that reigned in the east on the right. The names of all kings whose positions are fixed by the synchronisms are printed in italics. Names added in brackets are those of kings who are not mentioned in the genealogies, but whose existence is disclosed in the discussion of the synchronisms. Some lists it will be seen are far less full than others, though they may start from a synchronism and reach a synchronism, that is, the omissions are more numerous. It is not, however, known where the omissions occur, consequently the names in those lists have been simply spaced out, and where there are no synchronisms the position of a name is not to be taken as more than the best conjecture possible.

<sup>1</sup> Marutta, the greatest king, who preceded Viśāla, is called the Āyogava king. *Satap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 1, 12; 2, 22-36; *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 2-13; *Vāyu*, ii, 23, 3-24, 22; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 1; *Mārkaṇḍ.* (at great length to Rājyavardhana), 113-36 and 109-10; *Linga* (the beginning), i, 66, 53; *MBh.* (first part partially), xiv, 4, 65-91; *Rāmāy.* (from Viśāla to the end), i, 47, 11-18.

	I. YĀDAVAS.	II. HAIHAYAS.	III. PAURAVAS.	IV. KĀNYAKUBJA.	V.
1	Manu		Manu		
2	Ilā		Ilā		
3	Purūravas		Purūravas		
4	Āyus		Āyus	Amāvāsu	
5	Nahusa		Nahusa		
6	Yayāti*		Yayāti*		
7	Yadu		Pūru		
8	Kroṣṭu	Sahasrajit	Janamejaya I	Blīma	
9			Prācinvat		
10	Vṛjiniṭvat	Satajit	Pravira		
11			Manasyu		
12		Haihaya	Abhayada		
13	Svāhi		Sudhanvan	Kāncana- prabha	
14			Bahugava		
15		Dharma	Saṁyāti		
16	Rusaḍgu		Ahaṁyāti		
17		Dharmanetra	Raudrāśva		
18			Rceyn	Suhotra	
19	Citraratha	Kunti			
20			Matināra		
21	Śasavindu*	Sōhañji	Tamisu		
22	Prthuyasas				
23	Prthukarman			Jahnu	
24	Prthujaya	Mahisṁat.		Sumantu	
25	Prthukīrtti			Ajaka	
26	Prthudāna			Balākāśva	
27	Prthusravas	Bhudraśreṅga		Kuśa	BHĀRGAVA BRAHMANS.
28	Prthusattama			Kuśāśva	
29		Durdama		Kuśika	
30	Antara	Kanaka		Gādhi	
31	Suyajña	Kṛtavīrya			Reika
32	Uśanaś	Arjuna*		Viśvāmitra	Jamadagni
33	Śineyu	Jayadhvaja			
34	Marutta	Tālaṅgha			
35	Kambalabarhis	Vitihotra		Aṣṭaka	Rāma
36	Rukmakavaca	Vṛṣa		Parāvāsu	
37	Parāvṛt	Madhu			
38	Jyāmagha	Vṛṣṇi			
39					
40	Vidarbha				
41	Kratha		Ailina		
42	Kunti				
43	Dhṛṣṭi		Dugyanta		
44	Nirvṛti		Bharata*		
45	Vidūratha				
46	Daśārha		Vitatha		
47	Vyoman		Bhūmanyu		
48	Jimūta		Bṛhatkṣatra		
49	Vikṛti		Suhotra		
50	Bhīmaratha		Hastin		

VI. KĀŚI LINE.	VII. SOLAR LINE.	VIII. VIDEHA LINE.	IX. DIṢṬA'S LINE.	X. ANU'S LINE.	
Manu Ilā Purūravas	Manu Ikṣvāku		Manu Diṣṭa	Manu Ilā Purūravas	1 2 3
Āyus Nahusa Kṣatravṛuha	Śaśāda <i>Kakutṣtha</i> Anenas Pṛthu	Nimi  Mithi-Janaka	Nābhāga  Bhalandana	Āyus Nahuṣa <i>Yayāti</i> * Anu	4 5 6 7
Su(na)hotra	Viśvagaśva Ārdra		Vatsa, prī	Saṁhānara	8 9
Kāśa	Yuvanāśva I Śrāvasta	Udāvasu		Kālānala	10 11
Kāśipa	Bṛhadāśva Kulaśāśva	Nandivardhana	Prāṁśu		12 13
Dirghatapas	Dydhāśva Pramoda Haryaśva I		Prajāni	Śrñjaya	14 15 16
Dhanva	Nikumbbu Saṁbhutāśva	Suketu	Khanitra	Purañjaya	17 18
Dhanvantari	Kṛśāśva <i>Prasenajit</i> <i>Yuvonāśva II</i>	Devarāta		Janamejaya	19 20
Ketumat	<i>Māndhatr</i> * <i>Purukutsa</i> Trasadasyu	Bṛhaduktha	Kṣupa	Mahāśāla	21 22 23
Bhimaratha	Saṁbhūta Anaranya Pṛśadaśva	Mahāvīrya	Vimśa	Mahāmanas	24 25 26
<i>Divodāsa I</i> (Aṣṭāratha)	Haryaśva II Vasumanas Tridhanvan	Sudhṛti	Vivimśa	Uśinara Titikṣu	27 28
—	Trayyārūṇa <i>Triśaṅku</i>	Dhṛṣṭaketu	Karandhama	Śivi * <i>Kekaya</i> Rusadratha	29 30 31
—	<i>Hariścandra</i> <i>Rohita</i> Harita	Haryaśva	<i>Avikṣit</i> <i>Marutta</i> *	Hema	32 33 34
(Haryaśva)	Cañcu Vijaya	Maru	Nariṣyanta Dama		35 36
(Sudeva)	Ruruka Vṛka		Rājyavardhana	Sutapas	37 38
<i>Divodāsa II</i> <i>Pratardana</i> Vatsa <i>Alarka</i>	<i>Bāhu</i> <i>Sagara</i> * Asamañjas Amśumat	Pratindhaka	Sudhṛti		39 40 41
Sannati	Dilipa I Bhagiratha *	Kṛtiratha	Nara Kevala	<i>Bali</i> <i>Aṅga</i>	42 43 44
Sunitha	Śruta Nābhāga Ambariṣa *	Devamīdha	Bandhumat Vegavat		45 46
Kṣema	Sindhudvīpa Avantāvus	Vibudha	Budha <i>Tṛṇavindu</i>	Dadhivāhana •	47 48 49 50

	I. YĀDAVAS.	II. DVIMĪDHAS.	III. PAURAVAS.	IV. N. PAÑCĀLA.	V. S. PAÑCĀLA.
51	Navaratha		Vikunṭhana ?		
52	Daśaratha	Dvimīdha	Ajamīdha		
53	Śakuni	Yavinara	—	Nila	Brhadīṣu
54	Karambha		—	Sānti	
55	Devarāta	Dhrtimat	—	Susānti	Brhadvasu
56	Devaksatra		—	Puruṣāti	
57	Madhu	Satyadhrti	—	Arka	Brhuddhanus
58	Kuruvaśa		—	Bhrmyaśva	
59	Anu	Dṛḥhanemi	—	Mudgala	—
60	Purudvat		—	Brahmiṣṭha	
61	Puruhotra	Sudhauvan	—	Vadhryaśva	Brhatkarman
62	Aniśu		Rkṣa I	Dīrodāsa	
63				Mitrayu	Jayadratha
64	Satvat	Sārvabhauma	—	(Devavāta)	
65	Sātrata		—	Śrījaya	Viśvajit
66		—	—		
67	Audhaka	—	—	Cyavana	Senajit
68		—	—	Somadatta	
69	Kukura	—	—	(Pijavana)	Rucirāśva
70		—	—	Sudāsa	
71	Vṛṣṇi		Sakurana	Sahadeva	Prthuseṇa
72		—	—	Somaka	
73	Dhrti	—	Kuru	Jantu	Pāra I
74		—	Parikṣit I		
75	Kapotaroman	Mahat Paurava	Janamejaya II	—	Nipa
76			Suratha	—	
77	Viloman	Rukmaratha	Vidūratha	—	Samara
78			Sārvabhauma	—	
79	Tittiri	Supārśva	Jayatsena	—	Pāra II
80	Taittiri		Arādhi	—	
81		Samati	Mahāsattva	—	Prthu
82	Nala		Ayutāyus	—	
83		Sannati	Akrodhana	—	Sukṛti
84	—		Devātithi	—	
85		Kṛta	Rkṣa II	—	Vibhrāja
86	Abhijit	—	Bhīmasena	—	
87		—	Dilipa	—	Anuha
88	Punarvasu		Pratipa	—	Brahmadatta
89		—	—	—	Viśvaksena
90	Āhuka		(Rṣtisena)	Nīpa (Nīla)	Udaksena
91			Santanu	—	Bhallāta
92	—	Ugrāyudha	[ Bhīṣma ]	Prṣata	Janamejaya
93	Ugrasena	Kṣemya	Vicitravīrya	—	
94	Kakṣa	Suvira	Dhṛtarāṣṭra	Drupada	
95	Kṛṣṇa	Nṛpañjaya	Pāndaras	Dhṛṣṭadyumna	
96		Bahuratha	Abhimanyu	Dhṛṣṭaketu	

THE BATTLE BETWEEN TH

Parikṣit II  
Janamejaya III

VI. KĀSĪ LINE.	VII. SOLAR LINE.	VIII. VIDEHA LINE.	IX. DīṣṬA'S LINE.	X. ANU'S LINE.	
Ketumat	<i>Rtuparna</i>		Viśāla	Anapāna	51
	Sarvakāma	Mahādhr̥ti	Hemacandra		52
Suketu	Sudāsa				53
Dharmaketu	Kalmāṣapāda	Kṛtirāta	Sucandra	Diviratha	54
	Aśmaka		Dhūmrāśva		55
	Mūlaka				56
Satyaketu	Sataratha	Mahāroman	Sṛjaya	—	57
	Vṛddhaserman		Sahadeva		58
Vibhu	Viśvasaha I				59
	Dilipa II*	Svarṇaroman	Kṛśāśva	Citraratha	60
Suvibhu	Dīrghabāhu		Somadatta		61
	Raghu	Hrasvaroman			62
Sukumāra	Aja		Janamejaya		63
	<i>Dāsaratha</i>	<i>Siradhvaja</i>	<i>Pramati</i>	<i>Lomapāda</i>	64
Dhr̥staketu	<i>Rāma</i> *	Bhānumat			65
Venuhotra		Satadyumna		Caturaṅga	66
Bharga	<i>Kuśa</i>	Suci			67
	Atithi	Ūrjavaha		Pr̥thulākṣa	68
	Niṣadha	Sanadvāja			69
	Nala	Kuni		Campa	70
MAGADHA LINE	Nabhas	Añjana			71
	Puṇḍarika	Kulajit		Haryaṅga	72
<i>Kuru</i>	Kṣemadhanvan	Ariṣṭanemi			73
Sadhanvan	Devānika	Srutāyus		Bhadraratha	74
Subotra	Ahinaḡu	Supārśva			75
Cyavana	Pāripātra	San̥jaya		Bṛhatkarman	76
	Dala	Kṣemāri			77
Kṛta	Sala	Anenas		Bṛhadratha	78
<i>Vasu Caidya</i>	U' l̥tha	Samaratha			79
	Vajranābha	Sat̥yaratha		Bṛhadbhānu	80
Bṛhadratha	San̥khana	Sat̥yarathi			81
	Vyusitāśva	Upaguru		Bṛhanmanas	82
Kuśāgra	Viśvasaha II	Upagupta			83
R̥sabha	<i>Hiranyanābha</i>	Svāgata		Jayadratha	84
	Puśya	Svanara			85
Puṣpavat	Dhruvasandhi	Suvarcas		Vijaya	86
Satyahita	Sudarśana	Subhāsa			87
	Agnivarna	Suśruta		Dhṛti	88
Ūrja	Sighra	Jaya			89
Jahnu	Maru	Vijaya		Dhṛtavrata	90
	Prasuśruta	Rta			91
Sambhava	Susandhi	Sunaya		Satyakarman	92
<i>Jarāsandha</i>	Amarṣa	Vitahavya		Adhiratha	93
	Mahasvat	Dhṛti			94
<i>Sahadeva</i>	Viśrutavat	Bahulāśva		<i>Karṇa</i>	95
	<i>Bṛhadbala</i>	Kṛta			96

ĀNDAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

Ṣomādhi	Bṛhatkṣana
śrutaśravas	Urukṣepa
etc.	etc.

The accounts say there were kings from time to time who established a supremacy over the kingdoms around them, and so were called *samrāj* or *cakravartin*. There is no improbability in that, and their conquests may have resulted in the subversion of a neighbouring dynasty, or merely in its reduction to a kind of vassalage; hence when we consider the times of those kings we may find some confusion in the lists of neighbouring dynasties. Moreover, it is highly probable, and is indeed implied, that those great monarchs had long reigns. The names of such very famous monarchs are given,<sup>1</sup> namely, in the Solar race, Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśvi, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Ambariṣa Nābhāgi, Dilipa II Khaṭvāṅga, and Rāma Dāśarathi; in the Lunar dynasty, Bharata Daśyanti; in the Yādava line, Śaśavindu Caitraratha and Arjuna Kārtavīrya; in Anu's line, Śivi Auśinara; in Diṣṭa's line, Marutta Āvikṣita; as well as Yayāti Nāhuṣa, and others also who belonged to side-dynasties which developed no long genealogy and which are unnecessary for the present purpose.<sup>2</sup> Of these monarchs, Māndhātṛ, Bhagiratha, Arjuna, Bharata, and Marutta were specially called *samrāj*.<sup>3</sup> The names of all the *cakravartins* who occur in the Table are marked with an asterisk.

Dealing now with the synchronisms in accordance with the principles explained above, we may find not a few which are deserving of consideration. The following are

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* vii, 55-70; xii, 8, 238; 29. The genealogies corroborate.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, Rantideva Sāṅkṛti and Suhotra Ātithina of the Paurava race; Gaya Āmūrtarayasa; and Paurava Vira Brhadratha, king of Aṅga; and also Pṛthu Vainya, who belonged to the most ancient age. There were many Suhotras, but none that I can identify as Ātithina; perhaps he is Suhotra, descendant of Vitatha of the Lunar dynasty. Brhadratha may be No. 78 in Anu's line in the table, but the epithet Paurava is perplexing.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* ii, 14, 649-50. The remarks in *Aitar. Brāh.* viii, 3, 3, profess to explain contemporary conditions and relate to a time later than the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.

all the important instances that I have been able to discover, and they are taken in chronological order as far as possible.

The earliest synchronism is that Yayāti's eldest brother, Yati, married Go, daughter of Kakutstha, who can only be Kakutstha of the Solar dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Yayāti therefore was one generation below Kakutstha.

There are clear connexions between the Solar, Lunar, and Yādava lines about the time of Māndhātṛ. Gauri, daughter of Matināra of the Lunar dynasty, married either Prasenajit of the Solar dynasty<sup>2</sup> or his son Yuvanāśva II,<sup>3</sup> and was thus grandmother or mother of Māndhātṛ.<sup>4</sup> The latter connexion is the better supported, for she is called *jananī*, or mother, of Māndhātṛ.<sup>4</sup> The difference is not material for the present purpose; what is material is that Matināra was a contemporary of Prasenajit.

Māndhātṛ married Vindumatī Caitrarathī, daughter of Śāsavindu,<sup>5</sup> who can only be the famous Śāsavindu, son of Citraratha of the Yādavas.<sup>6</sup> And this is corroborated by the further statement that she was the eldest sister of many brothers,<sup>7</sup> because Śāsavindu had a great number of sons, who were called the Śāsavindu or Śāsavindava kings.<sup>8</sup> Śāsavindu, therefore, and Yuvanāśva II were contemporaries.

Śivi, son of Uśinara of Anu's line, appears to have originated the Śivis, and is said to have had four sons who originated the Vṛṣadarbhas, Suvīras, Kekayas (or

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma*, 12, 3; *Vāyu*, ii, 31, 14; *Hariv.* 30, 1601.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma*, 7, 90-2; *Hariv.* 12, 709-11.

<sup>3</sup> *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Matsya*, 49, 8; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 126; *Hariv.* 32, 1716.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhāgar.* ix, 6, 38; *Brahma*, 7, 92-3; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 70; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 2; *Hariv.* 12, 712-13. Also *Garuḍa*, i, 138, 22, where *Vindumatya* is a mistake for *Vindumatī*.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* xii, 29, 998; *Agni*, 27, 13-14; and other passages cited for the Yūdava genealogy.

<sup>7</sup> *Brahma*, 7, 93-4; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 71; *Hariv.* 12, 713.

<sup>8</sup> See passages cited for the Yādava genealogy.

Kaikeyas), and Madras in the Panjab.<sup>1</sup> Trisāṅku of the Solar race married a Kaikeya princess,<sup>2</sup> hence the Kaikeya kings were established before his time, and therefore Śivi cannot be placed less than two or three generations before Trisāṅku.<sup>3</sup> Jyāmagha the Yādava, who was later, married a Śaivya princess.<sup>4</sup>

The next synchronism is that Jahnu of the Kānyakubja line married Kāverī, daughter<sup>5</sup> or great-granddaughter<sup>6</sup> of Yuvanāśva. This Yuvanāśva would be Yuvanāśva II of the Solar line, because the bare mention of such a name must imply that it was sufficiently well known, and the first Yuvanāśva was not famous. It is more probable she was his daughter, because (it is said) she was cursed by him; yet perhaps as a safe medium we may take it she was his granddaughter. Jahnu would thus be placed alongside Purukutsa. Jahnu was a famous king (after whom the Ganges is said to have been named Jāhnavī), and he could not have attained eminence till after the death of Yuvanāśva's son Māndhātṛ, who was a cakravartin, that is, he must be placed a generation later than Māndhātṛ, so that his wife was probably Yuvanāśva's granddaughter.

We may next take Viśvāmitra and his contemporaries, and here we must consider (having regard to the caution mentioned above, p. 14) only the earliest person of that name, for he had many descendants with the *gotra* name Viśvāmitra. The earliest and greatest Viśvāmitra was the son of Gādhi, or Gāthīn, king of Kānyakubja,<sup>7</sup> and his

<sup>1</sup> See passages cited for Anu's line.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma*, 8, 24; *Liṅga*, i, 66, 10; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 116; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 3; *Hariv.* 13, 754.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* iii, 194, 13249 is an obvious brahman anachronism.

<sup>4</sup> *Agni*, 274, 17; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 35; *Brahma*, 15, 16; *Liṅga*, i, 68, 37; *Padma*, v, 13, 15; *Vāyu*, ii, 53, 32; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 12; *Hariv.* 37, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> *Brahma*, 10, 19-21; 13, 87. *Hariv.* 27, 1421-2; 32, 1761.

<sup>6</sup> *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 55.

<sup>7</sup> See authorities cited for this dynasty, p. 22. *Brhaddecatā*, viii, 70; *Sarvānukramaṇī* on *Rig-V.* iii, hymns 1, etc. I have to thank Professor Macdonell for corrections and suggestions regarding the references to the *Rig-Veda*.

ksatriya name was Viśvaratha.<sup>1</sup> He was closely connected with the Solar dynasty. His father Gādhi's mother is called Paurukutsā or Paurukutsī,<sup>2</sup> and was therefore a daughter or descendant of Purukutsa, who can only be the famous king of Ayodhyā. Her patronymic would ordinarily mean she was daughter of Purukutsa, but not necessarily so, for (according to the first caution mentioned above, p. 14) it may also mean she was a descendant of even three or four generations. It is necessary to discuss these relationships at some length, and the discussion will illustrate the principles and cautions which have been laid down.

If Paurukutsā was Purukutsa's daughter, Viśvāmitra would be three generations below him, and if she was his great - great - granddaughter Viśvāmitra would be six generations below him. One step more, however, must be added, because Viśvāmitra ranks properly two steps below Gādhi, for Gādhi had a daughter Satyavati, and Viśvāmitra was born at the same time as her son Jamadagni (see p. 35). On the above alternatives, then, Viśvāmitra would be four or seven generations below Purukutsa. What precise relationship, then, is meant by "Paurukutsā" must depend on the other circumstances. Now Viśvāmitra is closely connected in the stories with Purukutsa's ninth successor, Satyavrata Triśanku, and his heirs. The stories may be summarized thus:<sup>3</sup> Triśanku was banished by his father Trayyārūṇa, and the court-priest Vasiṣṭha (that is, the then Vasiṣṭha) approved and enforced the order with relentless severity. There was thus deep hatred between Triśanku and Vasiṣṭha. A terrible twelve-year drought occurred then, during which Viśvāmitra was away

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma*, 10, 55-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 90; *Hariv.* 27, 1459; 32, 1766.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 63; *Hariv.* 27, 1430. The *Brahma* makes Paurā (or Paurakutsā, as one MS. reads) wife of Gādhi.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the authorities are cited in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, i, 82, etc. See *Rig-17*. v, 2, 7, and Śaṅguruṣiṅga's *Vedārthadīpikā* on i, 24. It is needless to cite other passages.

performing austerities.<sup>1</sup> Triśaṅku supported Viśvāmitra's wife and children through it and earned his gratitude. Viśvāmitra therefore espoused Triśaṅku's cause, opposed Vasiṣṭha, and reinstated Triśaṅku. Triśaṅku's son Hariścandra<sup>2</sup> was obliged to offer his own son Rohita as a victim in a sacrifice, and after long procrastination saved him by buying Ajigarta's son Śunaḥśepha<sup>3</sup> as the victim instead. Śunaḥśepha, though bound at the sacrifice, had his life spared, and was adopted by Viśvāmitra as his chief son with the name Devarāta.

These stories are only possible if Paurukutsā was not Purukutsa's daughter, but was a descendant, and it follows that she must have been his descendant of some four generations, unless the eight Solar kings who intervened between Purukutsa and Triśaṅku were not descendants in regular order, but were some of them brothers. Now one or two of those kings may have been brothers, but it is not probable that the number of generations among them was less than six, because Jahnu was, as shown, contemporary with Purukutsa, and Viśvāmitra, who was contemporary with Triśaṅku, was Jahnu's eighth successor.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to Viśvāmitra's brahmanhood, see p. 4 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Āitar. Brāh.* says Hariścandra was son of Vedhas (vii, 3, 13; and so also Śaḍguruśiṣya on *Rig-V.* i, 24). It is not necessary to discuss the difference, because the synchronism stands good, but it may be pointed out that the genealogies rest on the *purāṇa-raṅga-rūts*, and the author of the *Brāh.* was more versed in philosophical speculation than in kṣatriya genealogical lore.

<sup>3</sup> Sarvānukramaṇi on *Rig-V.* i, hymns 24-30; *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 3, 15; *Bhāgar.* ix, 7, 8-23. But the *Vāyu* (ii, 29, 89), *Brahma* (10, 54), and *Hariv.* (27, 1457) make him son or brother of Jamadagni. The difference is not material here. Ajigarta's father Suyavaśa (*Āitar. Brāh.*, loc. cit.) may have been a brother of Reika or Jainadagni.

<sup>4</sup> The lists agree in the number of steps down to Kuśa, and then vary as regards the next, whom they name as Kuśāśva, Kuśāmba, and Kuśika. Gādhi was certainly son of Kuśika, and the only doubtful point is whether a king named Kuśāśva, or Kuśāmba, preceded him. That there was such an extra generation seems clear, because Iṣiratha, who is not named in the genealogies, is mentioned as Gādhi's grandfather by Śaḍguruśiṣya (introduction to *Rig-V.* iii), and by the Sarvānukramaṇi (*ibid.*). Hence the general result is that Viśvāmitra was eighth in descent from Jahnu.

It is not probable a number of brothers succeeded in both lines at the same time, so as to reduce the actual generations to three only, as would be necessary if Paurukutsā was Purukutsa's own daughter; and it is quite possible, on the other hand, that nine generations in the Solar line might correspond to eight in the Kānyakubja line. For all substantial results these minor differences are hardly material, and it follows that Paurukutsā does not mean "daughter" of Purukutsa, and must mean his 'descendant' in about the fourth degree.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Gādhi's daughter Satyavati was married to the rishi Rcika Bhārgava, and had a son Jamadagni, who was born at the same time as Viśvāmitra.<sup>2</sup> Jamadagni had several sons, of whom the youngest was Rāma.<sup>3</sup>

It thus appears that Gādhi's father was four or five generations posterior to Purukutsa, that Viśvāmitra, Triśaṅku, Hariścandra, Jamadagni, and Ajigarta were contemporaries, and that Rohita, Śunaḥśepha, and Rāma Jāmadagnya were contemporaries.

There are more synchronisms with Jamadagni and his son Rāma. The stories about them and the allusions, if treated as containing some truth, may be summarized thus:<sup>4</sup> Kṛtavīrya, king of the Haihayas, had the Bhārgavas as his priests, and endowed them with great wealth.<sup>5</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> See a similar case, where *Dāśārṇī* was applied to several generations; p. 42, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* iii, 115, 10144-53; v, 116, 3973; 118, 4005-7; xii, 49, 1721-45. *Bhāgar.* ix, 15, 4-13. *Brahma*, 10, 28-53. *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 6. *Vāyu*, ii, 29, 63-89. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* iii, 116, 11074, 11080, and passages cited for the Kānyakubja line. Jamadagni married Reṇukā, daughter of King Reṇu of Ikṣvāku's race (*MBh.* iii, 116, 11072; v, 116, 3972; and the above passages), and Prasenajit gave her to him (*MBh.* iii, 116, 11072), but no king Reṇu is mentioned in the genealogies, nor any Prasenajit at this period, so that they belonged probably to a junior branch of the Solar race.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* iii, 116, 11089-117, 10204 (*sic*, the numbering is erroneous); xii, 49. *Bhāgar.* ix, 15, 14-30; 16, 8-27; 23, 24. *Brahma*, 13, 159-99. *Mateya*, 43, 15-43; 44, 12-14. *Padma*, v, 12, 117-43. *Vāyu*, ii, 32, 10-48. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 11. *Hariv.* 34, 1850-91.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.* i, 178, 6802-3.

son Arjuna reigned at Māhiṣmatī (the modern Mandhātā on the River Narmadā), and extended his conquests everywhere. During his time the Haihaya princes tried to recover the wealth from the Bhārgavas, and being unsuccessful killed many of them, and the Bhārgavas were scattered.<sup>1</sup> In one of his expeditions Arjuna burnt up Āpava Vasiṣṭha's hermitage and incurred Āpava's curse. The hostility against the Bhārgavas brought him into conflict with Rāma, because he or his sons robbed Jamadagni, who was a Bhārgava. Rāma killed Arjuna, and the latter's sons then murdered Jamadagni. Rāma swore vengeance against the kṣatriyas, and is said to have destroyed all Arjuna's sons (except five) and thousands of Haihayas. After an interval he renewed his hostilities against all kṣatriyas, and is said to have almost exterminated them. It thus appears that Arjuna was a contemporary of Jamadagni,<sup>2</sup> so that he began to reign about the same time as Hariścandra, and, as the stories imply that his reign was a long one, it probably overlapped the reigns of Rohita and Harita also.

This story carries us further. Arjuna's grandson was Tālajaṅgha, and he is said to have had a numerous progeny, which constituted five tribes of Tālajaṅghas among the Haihayas. He would have been a younger contemporary of Rāma Jāmadagnya, and the Tālajaṅghas would have grown powerful towards the end of Rāma's life, or soon afterwards, in what is the modern Mahrāṭṭa country. The stories say Rāma exterminated the kṣatriyas twenty-one times. This statement is too fabulous to merit any particle of credence, and is besides incompatible with the remarkable rise of the Tālajaṅgha power in the period that immediately followed, for (as already mentioned, p. 10)

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* i, 178, 6804 - 179, 6827.

<sup>2</sup> It is said Ahaiṇyāti of the Lunar race married Kṛtavīrya's daughter (*MBh.* i, 95, 3768), but if the same Kṛtavīrya is meant this statement is incompatible with all the other indications.

the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas overran the whole of North India, and hordes from the countries to the north-west also invaded India during that period. Their overthrow of the kingdoms in North India and the destruction that must have befallen the kṣatriyas in the continual wars may furnish an explanation of the extermination attributed to Rāma.

Rāma is always spoken of as a great warrior highly skilled in weapons, and his successful contest with Arjuna and his sons implies that the Bhārgavas took to arms.<sup>1</sup> He certainly did not exterminate the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, but, on the contrary, they were rising into great power at the close of his life. Some remarks may be offered in explanation of this. Rāma had no real cause of enmity against kṣatriyas generally, but the Tālajaṅgha-Haihayas, being warlike kṣatriyas bent on conquest, would have naturally attacked every kingdom, that is, all kṣatriyas. The fact that the destruction which they wrought is ascribed to Rāma suggests that they and the Bhārgavas had composed their quarrel after Arjuna's death and were acting together; and there are some incidents which support this suggestion.<sup>2</sup> If that were so, the destruction would naturally in brahmanical mouths be attributed to Rāma. The history of the Mahraṭṭa power offers a striking parallel. Brahmins and soldiery were combined. They did not make a permanent conquest of the countries they invaded, but made annual raids, and every year fighting was renewed.

<sup>1</sup> In later centuries brahmins among the descendants of Bhūmanyu and Ajamīdha of the Lunar race took to arms, *kṣatropetā drijātayaḥ*, namely, Gargas, Saṅkṛtis, Kāvyas, Maudgalyas, Maitreyas, and apparently Kāṇvas; and during that period there were two military parties among brahmins, the Aṅgirasas and Bhārgavas. *Agni*, 277, 21; *Matsya*, 43, 38, 41; 50, 5, 14; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 160, 177, 193-4, 201 2; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1781, 1790.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Bhṛgu, that is, a Bhṛgu or Bhārgava rishi, saved the Haihaya king Vitahavya from Pratardana's vengeance by a deliberate falsehood, *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1983-97 (see p. 4).

Such devastating raids continued for half a century (and the Tālajaṅgha-Haihaya dominion lasted fully that time, see p. 10) might well be described as twenty-one exterminations of the kṣatriyas. The parallel goes even further, for, just as the Persians under Nādir Shāh invaded India once, and the Afghans under Ahmad Shāh made four incursions during the prevalence of the Mahratta power, so it is said Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, and other hordes from the north-west poured into India during the disorganization caused by the Haihaya conquests.

This leads to certain synchronisms between the kings of Kāśī (Benares) and the Haihaya kings. There was a long contest between them, which began with Bhadrāsreṇya and ended with Vitahavya on the Haihaya side.<sup>1</sup> In the accounts one king of Kāśī, named Divodāsa, is made contemporary with the former's sons, and he or his son Pratardana<sup>2</sup> with the latter. Now this is impossible if the same king Divodāsa is meant, and for several reasons. Six generations are given from Bhadrāsreṇya to Tālajaṅgha, and King Vitahavya (or rather the Vitahavya king<sup>3</sup>) appears to have belonged to the Tālajaṅghas, and therefore to have been three or four steps later. The contest lasted a very long time.<sup>4</sup> Such a contest and the successive Haihaya kings, six at least,<sup>5</sup> cannot with any probability be compressed into the reign of a single king Divodāsa. The Purāṇa accounts say it began with Divodāsa and ended with Pratardana,

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1946-96. *Brahma*, 11, 40-54 ; 13, 66-75. *Hariv.* 29, 1541-8, 1582-91 ; 32, 1736-49. *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 23-8, 61-9. Also *Padma*, v, 12, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, of Kāśī. *Kauṣīt.* Up. iii, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The name is generic rather than personal, *MBh.* loc. cit. Vitahavya of the *MBh.* probably = Vitihotra of the Purāṇas.

<sup>4</sup> A thousand years. This, like most statements of time, is absurdly exaggerated, but all the references imply a long-continued struggle.

<sup>5</sup> These generations cannot be condensed on the supposition that many of these kings were brothers, as the whole of the circumstances indicate the opposite.

and the *MBh.* account describes the contest (and that not the beginning of it, for it deals only with the Vitahavya period of the Haihayas) as occupying the reigns of four kings of Kāśi, of whom the last two were Divodāsa and Pratardana. Divodāsa was son of Bhīmaratha according to the Purāṇas, and son of Sudeva according to the *MBh.*<sup>1</sup> He was called Śatrujit according to two of the Purāṇas,<sup>2</sup> and this name could not have been applied to the Divodāsa of the *MBh.*, as will appear from the narrative following.

All these data are impossible on the supposition that there was only one Divodāsa, and are quite intelligible if we take it there were two Divodāsas, one son of Bhīmaratha and the other son of Sudeva.<sup>3</sup> Hence there would seem to have been two Divodāsas in the Kāśi line, separated by some six or seven kings. That there were intermediate kings is shown by the stray mention of a king Aṣṭāratha, son of Bhīmaratha,<sup>4</sup> during the contest, and the express insertion by the *MBh.* of two kings, Haryaśva and Sudeva.<sup>5</sup> Confusion was easy because of the long dispossession of the Kāśi kings. Collating the various accounts the story may be stated thus: Bhadrāsrenya conquered Vārāṇasī (Benares), and Divodāsa I (son of Bhīmaratha, probably Śatrujit) recovered it from his sons. Then followed a long period, during which the city Vārāṇasī was abandoned and was (it is said) occupied by Rākṣasas. During that time Bhadrāsrenya's successor Durdana reconquered the Kāśi territory, and it seems to have remained under the Haihayas. The six or seven Kāśi successors fought unsuccessfully with the Haihayas,

<sup>1</sup> See passages cited in p. 38, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 17, 6; *Brahma*, 13, 66-7; *Mārkaṇḍ.* 20, 21. Since Pratardana is called Rādhavāja and Kuvalayāśva, *Viṣṇu*, iv, 8 (which calls him Śatrujit also; and so also *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 10), and *Mārkaṇḍ.*, loc. cit.; but the point is not clear, and the confusion is natural if the explanation offered is sound. The *Mārkaṇḍ.* account is largely fable.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing at all improbable in this (see p. 15).

<sup>4</sup> *Brahma*, 13, 71; *Hariv.* 32, 1744.

<sup>5</sup> *MBh.* loc. cit.

and Divodāsa II (son of Sudeva) built a new capital in the extreme east of the territory at the junction of the Ganges and Gomatī. His successor Pratardana (Ṛtadhvaja, Kuvalayāśva) defeated the Vitahavya king and finally recovered the kingdom; he also conquered the Rākṣasas and regained the capital Vārāṇasī.

Divodāsa I would therefore be just posterior to Bhadrāsreṇya, and some further particulars will enable us to fix the position of Pratardana in connexion with the kings of Vidarbha and with Sagara.

Sagara had two wives. Their names are given by the authorities, though not quite in agreement: still, all which give the parentage agree that one of them was Vaidarbhī, or a daughter of Vidarbha,<sup>1</sup> who must be Vidarbha, son of Jyāmagha of the Yādava race. He was therefore just prior to Sagara. In support of this it may be noted further that Vidarbha's descendants reigned in Vidarbha and Cedi,<sup>2</sup> and that Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Virabāhu's son Subāhu, king of Cedi, were contemporaries of Sagara's tenth successor. Ṛtuparna, in the story of Nala.<sup>3</sup> That Bhīma is no doubt Vidarbha's tenth successor Bhīmaratha in the genealogy, and should be equated with Ṛtuparna's father. Hence also Vidarbha's sixth successor Daśārha would be placed just after Bhagiratha.

Alarka, king of Kāśī, appears to have been Pratardana's grandson,<sup>4</sup> and is said to have enjoyed very long life through Lopāmudrā's favour.<sup>5</sup> She was daughter of

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* iii, 106, 8833, 8843-7; *Brahma*, 8, 63-72; *Padma*, v, 8, 144-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 154-8; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4; *Hariv.* 15, 797.

<sup>2</sup> *Agni*, 274, 17-20; *Bhāgav.* ix, 24, 1-4; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 29-32; *Līṅga*, i, 68, 38-43; *Matsya*, 44, 35-41; *Padma*, v, 13, 19-24; *Vāyu*, ii, 33, 36-41.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* iii, 65, 2576; 67, 2634-5; 69, 2705-8; 70, 2766; 73, 2852.

<sup>4</sup> The authorities are not all clear about the exact relationship.

<sup>5</sup> *Brahma*, 11, 53; 13, 74. *Vāyu*, ii, 30, 68. *Hariv.* 29, 1590; 32, 1794.

a Vidarbha king and married Agastya.<sup>1</sup> The king's name is given as Nimi.<sup>2</sup> No Nimi is mentioned in the Vidarbha genealogy, but the names after Vidarbha are not quite clear, and he would seem to have been one of Vidarbha's near successors, because after Daśārha the princesses were called Dāśārhi. Lopānudrā may presumably be equated with Kunti, king of Vidarbha,<sup>3</sup> and Alarka with Dhṛṣṭi. Pratardana therefore would synchronize with Sagara, and he and Sagara, as already mentioned, broke the power of the Tālajaṅgha - Haihayas, and Sagara completed their overthrow.

Something may be done towards fixing the position of the cakravartin Marutta, son of Avikṣit of Diṣṭa's line, and his descendant Tṛṇavindu. It is said that Avikṣit or his father Karandhama lived at the beginning of the Tretā Age,<sup>4</sup> and that Tṛṇavindu lived "at the third mouth of the Tretā age",<sup>5</sup> that is, apparently at the beginning of the third quarter of that age. It is not clear at what stage in the genealogies that age is supposed to have begun. It is said that Rāma Jāmadagnya lived in the Tretā age, and that Rāma Dāśarathi lived in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages.<sup>6</sup> The further statement that Viśvāmitra lived in that same interval<sup>7</sup> is inconsistent with these two, and perhaps we should read "in the interval between the Kṛta and Tretā ages". Such an arrangement of the ages makes a fair division of the genealogies, and without meriting any trust whatever it

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* iii, 96, 8561-97, 8576; iv, 21, 654-5; v, 116, 3971. *Rig-V.* i, 179.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* xiii, 137, 6255. Confused with Nimi, first king of Videha, *ibid.*, 234, 8600, who is genealogically ages apart; and *Videha* is an easy mistake for *Vidarbha*.

<sup>3</sup> The synchronism of this Agastya with kings Śrutarvan, Bradhnaśva, and Paurukutsa Trasadasyu (*MBh.* iii, 98, 8595-608) appears to be a brahmanical addition.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* xiv, 4, 80; *Vāyu*, ii, 24, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Tretā-yuga-mukhe tṛtiye, *Vāyu*, ii, 24, 15.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* xii, 341, 12948-9.

<sup>7</sup> *MBh.* xii, 141, 5331.

may serve as a possible working hypothesis. Marutta then might be placed conjecturally in about the same age as Rāma Jāmadagnya,<sup>1</sup> and Trṇavindu soon after Ambariṣa of the Solar line.

In the Lunar race Matināra's position has been fixed (p. 31). We may next consider the position of Duṣyanta<sup>2</sup> and his son Bharata.

Duṣyanta married Viśvāmitra's daughter Śakuntalā, as is well known. If that Viśvāmitra be the first and great Viśvāmitra, Duṣyanta must be placed alongside Hariścandra or Rohita, and his son Bharata immediately afterwards; but there are arguments against that. There is no indication that Bharata's successors were overthrown by the Haihayas, as they must have been in that case. Bharata had three wives, Vaidarbhī,<sup>3</sup> and Vidarbha's position, as shown, was later. Bharata's second successor, Bhūmanyu, married a daughter (or descendant) of Daśārha,<sup>4</sup> who was much later. These three considerations settle the question, and indeed the first statement is not necessarily in conflict with them, because such names as Viśvāmitra do not always refer to the original rishis, but also denoted their descendants, and produced some confusion in the personalities (see p. 15). The reasonable inferences therefore are that Bhūmanyu married Daśārha's daughter,

<sup>1</sup> In Marutta's time lived two rishis, Bṛhaspati and his younger brother Samivarta, who were rivals. The former declined to be Marutta's priest, so Marutta engaged Samivarta. *MBh.* xii, 29, 910-13; xiv, 5, 95-8, 218; corroborated by vii, 55, 2170-1. *Bhāgav.* ix, 2, 27. *Vāyu.* ii, 24, 9-11. *Āitar. Brāh.* viii, 4, 21. Śaṅkaraśiṣya, on *Rig-V.* vi, 52, makes these two rishis younger brothers of Ucathya (see p. 44); there may have been some relation between these two rishis and the other two, Ucathya and Bṛhaspati, who seem to have been later.

<sup>2</sup> Or Duṣṇanti, as he is sometimes called, e.g. *Śatap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *MBh.* i, 94, 3710-11; *Agni.* 277, 34; *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 34; *Vāyu.* ii, 37, 133. The *Brahma* (13, 58), *Viṣṇu* (iv, 19), and *Hariv.* (32, 1727) support. The single wife in *MBh.* i, 95, 3785, was probably wife of Vitatha, who is omitted there.

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* i, 95, 3786. His fourth successor, Vikunṭhana, also married a later Dāśārhi princess, *ibid.*, 3789.

that Bharata must be placed three or four generations after Vidarbha, and that Śakuntalā's father was a near descendant of the great Viśvāmitra.<sup>1</sup> Bhūmanyu must then be placed soon after Daśārha and contemporary with Nābhāga of the Solar line, Bharata with Dilipa I, and Duśyanta with Amśamat.

This conclusion leaves an immense gap between Matināra and Duśyanta, in which only two or three names occur but there are considerations which corroborate it, surprising though it be at first sight.

The lists show little agreement as to the relation between those two kings, and some of them leave it indefinite. It is obvious that the genealogists were puzzled, and each authority has taken its own method of bridging over the gap. A long period of confusion is what all the information indicates, if it be noted that Pūru had his kingdom in the middle of Madhyadeśa, and that that region has been the battle-ground of contending races at all times. Matināra's kingdom would have been conquered by the cakravartin Śaśavindu from the south-west, and have then undergone a long eclipse under a series of cakravartins, Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā, Śivi son of Usinara in the north-west, Arjuna Kārtavīrya of Māhiṣmatī, Marutta son of Avikṣit of Diṣṭa's line, the Haihaya dominion (with the inroads of the hordes from the north-west), and, lastly, Sagara of Ayodhyā. Duśyanta, as a youth in Sagara's time, might well have deemed his right to the Paurava kingdom hopeless; consequently we may well believe another statement that Marutta, son of Karandhama, in the lineage of Yayāti's son Turvasu,<sup>2</sup> had no son and adopted Duśyanta the Paurava, and that afterwards Duśyanta, desiring his own kingdom, reverted to his own race.<sup>3</sup> He would have

<sup>1</sup> Even so she was still of kṣatriya origin.

<sup>2</sup> Not given in the Table, because it is too brief, and is said to have merged into the Paurava line by this adoption.

<sup>3</sup> *Āgni*. 276, 2; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 17-18; *Brahma*, 13, 143-6; *Maṭṣya*, 48, 2-3; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 2-4; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 16; *Hariv.* 32, 1831-4.

had that opportunity on Sagara's death, and so would be contemporary with Anśumat, for the authorities say that Asamañjas did not succeed his father Sagara. To recover his kingdom he had the help of his adoptive father's realm. Dusyanta thus became in a very real sense what he is called, namely, the *varṇśa-kara* of the Pauravas,<sup>1</sup> and united the sovereignty of two kingdoms.

The story of Bharata opens out other connexions. There were two rishis of Anḡiras' race, Ucathya and his younger brother Br̥haspati. Ucathya's wife was Mamatā, and their son was Dirghatamas, who was born blind. Bharadvāja was Br̥haspati's son, begotten by him (it is said) of the same Mamatā.<sup>2</sup> Dirghatamas, after he had grown up, was set adrift in the Ganges, and was carried down to Bali's<sup>3</sup> kingdom in the east. There he was rescued and begot of the queen, at Bali's desire, Anḡa and four other sons.<sup>4</sup> That there was such a blind rishi Dirghatamas, who was son of Ucathya and Mamatā, and was rescued from perishing in the rivers, is clear from the *R̥g-Veda*.<sup>5</sup> Bharadvāja's personality is not quite so clear, because on the one hand Bharadvāja, the eldest son of Br̥haspati, is made contemporary with Divodāsa II of Kāśī,<sup>6</sup> and on the other hand he is brought into connexion with Bharata at

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* i, 68, 2801.

<sup>2</sup> He is called *Dryāmuṣyāyana*, *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 38 9; *Matsya*, 49, 33; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 153.

<sup>3</sup> He must be distinguished from Bali, son of Virocana, the Daitya.

<sup>4</sup> The story is told in various ways, and Ucathya's name is given as Utathya, Uśija, Aśija, and Asija. *MBh.* i, 104, 4179-221; ii, 20, 802; xii, 343, 13177-84. *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 36 9; 21, 4-5. *Matsya*, 48, 24-84; 49, 17-26. *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 37-92, 137 46. *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. *Hariv.* 31, 1689-93. Śaḡguruśiṣya on *R̥g-V.* vi, 52, and 1. 116. *Bṛhaddevatā*, iv, 11-15, 21-5. Cf. p. 42, n. 1. Dirghatamas is said to have gained his sight in later life (*MBh.* xii; *Matsya*; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, loc. cit.). If a natural explanation may be suggested, it is that he was not totally blind, but purblind, or extremely short-sighted, when young, and that his sight improved in old age, as often happens in such cases.

<sup>5</sup> i, 147, 3; 158, 3-6; iv, 4, 13; and perhaps, i, 152, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* xiii, 30, 1962-3; see also *Sarvānuḡkramanī*, introduction to *R̥g-V.* vi, for his patronymic.

the close of Bharata's life. Thus some accounts say that Bharata lost all his sons, and Bharadvāja was then brought to him and became his son as King Vitatha<sup>1</sup>; and other accounts say Bharadvāja sacrificed for Bharata, and then a son Vitatha was born from Bharadvāja.<sup>2</sup> The latter version is preferable, because (1) some of the former authorities corroborate it, and discredit their own story by adding that Bharata died when Vitatha was born<sup>3</sup>; and (2) Dirghatamas inaugurated Bharata with the *mahābhīṣeka*,<sup>4</sup> so that Bharadvāja could not have been a child at the end of Bharata's life.<sup>5</sup> It is credible that Dirghatamas and Bharadvāja were brothers or cousins<sup>6</sup>; and if we accept the above equation of Bharadvāja and Divodāsa II, the inference would be that both those rishis were younger contemporaries of Divodāsa II, that Dirghatamas, who lived to a great age,<sup>7</sup> inaugurated Bharata,

<sup>1</sup> *Agni*, 277. 7-8; *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 34-9; *Matsya*, 49, 14-15, 27-32; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 147-53; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19. Śaṅkaraśiṣya on *Rig-V.* vi, 31, say. Subotma, etc., were Bharadvāja's sons, but according to the genealogies they were his great-great-grandsons.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma*, 13, 58-60; *Hariv.* 32, 1729-31; *MBh.* i, 94, 3710-13, which calls the son Bhūmanyu.

<sup>3</sup> *Matsya*, 49, 34; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 154. The accounts and other statements leave no doubt that brahman paternity was introduced at this period. In fact, it is stated that Bharadvāja's descendants comprised both brahman- and kṣatriyas, *Matsya*, 49, 33. Similar cases occurred: thus a Vasiṣṭha begot King Āsmaka of Kalmāṣapāda's queen in the Solar dynasty. *MBh.* i, 122, 4736-7; 177, 6787-91; *Bhāgav.* ix, 9, 18, 38-9; *Kūrma*, i, 21, 12-13; *Līnga*, i, 66, 27-8; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 176.

<sup>4</sup> *Āitar. Brāh.* viii, 4, 23; and was his priest, *Bhāgav.* ix, 20, 25.

<sup>5</sup> The confusion of Bharadvāja and Vitatha no doubt arose because Bharadvāja was called Vidathin, *Brhadde.* v, 102-3.

<sup>6</sup> The accounts are supported to some extent by the *Rig-V.* because Vaidathina (that is, Bharadvāja's son or more probably descendant), Rjśivan (*Rig-V.* iv, 16, 13; and compare vi, 50, 15 and 51, 12 with the *Sarvānukramanī*, which attributes these hymns to Rjśivan) is even called Auśija (x, 99, 11), which was the metronymic of Kākṣīvat, son of Dirghatamas (i, 18, 1; *Sarvānukramanī* on i, 116). Kākṣīvat is mentioned in the passages cited from *MBh.* i, *Matsya*, and *Vāyu* in p. 44, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Rig-V.* i, 158, 6.

and that that Bharadvāja,<sup>1</sup> or his son, begot Vitatha at the end of Bharata's life.

The position of Ajamīdha of the Lunar race, from whom sprang both the North and South Pañcāla dynasties, is important. I have not found any data to fix it directly, but something is possible indirectly. If, using the more complete Solar line as a measuring scale, we reckon the generations on from Bharata, Ajamīdha should fall at or soon after R̥tuparna's time; and if we continue the reckoning down the North Pañcāla line, Śr̥ṇjaya should fall about the time of Daśaratha and Rāma, and here we do reach synchronisms which confirm the reckoning. There are synchronisms between several lines at this stage.

With Daśaratha were contemporary Siradhvaja Janaka of Videha (the father of Sītā), Lomapāda of Aṅga,<sup>2</sup> and Pramati, king of Vaiśālī.<sup>3</sup>

There is a story connecting Rāma and his brother Śatrughna with the Yādava dynasty,<sup>4</sup> and it is so strange at first sight as hardly to merit attention, but other allusions support incidents in it, and it explains certain important territorial facts. Madhu, called king of the Dānavas in it, was clearly a descendant of Yayāti's son Yadu,<sup>5</sup> and is obviously the Madhu in the Yādava list. According to the story, Madhu's kingdom, that is, the Yādava territory, stretched from Gujarat to the forest Madhuvana on the Yamunā: his fourth descendant was Sattvata, and Sattvata's son Bhīma was reigning at the same time as Rāma; Śatrughna killed the local prince Lavaṇa, felled the forest, and built Mathurā (the modern Muttra) on its site; after Rāma's death Bhīma recovered

<sup>1</sup> "Bharadvāja" was the longest-lived rishi, *Āitar. Āraṇ.* I, ii, 2, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* iii, 110, 10008-9; *Rāmāy.* i, 11, 13-20; *Bhāgar.* ix, 23, 7-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāmāy.* i, 47, 17, which calls him Sumati; compared with the other authorities for Diṣṭa's line, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Hariv.* 94, 5142-95, 5257; and 55, 3060-3104. The *Rāmāy.* tells a similar story (*Uttara-k.* 64, 68-70, 108), but amplifies and brahmanizes it.

<sup>5</sup> *Hariv.* 94, 5164 (see p. 19, n. 6).

the city and dwelt there, and his son Andhaka reigned there when Rāma's son Kuśa was reigning in Kosala. Now some of the Purāṇas also assert that Śatrughna killed the Mādhava Lavaṇa, took Madhuvana, and established Mathurā there, and they add that his sons Subāhu and Śūrasena guarded the city.<sup>1</sup> Further, the story explains, first, how the country, of which Mathurā was the capital, was called Śūrasena, for both Śūrasena's name and also the name of the city Mathurā remained, though the Yādavas recovered the sovereignty soon afterwards: and, secondly, how it was that Kamsa, a Yādava and descendant of Andhaka, reigned there in the Pāṇḍavas' time—a collocation of facts of which there is no other explanation. The story appears, therefore, to contain historical truth.

That king Bhīma is not named in the genealogies, but as son of Sātvata (Satvat) appears as Sātṽata in them. They and the story concur in making Andhaka grandson of Satvat, and fairly agree in placing him six or eight steps below Madhu. We may therefore equate the Yādava Satvat with Daśaratha, Sātṽata with Rāma, and Andhaka with Kuśa; and Madhu then would be placed about equal with Śataratha in the Solar line.

Further, another son of Sātṽata, named Bhajamāna, married one or two daughters of Śrījaya,<sup>2</sup> who cannot well be any other than the king of North Pañcāla. Śrījaya was thus a contemporary of Sātṽata, and therefore of Rāma, and this confirms his position as calculated above, and consequently Ajamidha must be placed with, or just after, Rūpama. In agreement with this is the statement that King Śatadyumna (probably king No. 66 of Videha)

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 11, 13-14; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 184-5; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4. The *Garuḍa* (i, 138, 38) names the sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Brahma*, 15, 32; *Līṅga*, i, 69, 3; *Matsya*, 44, 49-50; *Padma*, v, 13, 33; *Vāyu*, ii, 34, 3; *Hariv.* 38, 2201; perhaps *Kūrma*, i, 24, 37. The *Vāyu* (ibid. 4) adds that Bhajamāna's son married two daughters (grand-daughters) of Śrījaya, who were his cousins.

gave wealth to Mudgala or (more probably) Maudgalya,<sup>1</sup> that is, one of the Maudgalya brahmanas descended from Mudgala the Pañcāla.<sup>2</sup> Śrñjaya's position serves to fix those of Divodāsa and Sudāsa (Sudās), who are so often mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*.<sup>3</sup>

Śrñjaya places us in the middle of the "Pañcālas". This name began, as all the authorities say, with the jocular boast of a king, whose name is given variously as Bharmya, Bharmyāśva, Bāhyāśva. etc., but was really Bhrmyāśva. He had five sons, Mudgala, etc., and said, "My five (*pañca*) sons are sufficient (*alam*) for protecting five kingdoms."<sup>4</sup> The accounts imply that the words *pañca* + *alam* caught the fancy, and the new name Pañcāla gradually debased and superseded the name Krivi, which was the old name of the people or country.<sup>5</sup> These Pañcālas flourished till Somaka and his son Jantu, then (the accounts say) there were great reverses and the dynasty fell into insignificance (that is, there is a gap) till Pr̥ṣata's time,<sup>6</sup> and that was caused by the rise again of the Lunar dynasty under Kuru, as will be explained.

The positions of Rkṣa I, Samvarana, and Kuru may be

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* xii, 234, 8606; xiii, 137, 6265.

<sup>2</sup> See passages cited for the genealogy, p. 21, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 21, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Agni*, 277, 19-20; *Bhāgu*, ix, 21, 31-4; 22, 3; *Brahma*, 13, 94 6; *Matya*, 50, 2-4; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 190 3; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1778-80; Śaṅguruṣiṅya on *Rig-V.* x, 102. Very many derivations or explanations of names in the literature are fanciful, but this explanation is such as may be genuine, for the name Pañcāla certainly superseded Krivi.

<sup>5</sup> *Rig-V.* ii, 22, 2; *Śatap. Brāh.* XIII, v, 4, 7. It is implied in the latter passage that both names were current for a time, Pañcāla being the kṣatriya name and Krivi the vulgar one. In the Epics and Purāṇas, therefore, Pañcāla is always used, and I have not met with Krivi there. On the identity of Krivi and Pañcāla, see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1st German ed., 409; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 102 seq.

<sup>6</sup> In the last part of this gap may be placed Duṣtarita Paurisāyana, king of the Śrñjayas, because he was contemporary with Balhika Prātīpiya, the Kauravya king (*Śatap. Brāh.* XII, ix, 3, 1-13), that is, the Kaurava Vāhlika, son of Pratīpa and brother of Śantanu, who is often mentioned in the *MBh.* (e.g. v, 148, 5053-5; vii, 157, 6931-4). See *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 320.

fixed approximately. Samvarana was driven out of his kingdom by the Pañcālas, and took refuge in a fastness near the River Sindhu many years; at length Vasiṣṭha (that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family) came to him and became his priest, and encouraged by his aid Samvarana recovered his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> As the Pañcālas began with Mudgala, the dispossession was posterior to Mudgala, and it seems, further, that event could not have taken place before Divodāsa's time, because Indrota Ātithigva (Divodāsa's son presumably) was apparently on friendly terms with Rkṣa's son.<sup>2</sup> Thus Rkṣa would be contemporary with Divodāsa.

The dispossession would seem to have been effected by Sudāsa (Sudās). A hymn in the *Rig-Veda* shows he had wars and extended his territory.<sup>3</sup> His great battle with the ten kings<sup>4</sup> was probably connected in some way with the dispossession. It was fought near the Parusnī (the modern Ravi),<sup>5</sup> and he could not have got there from North Pañcāla without passing over the Lunar kingdom, and as the Bharatas (that is, the Lunar dynasty<sup>6</sup>) were against him, he had presumably conquered it. His conquests evidently stirred up the tribes to the west against him, namely, the Yādva (the Yādava king of Mathurā, see p. 47), the Śivas (Sivis) who were Ānavas (see pp. 24, 31), Druhyus (Gāndhāras, who were descended from Druhyu<sup>7</sup>), Matsyas (to the west of Mathurā), Turvaśa (some tribal king

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* i, 94, 3727-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Rig-V.* viii, 68 [57], 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Rig-V.* vii, 20, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Rig-V.* vii, 18; 19, 3, 6, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Rig-V.* vii, 18, 8-9. If we might identify Śrutarvan Ārkṣa with Samvarana Ārkṣa, *Rig-V.* viii, 74 might have been composed on the Parusnī during the exile. That river was among the Madras or Kaikeyas, who were descended from Anu (see pp. 31-2), hence Agni there might well be called Ānava (*ibid.* 4).

<sup>6</sup> *MBh.* i, 95, 3785; or Bhāratas, *MBh.* i, 94, 3709; *Brahma*, 13, 57; *Matsya*, 49, 11. Samvarana is called Bhārata, *MBh.* i, 94, 3731.

<sup>7</sup> *Agni*, 276, 4; *Bhāgav.* ix, 23, 14-15; *Brahma*, 13, 146-51; *Garuḍa*, i, 139, 64; *Matsya*, 48, 6-7; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 7-9; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 17; *Hṛiv.* 32, 1837-40.

descended from Turvaśa, that is, Turvasu ; probably on his north-west), and other small clans. Further, "old Kavaśa" was drowned at the battle.<sup>1</sup> Now a rishi named Tura inaugurated Janamejaya Pārikṣita (that is, Saṁvarana's great-grandson) with the *mahābhīṣka*, and his father was Kavaśa, who might well have been contemporary with Saṁvarana.<sup>2</sup> There need be no hesitation in identifying these two Kavaśas, for "old Kavaśa" was on the side opposed to Sudās, that is, on Saṁvarana's side, and Kavaśa's son inaugurated Saṁvarana's great-grandson.

The dispossession would appear to have lasted through Sahadeva's reign<sup>3</sup> into Somaka's, for Somaka performed sacrifices on the Yamunā,<sup>4</sup> and he could not have done that unless his territory extended there. Saṁvarana would seem to have recovered his kingdom in the early part of Somaka's reign, for several reasons. First, this Pañcāla dynasty suffered serious reverses during Somaka's and his son Jantu's time (see p. 48). Secondly, all the hymns in Sudās' praise are by Vasiṣṭha, that is, one of the Vasiṣṭha family.<sup>5</sup> There is only one<sup>6</sup> in praise of Somaka when he was a young prince, and this fact deserves to be compared with the statement (p. 49) that Vasiṣṭha went to Saṁvarana and helped him to regain his kingdom. It would seem that some strong reason must have moved Vasiṣṭha to forsake Somaka and espouse Saṁvarana's cause. His behaviour suggests vengeance, and may be ascribed to the statement that his sons were killed by Sudās' descendants.<sup>7</sup> Thirdly, this last inference helps to

<sup>1</sup> *Rig-V.* vii, 18, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ait. Brāh.* ii, 3, 19 ; vii, 5, 34 ; viii, 1, 21.

<sup>3</sup> His race and kingdom were prosperous (*Śatap. Brāh.* II, iv, 4, 4-5).

<sup>4</sup> *MBh.* iii, 125, 10421-2.

<sup>5</sup> He also inaugurated Sudās (*Ait. Brāh.* viii, 1, 21).

<sup>6</sup> *Rig-V.* iv, 15 ; where Somaka is mentioned as *kumāraḥ Sāhadevyaḥ* (verses 7-10), "the youth, the son of Sahadeva."

<sup>7</sup> *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi, 28 (which obviously refers to this Vasiṣṭha). The word is *Saudāsaiḥ*, which means the sons or grandsons of Sudās, and thus undoubtedly includes Somaka. See other passages cited in Muir's

explain the story that Somaka sacrificed his first son Jantu in order to obtain more sons,<sup>1</sup> for the ṛtvij who performed such a barbarous magical rite could not have been Vasiṣṭha, nor had his approval.<sup>2</sup>

For all these reasons Samvaraṇa may be placed alongside Sudāsa or Sahadeva, and Kuru beside Somaka or Jantu. Kuru had a numerous progeny. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and pushed his rule beyond Prayāga (Allahabad),<sup>3</sup> which implies he overcame Pañcāla. His waxing meant the waning of the Pañcālas.

These conclusions leave a considerable gap between Ajamiḍha and Rkṣa, and between Rkṣa and Samvaraṇa. That there was a long combined gap is implied by some of the authorities, for they even go so far as to say that Ajamiḍha was reborn as Somaka and begot Rkṣa,<sup>4</sup> thus virtually placing Rkṣa after Somaka, and implying that the rise of the Kauravas and the decline of the North Pañcālas were connected. The gap from Ajamiḍha to Samvaraṇa marks the eclipse of the Lunar dynasty during the dominance of North Pañcāla just as the gap from Jantu to Pṛṣata marks the reverse.<sup>5</sup>

Vasu Caidyoparicara founded new Cedi and Magadha dynasties (see p. 22). He was fifth in descent from Kuru according to the genealogies, and was later therefore than Janamejaya II Pāriṁṣita. He may be placed three or four

Sanskrit Texts, i, 114, etc., where, however, this Sudāsa is classed with a different and earlier king Sudāsa, No. 53 of the Solar line in the Table. See also n. 2 below.

<sup>1</sup> *MBh.* iii, 127, 10486–128, 10495; *Matsya*, 50, 16; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 204.

<sup>2</sup> It may have been this ṛtvij who called this Vasiṣṭha a Yātudhāna (*Rig-V.* vii, 104, 15), and so moved him to compose that hymn.

<sup>3</sup> *Agni*, 277, 26; *Bhāgar.* ix, 22, 4; *Brahma*, 13, 106–7; *Matsya*, 50, 20–2; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 209–12; *Vāyu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 32, 1800–1.

<sup>4</sup> *Matsya*, 50, 15–19; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 203–9; *Hariv.* 32, 1792, 1795–9. See *Brahma*, 13, 99–100.

<sup>5</sup> The Kurus and both branches of the Pañcālas were of the same stock (see p. 21). They are not particularly linked together in the *MBh.* or *Purāṇas*, and the double compound found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, etc., refers to a later period—after the great battle.

steps lower. This agrees with the story that Yayāti's chariot which had belonged to Pūru and his descendants passed from that Janamejaya to Vasu.<sup>1</sup>

Ayutanāyin of the Lunar dynasty married a daughter of Prthuśravas.<sup>2</sup> He seems (though misplaced in the *MBh.*) to be the same as Ayutāyus, and Prthuśravas may perhaps be Prthu of the South Pañcala line.

In the concluding portion of the Lunar and Pañcāla dynasties and Dvimīḍha's line are a number of synchronisms. Kṛta of Dvimīḍha's line was a disciple and therefore a younger contemporary of Hiranyanābha, king of Kosala.<sup>3</sup> Brahmadata of South Pañcāla and Pratipa of the Lunar dynasty were contemporaries.<sup>4</sup> Ugrāyudha, whose name follows Kṛta's, killed Janamejaya Durbuddhi and all the Nipa princes of South Pañcāla,<sup>5</sup> and also Prṣata's father or grandfather, Nipa or Nila, of North Pañcāla<sup>6</sup>; and Bhīṣma killed him after Śantanu's death.<sup>7</sup> Hence Ugrāyudha was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya and Śantanu, and an earlier contemporary of Bhīṣma. These synchronisms bring out some interesting points. Ugrāyudha is called son of Kṛta, but it is plain there is a gap of four or five steps between them. Again, Pratipa's position contemporary with Brahmadata, and Śantanu's position contemporary with Brahmadata's third successor, show there must be a small gap of one or two steps between Pratipa and Śantanu. No such gap is

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma*, 12, 6-16; *Vāyu*, ii, 31, 18-27; *Hariv.* 30, 1605-16. The descent of Śantanu's queen, Satyavatī, from Vasu is a mere fable, chronologically impossible.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.* i, 95, 3774.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhāgav.* ix, 12, 3 4; 21, 28-9; *Matsya*, 49, 75-6; *Vāyu*, ii, 26, 205-6; 37, 185-6; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 4 and 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1080-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Hariv.* 20, 1047-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Matsya*, 49, 59; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 177; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1071-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Matsya*, 49, 77-8; *Vāyu*, ii, 37, 186-7; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 19; *Hariv.* 20, 1083, 1086.

<sup>7</sup> *MBh.* xii, 27, 808 *Hariv.* 20, 1073, 1085-1110. Śantanu is generally called Śāntanu in the *MBh.* and *Purāṇas*.

hinted at anywhere in the *MBh.* or *Purāṇas*, yet it is proved by the *Rig-Veda*, for all accounts agree that Devāpi was Śantanu's eldest brother,<sup>1</sup> and Devāpi calls himself Ārṣṭiṣeṇa.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, therefore, Rṣṭiṣeṇa must be inserted.

The other contemporaries at the end are too well known to need notice. They are discussed in my paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas".<sup>3</sup>

I have now dealt with all the material synchronisms that I have been able to discover, and it will be seen that they do not all come from one kind of authority, or even from one possible source, but have been collected out of all kinds of books, from the *Rig-Veda* to the *Raghuvamśa*, and from various accounts and stories. Many of the narratives noticed have so little in common that the points of agreement which they show in these details are unquestionably undesigned coincidences. As a corroboration of these results it may be pointed out that the positions of the cakravartins (see p. 30) in the Table turn out to be such that they do not clash with one another. Other allusions occur but have not been noticed (so as not to encumber this article), because they are not clear enough to be of any value, or merely corroborate these conclusions, or are stray and unsupported, or belong to brahmanical stories, which (as already explained, p. 13) cannot be accepted without corroboration, even if they are not deemed pious fabrications.<sup>4</sup> It may seem that the grounds for the synchronisms are not conclusive. I may admit

<sup>1</sup> *Nirukta*, ii, 10; *Bṛhadl.* vii, 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Rig-V.* x, 98, 5, 6, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.* 1908, p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. the account of the transmission of knowledge about soma-drinking from one king to another in *Āitar. Brāh.* vii, 5, 34, is chronologically erroneous. Similarly the story of the descent of the sword in *MBh.* xii, 166, 6192-6201 is hopelessly confused. The brahmins who composed the theological and didactic literature knew little about ancient kṣatriya history, and no wonder, when all knowledge rested on memory alone.

this, and add that conclusive proof for such ancient times is generally impossible; indeed, certain inconsistent passages have been referred to in the notes. All that is possible is to collate the data regarding a synchronism, and draw the conclusions which satisfy them, or the greater number of them. Each set of data must be dealt with by itself in the first instance, yet, as the genealogies are not isolated but have many points of connexion, the conclusion regarding one synchronism must be tested and should harmonize with those regarding others. The data may be viewed in ways different from that in which they have been now presented, and different inferences drawn; and, in fact, many such inferences were formed and rejected, because further consideration showed that they did not agree with other conditions which were related to them. The synchronisms must be considered both singly and collectively, and if according to the conclusions now put forward all the genealogies fit in together and corroborate one another, the resulting harmony supplies cogent cumulative evidence in favour of the scheme presented, both as regards particulars and also generally.

Nearly all the genealogical lists terminate with the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Some mention a few generations more in certain cases, or give lists of the kings who should reign in certain dynasties after that event. But in all genealogical matters the great battle constitutes a notable *terminus ad quem*, as if a period of considerable prosperity, knowledge, and refinement was succeeded by one of disorganization and darkness. Whatever the cause may have been, that event was an undoubted epoch, and may be taken as an era, so that in dealing with these genealogies chronologically we may reckon backwards *ante bellum*.

The question suggests itself, what may be the chronological import of these genealogies? In forming an estimate of time the average which may be taken for

the duration of reigns in India depends partly on the length of the dynasty. It may be twenty years (or even more) in short dynasties, but to adopt a lower average would be prudent when the list of kings is very long, because their length neutralizes special conditions that may affect short periods.<sup>1</sup> Hence fifteen years per reign would be a safer estimate. It must be noted that any such average applied to these lists means a smaller average in reality, because we must allow for the fact that the lists and even the long Solar list, are not exhaustive (see p. 7), and that the number of kings should be increased somewhat to compensate for omissions. If it be supposed there is only one omission to every seven kings named in the lists (which is surely a moderate supposition), and the average be adjusted accordingly, an average of fifteen years becomes one of about thirteen years. This appears to be a reasonable ratio, because fifty-five early kings of Ceylon reigned altogether 601 years, that is, with an average of eleven years<sup>2</sup>; but that average is unduly lowered by the fact that the number of insignificant kings is almost one in every three. If that average be adopted for the present purpose it would be proper to increase the number of kings in the same proportion. Taking then the lists as they stand, fifteen years per reign seems a reasonable and even moderate estimate. The only list which spans the entire period is the Solar list, and that contains ninety-three names from Ikṣvāku to the great battle. The entire duration then would be not less than 1400 years. Māndhātṛ would be placed about eleven centuries before that battle; Sagara, Bharata, and Bhagīratha in the eighth century; Rāma Dāśarathi in the middle of the fifth century; and the Pañcāla kings, Divodāsa to

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hoernle for advice on this matter.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet's list, Nos. 7-54, JRAS., 1909, p. 350.

Somaka, during the fifth and fourth centuries before that battle.

Duncker in his *History of Antiquity* (vol. iv, pp. 74-7) gives four calculations for the beginning of the Kali age, that is, approximately for the date of the great battle, viz., 1300, 1175, 1200, and 1418 B.C. They are probably excessive, because his calculation amounts to the rate of twenty-five years per reign. If his calculations be revised, allowing fifteen years per reign, and the average date be taken, it becomes about 1100 B.C. It is no part of this paper to fix that date, but if we assume that the battle occurred about 1000 B.C., Āyus, Nahuṣa, and Yayāti, who are alluded to in the *Rig-Veda*, would be placed not later than some twenty-three centuries B.C. The Āryan immigration would be earlier still. The civilization of Babylonia and Egypt goes back to 5000 B.C., or earlier. Is it likely that India, which was in no way inferior to those countries in geographical and climatic conditions, was a land of no account till several thousands of years later?

## II

### THE AHUNA-VAIRYA FROM YASNA XXVII, 13, WITH ITS PAHLAVI AND SANSKRIT TRANSLATIONS

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

I. The text of the *Ahuna* is as follows :—

*Yathā ahū vairiyo athā ratuš asātēit hačā,  
vanhēuš dazdā mananhō, syaoθnanām vanhēuš Mazdāi.  
χšθremčā Ahurēi ā yim drigubhyo dadat vāstārem.*

II. This may be translated thus :—

As the *Ahū* (is) to be (revered and) chosen,  
so (let) the *Ratu* (be) from (all) correct legality,  
A creator of mental goodness,  
and of life's actions done for *Mazda*;  
And the Kingdom (is) to Ahura,—whom (the *Ahū*, or  
*Ratu*)

He has appointed as nourisher to the poor.

The *Ahuna-Vairya* was so distinguished by the later use which was made of it that it became a formula of unusual moral and ritualistic importance---indeed, more so than, upon our first glance upon it, we should, the most of us, think that it deserved. But, though bearing unmistakable traces of being somewhat artificially constructed, both in its metre and contents, upon closer study the little group of words seems well worthy of its parentage, for it is a succinct cipher of that remarkable manifestation of the moral idea which, as the one point of Zoroastrianism, must have had enormous influence during successive generations among the inhabitants of Mid-Asia. The Pahlavi form of the name *Ahunaver* is but a contraction of *Ahuna-Vairya*,—the nasal *n* having intruded from the nasal *m* of an accusative *ahūm*, or else from mere euphony.

III. As experts will at once observe, the *Ahuna* preserves the *metre* of the *Gātha Ahunavaiti*, which *Gātha*, though largely the original of both the substance and metre of this brief piece, yet curiously derives its name from its own offspring;—that is to say, the *Gātha* from which these lines were collected bears their name, and is called *Ahunavaiti*, i.e. “having the *Ahuna*”, probably referring to the accidental position of this formula in the usual fixed course of the *Yasna* recital, as part of a liturgy.

IV. *The Sources of the Ahunavēr*, as already implied, must naturally be looked for in the *Gātha*, as it is a general opinion that the *Ahunavēr* is, next after the *Gātha*, with its companion pieces, the *Ašēm Vohu* and the *Airyēmā išyō*,<sup>1</sup> one of the oldest documents of the Avesta, standing so closely associated with its original, both as to its name and contents.<sup>2</sup> In glancing over these Gathic originals of it, we are first struck with Yasna XXIX, 6, *nōit aēvā ahū vīstō, naēda ratuš ašātēit hača . . .* “Not a single secular (?) official, *ahū*, has been found (for us), nor a priestly chief (*ratu*) (moved) from his sanctity,”—which was obviously the motive to our *Yaθā ahū vairiyo, taθā ratuš ašātēit hača* of line *a*; see above, while we recall also Yasna XXIX, 2, in this connexion: see also Yasna XXXIII, 1, *yaθā āiš iθā var(e)šaitē . . . ratuš syuθnā raz ištā dreyvataēā*, etc.—this, of an expected leading moral-religious chief. “As in accordance with these (laws), so shall he act, (the laws) which were those of the world primeval;—as a *Ratu* he will do deeds most just . . . (see *ašātēit hača* of the *Ahuna* above) towards the wicked as towards the righteous . . .” *Vairiyo* seems suggested by the *vairyam*

<sup>1</sup> And the *yeu'hē (yahya) hātām*.

<sup>2</sup> It may possibly have been put together by some priestly author at a later age; but such conscious imitative construction is, on the whole, not so probable, and would not have occurred to any sacerdotal writer of a much later age.

of Yasna LI, 1, apparently only written *vairīm*,<sup>1</sup> where, however, the particular idea is not "appointment". Yet, notwithstanding this, and from no obscure reason, the word *vairyō* remained predominantly in vogue; see also *vairīm* at Yasna XXXIV, 14 (so again only thus apparently spelt; for it again equals *vairyam*, and its sense is again "desirable").

For *vanhēuš dazdā manvāho*, "the establisher of a good intention," we may compare *kasnā-vanhēuš dāmīš manavāhō*, "who, indeed, is the Creator of the sincere mind" (that is, of the sincerely minded man), Yasna XLIV, 4; *syaoθnāuīm vanhēuš* = "of the actions of life" finds its original in *vanhēuš ahurem syaoθnāušē* (Yasna XXXI, 8), "Lord in the actions of life," which last also throws still further light upon our *ahā* here as designating a sacred official person; this *ahurem* of Yasna XXXI, 8, at the same time also saves us, with this *vanhēuš*, from such a slip as the rendering of the Av. *vanhēuš* = "life", of the *Ahuna* here, in the same sense as this *ahā* = "Lord" in the *Ahuna*, line *a*, for, as we see, *vanhēuš* and *ahurem* occur as related only, and not as identical, in Yasna XXXI, 8; if *vanhēuš* means of "life" there so it must here, in its dependent passage, while it is *ahurem* which alone means "Lord" at Yasna XXXI, 8. See below upon the Pahlavi; see also *yā-syaoθnasčā* (Yasna XXXI, 16); and *yē hōi maniyū syaoθanāisčā urvaθō*, "who is His friend in spirit and in deeds" (Yasna XXXI, 21), etc.

*Mazdāi*, as the objective of the good deeds, also finds its origin and its warrant in "the actions of life" just cited; see also Yasna XXXI, 1, *yōi zarzdāo anhen mazdāi* = "who are heart-devoted to Mazda", while the *mazdā tavā xšaθrem* . . . , of Yasna LIII, 9, is almost inseparable from our *mazdāi xš. ahurāi ā*, here, as also

<sup>1</sup> This *i* is Pahlavi-Avesta *y* with its inherent vowel *a* = *ya*; see ZDMG., 1893, Heft iii, of October, 1898, Heft iii, and of 1901, Heft ii, etc. The supposed *-im* is *-yam* as in numbers of cases.

from its most significant accompaniment *yim drigubhyō dadat vāstārem* = "whom he will establish as a nurturer of the poor" (fancy this as the first attribute of a political ruler!). For both the signal passages upon which our *Mazdāi* . . . *ahurāi ā*, "'and' the Kingdom is to Ahura," is based have this deeply and urgently practical connexion; see them at Yasna XXXIV, 5, which reads, *kat vē xšaθrem; kā īštīš syuoθnāiš yaθā vāo ahmī ašā vohū mananhā θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākem* . . . "What is your kingdom? What your (sovereign) desire, that in my actions I may be yours (or 'follow You'), with *Aša* ('the Truth-Law') and the Good Mind (Benevolence) to nourish your poor . . ."; and at Yasna LIII, 9 (see above), which is perhaps even more directly related to our passage, we read *at Mazdā tarā xšaθrem yā erež(e)joi dākī driguore vahyō* . . . "Yea, *Mazda*, Thine is the kingdom by which Thou wilt give the better (thing, the *summum bonum*) to the right-living poor." All three of these signal passages, which so conspicuously mention "Thine is the kingdom", also base that sovereign authority upon "care for the afflicted".

Some writers might here gather up the later allusions to the terms of the *Ahunaver*, but it is obviously better to separate the sources, and even the more immediately established facts, from the results,<sup>1</sup> as to which latter see such sentences as are indicated in the dictionaries.

It will be now best, before more closely discussing the Avesta text of the *Ahunaver* in detail, to examine once for all what our earliest predecessors in exegesis have left for our consideration.

This is found in the *Pahlavi* and *Sanskrit* translations, with such fragments of the *Persian* as may be collected

<sup>1</sup> See Yasna XXVII, 1, *dazdyāi ahūmēa ratūmēa*, Visp. XI, 21, *dademahī ahūmēa ratūmēa*. See the name itself, *Ahuna-vairya*, used as sacrosanct, and like the "Word of God", which was the "Sword of the Spirit"; so in the Temptation of *Zarathuštra*, so in the *Hōm-Yast* and in the *Srōš Yast*, in Yasna XIX and elsewhere.

from Yasna XIX, for I do not find any *Persian* of the *Ahunaver* in my MS. of this Yasna XXVII.

V. The *Pahlavi* text of the *Ahunaver*, Yasna XXVII, is as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

(a) Čēgōn aχū' kāmāk ; [čēgōn Aūharmazd kāmāk], aētōn' ratīhā [va aētōn' frārūnīhā] min aharāyih [kār va kirfak] čīgāmčāi ; [kār va kirfak aētōn' frārūnīhā kārtaŋ čēgōn Aūharmazd kāmāk],

(b) zīš (or "zak as"?) Vah'man' dahesn', [aēy zag mīzd (va) pat'dahesn' ī Vah'man' yehabūnēt aē valā yehabūnēt man'] buyen aχvān' kūnesn' ī Aūharmazd, [aē zag vebedūnyēn (ī) Aūharmazd avēyad. Aīt man' aētōn' yemalcūnēt aē zīš (or "zag as") av' Aūharmazd dahesn' aē zag mīzd va pat'dahesn' av' Vah'man' yehabūnd aē valā al yehabūnd. Aīt man' aētōn' yemalcūnēt aē ; zīš (zagas?) parau Vah'man' dahesn' aē zag mīzd (vā) pat'dahesn' parau Vah'man' barā yehabūnd aē valā yehabūnd. Aē Atar'pāt ī Zartūšt av' gūft : aēy min aχvān' kūnesn-kār buyen xavūtūnd] ;

(c) xvatāiyih (or "xvatāi as") m' Aūharmazd, [aēy as xvatāiyih aētōn' parau sūt ī Aūharmazd šayad yehavūnēt(-ūnt)] man' val daryōšān' yehabūnēt vastary [aēy šān datakgobih vebedūnyēn].

*Criticism upon the Pahlavi Text.* [The remark of one writer to the effect that this Pahlavi text is *verdorben* I cannot admit, as it is not any more in that condition than most of these traditional expositions. It would not be critical to expect perfection in it, ignoring the obvious fact that, like its fellows, it must have been rewritten repeatedly in the course of the many centuries of its existence ; I find myself, on the contrary, fairly grateful that we have such texts as lie before us. Not a single word here fails to report a correct root-idea, while the failures as to grammatical form are only up to a fair

<sup>1</sup> A provisional text at this date, but probably little to be improved upon.

average of what might be expected; and every one of these errors is, when detected, of value to put us well upon our guard against a confidence which might be otherwise too unreserved.]

As will be seen below, I regard the adverbial form *ratihā* as the correct text as against a supposed *rat haē*, which latter ignores the alternative *dastbarihā* in other passages of the Yasna Commentary; and this alternative form cannot well possibly be deciphered as *dast'bar haē* = "the dastoor should be"; so of *frārānīha* in the third gloss—*frārān haē* would look jejune, though it gives a glibber flow; but, owing to the artificial form of the entire construction, too glib a flow should be always suspicious. *Haē* would also constitute a sort of gloss within the body of the text, not, however, a very serious objection. I think that the adverbial *-īha* of *ratihā* was occasioned, or at least somewhat influenced, by the correctly supposed adverbial force in the following *-ēi*, rendered *paran ēgāmēi*, "in every way whatsoever." This may even have induced the early expositors to read the word *ratuś* as *ratū*, in the instrumental, from this the adverbial *-īhā*. A reading *ratū* might also well have suggested itself to the Pahlavi translator owing to the just preceding curious form *aχū*, an unusual nom. sing. masc.; and we must never forget that they, the Pahlavi translators of the Avesta, were often forced to take the same liberties with texts which we take with them; at times even translating a text as if it were corrected, though unfortunately without any intimation of the precise change of words held in view, and some of us also have done the like—a mistake.

One distinguished writer reads *aχvān'* as if it were immediately here the plural of the preceding *aχū*, and gives it the meaning of "spiritual Lords"; but *aχvān'*, although undoubtedly in its original form a plural, is yet fully established and the sense of the "world", "lives" in

that sense ; and it cannot possibly mean *Lords* here, *spiritual* or *otherwise*, because it translates Av. *winhēuš*, a common word meaning “of life” ; see also above, “upon the Sources”. So also Nēryōsangh fully understood it, with his *antar buvane* ; and N. is of great authority on the meaning of this Pahlavi.

Then a *vāyagānō*, rendered “allotments”, would be far indeed from the original *vāstārem* as from Nēr., who, while free here with his *patnam* and *sāhāyyam*, “protection” and “friendship”, has yet, at Yasna XIX, the very idea which has been more recently attached to *vāstārem*, for he has *āharam* (= “food”), originally suggesting a root (*vas*, or) *vās* (*vah*, *vāh*) = “to fodder”. I can find no Persian of this Yasna XXVII, 13, here, but in Yasna XIX the Persian seems to read *at āsān*, which looks like “felicitous” in general rather than “allotments”.

VI. A revised *Translation* of the *Pahlavi* Text should be as follows. [And, as is hardly necessary to be said, it ought not to be expected to afford us final critical results. Its exploitation is, however, the more indispensable because many still hold too closely by it, and it actually gave us our first and often still valuable indications, as is, indeed, the case with all the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts of the Avesta. There is one further all-important point which must never be lost sight of in dealing with these *Pahlavi* translations of the Avesta ;—and this is, that we are here totally debarred from those hazardous dashes which are often so useful in dealing with the original, for we are here engaged in an effort to decipher the already attempted translation of a document which is actually before us. Our eye must rest upon the already tentatively exploited text of the original Avesta, and this at every moment.]

(a) As (is) the will of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> [as is the will of

<sup>1</sup> We are constrained to refer *Aūharmazd* to *aṣṇ* as explaining it, but this gloss might be merely corroborative ; see line c.

*Aūharmazd*] so (let it be)<sup>1</sup> according to the legal ordinances (*ratihā*, not *rat haē*), and so from correct propriety (*frārūnīlā*, and not *frārūn haē*), in accordance with *aša* (*min aharāyih*; lit. "from *aša*") [that is, in accordance with duty and good works] in whatsoever way (i.e. strictly) [that is to say, (let there be) a doing of duty and good works thus properly, as is *Aūharmazd*'s desire].

(b) Whose is (also) (*zīšh*) *Vah'man*'s giving, [that is, by him *Vah'man*'s giving is to be fulfilled: (here evidently meaning the "Archangel")]; that is to say, he gives (that is, *Aūharmazd* gives, or "his devoted servant gives") the giving of the recompense and the reward of *Vah'man*;—he gives (it) even (to) him whose (are) the deeds of *Aūharmazd* within the world (and not "among the spiritual Lords", *axvān*, translates *anheuš*);<sup>2</sup> that is to say, (to) that (one He gives it who) would do what *Aūharmazd* desires (recall *kāmak* erroneously, or inadequately, rendering *vairyo*). (An alternative translation:—Some say (that the meaning is) this: that by Him (*zīš Aūharmazd*, or "by His typical saint"; see line c) there is to be a giving to *Vah'man* (here evidently meant as "the saint" to V. (so, against my translation of the original Avesta, and contrary to the original, as I also now view it)); that is to say, they give that recompense and reward to *Vah'man* (i.e. "to the good man"); and also upon him (the saint, as *Vah'man*'s representative) they especially bestow it.) Some (again) say (another alternative) that the meaning is this, that

<sup>1</sup> My warrant for this "let it be" is supplied by *vairyo* = "to be chosen", though that form is not reported by the Pahlavi text; we must treat the Pahlavi texts as if they were only fitfully correct as to the ultimate details, and at times, as might be expected, not consistent with themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Not *axvān* = "spiritual Lords" (!) as the plural of *axū* in a; the word renders the Av. word *anheuš* = "of life"; so also Nēr. = *antar bhuvane* (accidental repetition).

it is "in accordance with *Vah'man* (or through the agency of *Vah'man*)";—that is, they will (in the future) give that recompense and reward *through* (or *in accordance with* *Vah'man*"); (so) even they also give to him (the typical saint).—*Ātar'pāt*<sup>1</sup> (the son) of *Zartūšt*, said (still another view) that the meaning is this, "that they have an understanding from<sup>2</sup> the experience of the world within (it)."<sup>3</sup> (The meaning here seems to be that the "giving of *Vah'man* within the actions of life" refers to the acquisition and bestowal of good ideas in the actual experiences of daily life.)

(c) His (?the *Aχw*'s, or the *Ratu*'s of line *a*!);<sup>4</sup> sovereignty is to *Ahura*, [that is to say, his sovereignty should be such (as' is in accordance) with the advantage (desired; see *vairyō*) by *Aūharmazd* (the object held in view by Him; that is to say, his sovereign authority is such as that of him)], who gives a garment to the poor, [that is to say, their sovereignty (the sovereignty of such as these, the just *aχw* and the holy *ratu*, is like that of such as) would effect (just charitable) mediation for them (the poor, "poor-guardianship")].

*Criticism upon the text of the Pahlavi translation itself as above rendered.* The translation of *vairyō* with *kāmak* is a fair specimen of the possibility of error on the point of the Pahlavi translators in general. It preserves the root-idea present which is, in fact, "desire," to *var*, but the future passive participial form (now accepted by all) is not at all reported. That the word *aχw* should be referred above in the gloss to *Ahura*, as the Pahlavi translator seems to indicate, is out of the question.

<sup>1</sup> A commentator, or "of the *Zartūšts*"; read *-tān'*.

<sup>2</sup> Notice that *mīn* = "from" is a closer rendering of *aihēuš*.

<sup>3</sup> Or they know a "man-of-deeds from his interior life"; but this seems to be far too modern a turn of thought.

<sup>4</sup> See note above, *Aχw* seems explained as *Aūharmazd* in line *a*, but such inconsequences are to be expected.

*Dahešn'* = *dazdā* = "a giving" is followed by some moderns, but its form seems totally irrational in such a connexion.

The rendering *vastarg* = "a garment" for *vāstārem* may not be so exact as a word meaning "nurture", but it was, none the less, an admirable suggestion. As to this see below. Nēr. seems to have originated our modern idea of a root *vas* (*vās*), "to fodder" with "food", for *vāstārem*; and this in defiance of the Pahlavi, which some too hastily suppose to have been his only original; he has *āhūram* = in a direct sense "food" in Yasna XIX, 3; but *pālanam* is his more immediate translation here. It is important to notice that from the beginning on the interior sense is attempted in this Pahlavi translation; *ašāt hačā*, for instance, is taken in its deepest sense as "the fulfilment of duty and good works" according to *Ahura's* will.

Deeds, actions, etc., are correctly seen as being "of", or "for", *Ahura* in the world, which means that "they should do what *Ahura* desires", with little reference to "ceremonies". Notice especially that there is no idea of the *Archangel* here present, in translating *χῥαθrem* in line *a*, in a place where he might be so easily introduced, which is very significant of the depth of the ideas present as connected with the practical close. Indeed, this idea of the characteristic of sovereignty may be applied to a then present ruling monarch, as if the *αχῡ* of line *a* were a term which, with the Pahlavi translator, may possibly have covered that idea; and this in spite of the gloss in *a*, which may always have been of a later date; "(his) sovereignty (is) for *Ahura*" explaining "that his authority must be such as affords the profitable advantage which *Ahura* desires (the object held in view by Him); that is to say, He gives it to him who gives a garment to the poor". The ideas, therefore, continue highly moral throughout; there is also little thought of independent

sacerdotal authority as derived, merely from the "orders" of the priest.

VII. *The Sanskrit Text of Nēryōsangh* is as follows :—

(a) *Yat'ā svāminah kāmah*, [*kila*, *yat'ā* (-ā-) *ahurami(a)jda'b'ilāśah*] *evam ādeçyah* (= Avesta *ratuś*, Pahl. *ratihā*) *pun'yāt* (= Av. *aśāt*— and Pahl. *min aharāyih*) *yasmāt kasmāčēti* (= -čēt), [*kila*, *yat kāryam punyam tasya tat'ā* (-ā-) *ādeçah* (= Pahl. *frārūnīhā*) *kartum yat'ā hormi(a)jdasya roçate*; — *nā'nyat'ā kim viçīṣāt pun'yāt*];—

(b) *uttamasya dāteḥ(-r) manasaḥ*<sup>1</sup> *karmaṇām antar vuvane*[-'h-] *ahurmi(a)jdasya*, [*kila*. *tan punyam prasādam uttamam manah*;—*iti*, *gvahmanah* (-o'miç-) *amiçaspinto dadāti teb'yo ye* (-'n-) *antas tusmin karmaṇi svāmitve ēa yat* (-d) *ahurmi(a)jdausa roçate*];—

(c) *rājyamā(-ā-) ahurmajdāt tasya*, [*kila*, *tena* (-ā-) *Ahurmi(a)jdasya tano(-r) rajā kṛto b'avati*], *yah* (-o) *durbaleb'yo dadāti pālanam*, [*kila*, *durbalānām sähāyiam pālanam karoti*].

VIII. *Translation of Nēryōsangh's Sanskrit.* (a) As is the desire of the Lord, [that is, as is *Ahurmi(a)jda's* wish], so is the desire to be pointed out (or "pointedly fulfilled"<sup>2</sup>) from (that is, "in accordance with") every Sanctity whatsoever (that is, what sacred duty is to be performed, of this the pointing out (or "the obedience"?) is to be effected ("realized") as pleases *Ahurmi(a)jda*. Not otherwise at all than from distinctly defined (see *ādeçyah* above = Pahl. *ratihā*) sanctity<sup>3</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Notice that the glosses in Nēr. do not correspond exactly with those of the Pahlavi. Were some of these latter added since Nēryōsangh wrote? Notice also that Nēr. does not even render the same grammatical forms which we see in the Pahlavi. Though Nēr. states that his translations into Sanskrit were made upon the Pahlavi translation, yet his eye was always upon the original Av. text, and this is proved by his frequent emendations.

<sup>2</sup> It is somewhat difficult to make *ādeçyah* equal "to be obeyed"—this also in view of *viçīṣāt*; see both the Pahl. *ratihā* and the Av. *ratuś*.

<sup>3</sup> Or read *vasiṣāt* (?) from Sanctity the Best, from *Aša Vahišta* (?) ; hardly.

(b) Of, or "from", the gift of the best mind (is the reward) of actions within the world (the reward) of *Ahurmi(a)jda*, [that is, that holy reward the best mind (gives, or "is"); thus, Gvahanah, the amishaspena, gives it to those who in this action, and within the Lordship (sovereign authority) of *Ahurmi(a)jda*, do what pleases Him (A.) ] ;—

(c) And the Kingdom (the Sovereign authority) is from (*sic*) *Ahurmi(a)jda* for him<sup>1</sup> (gen. for dat.) [that is, for this reason he (the one who pleases A.) is made *Ahuramajda's* own King], who (that is, because he —) affords protection to the feeble (or "unfortunate"), [that is, he effects the protection of the unfortunate and friendly-companionship (a comforting recognition) for them].

Having done what we could, at least provisionally, to produce and explain the work of our predecessors, we can return to the original text itself, and in a future contribution finish exhaustively our discussion of the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Does this *tasya*, see also *tena* in the gl., show that Nēr. understood the Pahl. text as "χρατῆι αῖ" rather than as "χρατῆιγῆ" ?

### III

## CHINESE IMPERIAL EDICT OF 1808 A.D. ON THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMIGRATIONS OF THE GRAND LAMAS OF TIBET

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

WHEN at Lhasa in 1904 I found, in addition to the two earliest historical Tibetan documents yet known (as notified in this Journal<sup>1</sup>), a very long inscription of the Chinese emperor Chia-ch'ing, of 1808 A.D., which is of considerable historical interest and importance. It gives an official account of the origin of the Grand Lamaship and of the theory of succession to the same by divine reincarnations; it also prescribes the "Ordeal of the Urn" for the selection of the candidate, one of the steps taken by China to secure political control over the succession to the pontifical throne; and it records the building of the Potala palace at Lhasa as one of "the three Potalas", and of a fourth "Potala"-academy erected by a Chinese emperor at Jehol, to the north-west of Peking.

This edict is inscribed on four tablets of dark stone or slate at the left side of the door of the great Jo-k'añ temple of Lhasa, and protected by an awning, as seen in my photograph at p. 364 of my *Lhasa and its Mysteries*. A duplicate copy is displayed at the great lamasery of Sera in a special niche to the right of the great temple door, also shown in my photograph at p. 374 of the same work.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be the edict noted in the official list of Chinese inscriptions at Lhasa (as both of them are bilingual) in the following terms: "No. 3, Imperial autograph dated [=1808 A.D.] in Chia-ch'ing's reign entitled

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., 1909, pp. 924, etc.

<sup>2</sup> First edition.

'Tablet of the narrative of the doctrinal ceremonies of the *P'u-to-tsung-sheng* temple': it is north-east of Potala, near Mount Sera."<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the priest-godship at Lhasa was involved in mystery until I showed, fifteen years ago, in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, as the result of my researches amongst the vernacular histories, that it appeared to date merely to the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.; and that it was obviously the invention of the head abbot of the Yellow-hat sect, *after he had seized the temporal sovereignty* in 1640 A.D., and was evidently a device to strengthen his title to the sovereignty and to retain hold of it for his order. I also showed that the dual hierarchy of the two Grand Lamas, one at Lhasa as the *Tālai* and the other at Tashi-lhunpo in Western Tibet as the *Tūshi* Lama, did not, as hitherto believed by Europeans, date to the time of Tson-ka'pa or his nephew, but that it arose two and a half centuries later; and it also was the invention of this priest-king, Lo-bzañ Gya-mtso, who, although nominally the fifth *Tālai*, seems to have been really the first of the series of pontiffs who claimed to be priest-gods. In conceiving and carrying out so successfully this bold policy he was obviously assisted by his crafty tutor, the old abbot of the Gahldan monastery near Lhasa, who, in return for his help, was created the first *Tūshi* Lama, apparently posthumously. The *Tālai* Lo-bzañ, posing as the earthly incarnation of the most popular of all the Buddhist divinities, namely, "The Compassionate Lord" or "The God of Mercy", *Avālokita*, built for himself in 1644 A.D.<sup>2</sup> a palace-temple as a residence on the Red Hill at Lhasa, the site of the ancient kings' palace; and he altered the name of the hill to "Potala", after the name of the celebrated hill on the seashore of Southern India, on which stood the chief shrine and earthly seat

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Csoma, *Dictionary of Tibetan*, p. 190, gives 1643 A.D.

of *Avalokita* as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century.<sup>1</sup>

For details and proofs in regard to these points in the evolution of the priest-god—who was called by the contemporary Jesuit missionaries at Lhasa “that devilish God-the-Father who puts to death such as refuse to adore him”<sup>2</sup>—I must refer the reader to my *Buddhism of Tibet*, and especially the second edition, where the subject is treated more fully in view of its importance. Subsequent research has so far confirmed all my above conclusions.

The priest-god-kingship, however, did not work well after the death of its author, the first and greatest of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa, though nominally the fifth of the series of the “Tālai” Lamas as they are called by the Mongols. The lay-governor of Lhasa of that time, Saṅgyā Gyamts'o (who is referred to in this edict, par. 12, by implication, as a natural son of the supposed celibate Grand Lama, a report which I found current amongst Tibetans though not expressed in writing), concealed the death of the Grand Lama for about eighteen years and reigned himself as regent of Tibet. He eventually nominated as successor to the Tālai Lamaship a notoriously dissolute youth who so scandalized everyone by his licentious conduct that he was dethroned and assassinated, and his patron, the regent, was killed in the fighting which ensued. His successors, too, the seventh and eighth, did not prove successes, so that on the death of the last unusual precautions, it appears, were taken to secure a more respectable incarnation for the ninth Tālai, who is the subject of the present edict of Chia-ch'ing.

In this edict especial pains are taken to disregard those “false” or “deceitful” incarnations, as they are termed,

<sup>1</sup> This Indian Potala was placed by Csoma (*Dictionary of Tibetan*, p. 198) in the Indus delta near Karachi, and Koppen (*Relig. des Buddh.*, i, p. 75) and others have repeated this mistaken identification.

<sup>2</sup> J. Grueber, quoted by Markham, *Tibet*, p. 297.

namely, the sixth to the eighth of the series, and to show that the ninth one is without doubt the genuine re-embodiment of the first and the greatest of all, namely, the so-called fifth Tālai. He, it is stated, was selected, not by the ordeal of the Urn, but by direct nomination approved by the Chinese imperial resident. The reason for this doubtless was that the Chinese were satisfied as to the hereditary fitness of the selected candidate, who, we read in the edict, was the son of a "defender of the faith" from the frontier of China, and so must have been of noble birth, so that his election was not to be jeopardized by entrusting the nomination to the lottery of the Urn.

The Urn ordeal, which had only recently been instituted by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, in 1793<sup>1</sup> had not yet been used, so a considerable portion of this edict is devoted to singing the praises of this mode of selection, which as it is manipulated directly by the Chinese Amban, who personally draws the lot,<sup>2</sup> is generally believed to have been devised for the purpose of enabling the Chinese to control the succession to the pontiffship. The Urn is also here expressly prescribed for the election of the Tāshi Lama, as well as the third great Yellow-hat Lama (par. 15), the Mongolian lama of Urga (or the fourth at Peking).<sup>3</sup>

The edict also reveals the fact that the political movement of the Yellow-hat Lamas for the seizure of the temporal sovereignty of Tibet began considerably earlier than has been believed (par. 19). The usual accounts of Csoma<sup>4</sup> and others state that the Mongol prince, Gusri Khan, conquered Tibet in 1641 and made a present of it to the Tālai Lama. But this edict records that the Tālai sent in the year 1634 A.D. with much tribute "a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently" at the court of the emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> See full details in my *Buddhism of Tibet*.

<sup>3</sup> But see note 1, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Grammar of Tibetan*, p. 190.

It is news (pars. 4 and 5) that the Potala or "P'u-to" of the Chusan Archipelago is an offshoot of the Tibetan one. This is the Island of P'u-to containing a celebrated shrine of the Goddess of Mercy, or Kwan-yin, the female form of Avalokita, who is especially regarded as the saviour of sailors from perils at sea.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth or "subsidiary Potala-academy" at Jehol, a favourite summer retreat of the Manchu emperors about a hundred miles to the north-east of Peking, in a locality studded with picturesque hills, one of which is crowned by this temple, is described in some detail. This temple, we are informed by Dr. Bushell, who gives a photograph of it,<sup>2</sup> "was built by the Emperor K'ang-hsi<sup>3</sup> in the vicinity of the summer residence at Jehol, outside the Great Wall of China, where Earl Macartney was received by [Ch'ien-lung] the grandson of founder in 1763. The temple is built in the style of the famous palace-temple of Potala at Lhasa, the residence of the Dalai Lama. But the resemblance is only superficial; deceptive as it may be when seen at a distance from one of the pavilions in the imperial park, on closer inspection the apparently storied walls prove to be a mere shell with doors and windows all unperforated."

In recounting the origin of the dual hierarchy the edict gives the priestly fiction, invented, as we have seen, about 1640 A.D., which merely shows that this tale had in 1808 A.D. become accepted by Lamaists as the orthodox account. And so, too, the attempt to give a remote antiquity to the Potala epithet by confusing it with the Red Hill palace erected by King Sron-btsan a thousand years before is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, i, 66.

<sup>3</sup> H. Giles, in *Glossary*, p. 137, says that Jehol was built by Ch'ien-lung in 1780, but he evidently means the model of the Tashi-lhunpo temple there, which was erected by Ch'ien-lung in that year for the reception of the third Tashi Lama, Bogle's friend, whose "Life" (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1882, p. 37) mentions that at Jehol were two Lamaist temples, one modelled after that of Potala, and one "newly" erected after that of Tashi-lhunpo.

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obviously intended by the Lamas to obscure the facts. Whereas we know from contemporary seventeenth century history that the Potala legends at Lhasa date merely to the seventeenth century, though they have misled many European writers.

"Tālai," it will be noticed, is the form invariably used in the edict in both versions (pars. 14, etc.) for the title of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, which is variously rendered by European writers as "Dalai" and "Tale", and as it is thus the official and apparently the more correct form it should be followed for the future. This word, which is used by the Chinese and Mongols, is the Mongol translation of the Tibetan surname or after-title of the Lhasa hierarchs, namely "*rGyamts'o*", literally "ocean or sea"; and it is evidently the same word which the Moghals, a branch of the Mongols, have naturalized about the same time in India as "Tāl" in the names of the great lakes, e.g. Naini Tāl, Manasorawar Tāl, etc.; and obviously also in the common word still used in the plains of Northern India for "lakes", namely *Tāl-āb*, where the affix *āb*, the Hindustani for "water", would appear to have been added redundantly where the new Moghal word was not at first understood.

The epithet of the Emperor of China as the "Lord-Father" reproduces the Chinese attitude towards the emperor, who is regarded in China as the "father" of his people and called as such; for according to the fundamental laws of sovereignty embodied in the first four books of Confucius, the State should be ruled by the same laws as those which govern a private family, and so justifies State interference in the minutest detail of the domestic life of individual families, which is a characteristic feature of Chinese government.

Its exercise of rights, too, over what is considered by lamaists to be the transmigration of the soul of the re-incarnating Lamas is not without precedent and subsequent

custom. In the *Peking Gazette* of March 31, 1877, in the case of a Tibetan "reincarnating" Lama, who was denounced by the imperial resident at Lhasa for having carried off the official seals, it was declared by the emperor as "Son of Heaven" that "his soul should not be allowed to transmigrate at his decease". Altogether the edict affords us an interesting insight into the curious religious polity of both Tibet and China.

In form it begins with an invocation in verse to the divine Bodhisattva of Wisdom, a Minerva or Apollo, who is invoked by the Mahāyāna Buddhists as the presiding deity of literature and speech, like Saraswati by the later Hindu writers. He, moreover, is held to be incarnate in the Emperor of China. An introductory verse also introduces each of the other three sections, and these verses are somewhat cryptic in their allusions. It will be noticed that it is solely the dominant Yellow-cap sect of Lamas which is represented as enjoying the imperial patronage.

#### TRANSLATION.

[This is from the Tibetan text. The paragraphs are numbered on the margin by me merely for convenience of reference.]

1. "This descriptive chapter on the sacred academy of learning at Potala is here set down.

2. "O Mañjuśrī!<sup>1</sup> Our Lord and Father! Empowered with glorious all-penetrating speech!

Thy function is to obtain the best means of keeping alive the doctrine of the *Jina* (Buddha).

Thy grace multiplies as a mountain of gold unto those who wear the yellow-hat, the *Pandit's* crown.

All living things take upon their heads the precious dust of Thy feet!

<sup>1</sup> Buddhist divinity of Wisdom, incarnate in the Emperor of China. Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 355, etc.

3. "On the hill of the adamantine Jehol,<sup>1</sup> in order to fulfil the hopes of all people through the good deeds done during ten thousand *kalpas*,<sup>2</sup> a modern Mount Potala was newly made, and appeared like unto a mansion of the Akanistha<sup>3</sup> heaven. This Potala-academy was founded on the top of the northern hill on the outskirts of the palace of The Most High [the Emperor of China]. The Potala of the Tibetan religion is called 'Potala' in the book-language and 'Pü-t'o' in the language of China.

4. "There are three [other] Potalas : one is in India<sup>4</sup> or Hindusit'an [*sic*], and one is in T'u-sbe-t'e<sup>5</sup> or the holy land<sup>6</sup> of Bod, [and] one is [in] Che-chang<sup>7</sup> in the southern ocean.

5. "Buddha first caused the doctrine to prosper in Hindusit'an and afterwards spread it to Tibet. From Tibet it spread to the southern ocean, and truly the Potala of the southern ocean is indeed a sacred place [where] the doctrine of the Bodhisattvas was made to spread in purity. Hindusit'an is so far off that it is difficult to see. The Potala-academy in Tibet, however, is perfect in size and structure. It is a holy place of the Three Precious Ones, as the religion greatly prospers [here]. About one thousand years have passed since the first founding of this academy.<sup>8</sup> Buddha's body shines [here] with a glorious halo, and is agreeable to behold.

6. "Formerly when Buddha was in India he said :

<sup>1</sup> རེ་ཁོར་རྡོ་རྗེ་རི་, z'e-hor rdo-rje rir.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote 2, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> The highest heaven of the Buddhists (my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 85-6).

<sup>4</sup> See foregoing note 1 on p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> This is interesting as a native form of the name "Tibet" in the year 1808.

<sup>6</sup> རི་ཁྱེ་, z'ih. Cf. Jaeschke's *Dictionary*, p. 475.

<sup>7</sup> Probably intended for Chusan Archipelago, in which it is situated ; see p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> This is an attempt to identify the building of Potala with the building of King Sron-btsan's palace on the same site ; see p. 70.

'This [my] doctrine will extend to the Middle regions<sup>1</sup> in time to come.' [Now] Tibet for the greater part is situated along the eastern side of India or Hindustan, and this [Tibetan] Potala by the words of Buddha of old is marvellously holy and possessed of great blessedness.

7. "The model subsidiary shrine of the Jehol country is the chief of the six newly-erected shrines of the three divine protectors.<sup>2</sup> It is constructed as an academy with many stories, wide and broad, and topped by gilded domes. Below there are circular roads. It has circles of [? images of] gold, vajra-sceptres of precious stones, bells, various sweet-smelling medicinal trees, umbrella-canopies, banners of victory, silk pendants, and complete sets of the various kinds of votive offerings. It is a holy place where all living things can earn merit.

8. "The forefathers of The Most High [Chia-ch'ing], ever since they exercised power over the religious kingdom [of Tibet], they desired that the doctrine of the yellow-hats only should increase and spread,<sup>3</sup> and the Lord-Father [the emperor] not only takes the place of a [? patron] god of the sky,<sup>4</sup> but has caused the doctrine to spread to the fullest extent, so that all the kingdoms, new and old, on the borders have begat faith in it. The Lord-Father, The Most High himself, when he visited Jehol, filled up the spaces in the heaven and earth with different kinds of offerings and innumerable military banners. On the birthday of the emperor all the living beings scattered flowers in his praise, and came long

<sup>1</sup> དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ. By the "Middle country" Buddha of course referred to the Indian Gangetic provinces around Magadha.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently the three great patron Manchu emperors—Kang-hsi, Yang-cheng, and Ch'ien-lung.

<sup>3</sup> This takes no account of the previous dynasties as patrons of another sect, the Saskya red-cap sect which was patronized by Kublai Khan and his successors of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> ཡཔ་རྗེ་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དེ་བར་གནས་པ་, Yab-rje gnam-gyi bhai-bar gnas-pa.

*distances* from border kingdoms with intense desire for the faith, and as soon as they saw the Jehol Potala they joined their palms in worship, and, full of faith, found the truth in this sublime place. This great celestial divinity [the emperor] did a great work for the doctrine of Buddha. Many persons have said that more new academies like this grand one should be constructed. It is complete with all the figures of the three worlds, and the top, middle, and bottom portions are filled with auspicious signs. This academy, indeed, has been blessed by the gods of heaven in the region of the *vajra*,<sup>1</sup> and will remain firm for ever.<sup>2</sup>

9. "The gift of a ransom is the act of a *Jina* and his [spiritual] sons.<sup>3</sup>

The face even of a hermit<sup>4</sup> is the means of deceit in the degenerate days.

The work of a hermit's waterpot<sup>5</sup> is to reveal the prophecy infallibly.

The investigation by the precious brazen mind<sup>6</sup> is good.

Let therefore the doubts and suspicions of all living things be cleared away,

For it will yield the fruits of the wish-granting gem!

<sup>1</sup> Or "adamantine", probably with reference to the adamant hill of Jehol (v. par. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Literally "during the *kalpas*", that is, the Indian fabulous 100,000 year cycles of time in the cataclysms of worlds.

<sup>3</sup> This seems like a begging solicitation, or it may be intended to mean the gift of the Tālaī lama to mankind.

<sup>4</sup> གི་རི་ཀཱ་རཱ་འཇུག་, gi-ri-kā rañ-bzin. Girikā seems intended for the Sanskrit term for a hermit. It refers to the imperial disbelief in the integrity or ability of the lamas in selecting the successor.

<sup>5</sup> མུམ་བུ་ལམ་, bum-bu. This is evidently a reference to the use of the hermit's waterpot as an urn in the lottery ordeal.

• རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་ལའི་དབང་འདུན་

Let the well-considered command here given be respected!

Sound the great bell over all the earth!

10. "The doctrine of Buddha came from India-Hindusit'an and spread into the eastern land of Tibet. Those who take orders in Tibet are called '*Trā-pa*'<sup>1</sup> [or 'learners']. The Lord-Father [the emperor] himself hears Buddha's religion and practises it in the Tibetan language. The omniscient one of the religion of purity<sup>2</sup> [i.e. the Grand Lama] is called *Lama*, that is, the '*Hvashang*'<sup>3</sup> of China.

11. "On the passing away of the Lama the one born in his stead is called *sPrul-sku*<sup>4</sup> [or 'incarnation of the emanation']; this in the Chinese language is called *So-so-i*.<sup>5</sup> which means 'the accepted one born without confusion or doubt'. Before the sprouting of the birth-elements of the reincarnation,<sup>6</sup> the assembly of the clergy prays before the image of Buddha and makes careful inquiry in every direction. The child who is born as the reincarnation of the former Lama is identified in the presence of the assembly of all the Defenders of the Faith by means of drawing lots. In his childhood the reincarnated Lama practises virtue and purity, and when he grows older he receives a religious name and works for the doctrine of the yellow-hats. He loves all living things without partiality, and all human beings believe in him and have great faith in the doctrine of the yellow-hats. Many years have passed since the Protector has

<sup>1</sup> ལྟ་པ་, grva-pa = literally a "learner or schoolboy".

<sup>2</sup> སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཀྱན་མཐེན་སྐབས་

<sup>3</sup> The Sera version has here *na-tha*, which is evidently intended for the Sanskrit *nāṭha*, "temple," or it may be for "head", though *gurū* is given by the dictionaries as the ordinary equivalent for *bLa-ma*.

<sup>4</sup> Pronounced *ʿul-ku*.

<sup>5</sup> The Sera version has *So-sos*.

སྐུ་ལ་སྐྱུ་མ་འབྱུངས་ཤིང་བྱ་ས་

caused the doctrine as obtained and preached to be believed in and practised.

12. "In identifying the incarnation, however, there has been deceit or error on several occasions, owing to the mistaken recognition of one as an incarnation who was not truly such; and several incarnations have been produced from one particular family, so that the succession became like that of a temporal ruler who retains the rank fixedly [in the family], and so leading believers in Buddha's doctrine to lose faith. The Lord-Father, the emperor, has [now] prevented such occurrences [for the future], and has thus brought happiness over the land of Tibet. He has offered respect to the yellow-hat doctrine, and has overcome all the enemies who have desired to harm that doctrine.

13. "To save the country from being [further] cheated by selecting as a pure rebirth one that is the [ordinary] impure movement of Desire, he has deposited at Lhasa a golden urn as the means of holding on its top the lineage of the great [rightful] incarnation.

14. "At the inquiry, after having performed all the religious rites in accordance with former custom and in keeping with the instructions of the Lama-god,<sup>1</sup> the name-tablets of the children candidates for the *So-so-i*-ship<sup>2</sup> are placed inside the golden urn. Then the *Tā-lāi*<sup>3</sup> Lama [if the inquiry relates to the second of the dual Grand Lamas, namely, the Pandita Rinpoche-l'e (the *Erteni* of the Mongols) of Tashi-lhunpo] or the great *Pandita Erteni*<sup>4</sup> [if the inquiry relates to the *Tā-lāi*], along with all

<sup>1</sup> ལྷ་སྐུ་ལྷ་སྐུ་ལྷ་སྐུ་, or it may mean "the supreme god".

<sup>2</sup> Scra version has here "*dsems*", or soul or mind, in the sense of a re-embodied soul.

<sup>3</sup> ཏ་ལཱི་སྐུ་མ་, *Tā-lāi*. It is interesting to find throughout in both versions this form and not "*Dalai*", etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Erteni* is the Mongol transcription of the Sanskrit *ratna*, the precious gem. Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 235, etc.

the great ministers of Tibet, should assemble at the taking out of the name-tablets to identify the reincarnation.

15. "In the case of the Mongolian<sup>1</sup> [incarnation] the name-tablets should be placed inside a golden urn in the Yung-ho-gung,<sup>2</sup> the fascinating paradise of delight, and the incarnation must be identified in the presence of the Mongol leaders, the head of the house of *Yoga*,<sup>3</sup> the head of the yellow fortune-teller<sup>4</sup> of the great royal castle,<sup>5</sup> the imperial prefect,<sup>6</sup> Tā Lama, with the entire crowd of those who have interests in the matter.

16. "The Emperor, the Lord-Father, himself sympathizes with this religion, and issues these commands in accordance with the customs of this faith. All persons, therefore, must abide by his commands.

17. "Great is [the Emperor] the spiritual son of the all-pervading Mañjuśrī, the lord of Lamas.

The sun of the wisdom of the thunderbolt shines within him.

In rising and setting he is the fastening for our hopes.

He is the ruler of the ocean of the precepts and of perfect knowledge.

The Emperor himself has numbered the oceans.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> སོག་རིན་པོ་འཕྲུལ་, sog-rigs, and lower down the word *mon-gol* is given in the Sera version as the equivalent of *sog*. This Mongol incarnation may be the *Chai-kya* lama of the great Lama temple at Peking. The "Tāranātha" Lama at Urga is said to be usually selected from Lhasa direct.

<sup>2</sup> The great Lama temple at Peking.

<sup>3</sup> རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་.

<sup>4</sup> རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་. Doubtless an official augur.

<sup>5</sup> The Lhasa version has རྒྱུ་ = "presence" or "deputy" instead of རྒྱུ་ = "castle".

<sup>6</sup> *Dsa-sags* = a Chinese title of a prefect.

<sup>7</sup> This may be a cryptic reference to the *Tālai* or "Ocean" lamas. Its usual Tibetan equivalent is not used—རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་.

He strives to select without mistake and according to the doctrines.

Spiritual wisdom is indeed needed to discover the true rebirth !

18. "The doctrine of the yellow-hats spread at first under Tibet's own saints,<sup>1</sup> and it appears to have spread from the commencement of the reign of Yon-k'rao, the king of the Hor.<sup>2</sup> The great Tson-k'a-pa [*circa* 1356-1441 A.D.], the founder<sup>3</sup> of the yellow-hat doctrine, had two spiritual sons. One was the worshipful Tā-lāi Lama [of Lhasa] and one was the Pan-ch'en Lama [of Tashi-lhumpo]. The Tā-lāi Lama was the chief spiritual son, and his name was *dGe-'dun-grub-pa*. The second spiritual son, the Pan-ch'en Lama, was named *mKas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzau-po*. Beginning from *dGe-'dun-grub*, the doctrine-holder of the yellow-hats, the bodily rebirths<sup>4</sup> took place in series, one by one, according to the custom of the religion.

19. "During the time of the fifth incarnation, namely, *Nag-dvañ bLo-bzau rGya-mts'o*, in the seventh year of the reign of our forefather the Emperor The-chung,<sup>5</sup> the great [= 1634 A.D.], the Tā-lāi Lama sent a delegate as an envoy to reside permanently at Kwan-hung,<sup>6</sup> and offered at the time the rarest products of the country ; and he received kindness from the hands of the succeeding emperors.<sup>7</sup> After that were two reincarnations [of the sixth and

<sup>1</sup> བོད་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་འཕགས་པ་ = the exalted ones, Skt. *Arya*.

<sup>2</sup> Or the "Turkish" emperor of China, Yon-k'rao.

<sup>3</sup> བདག་པོ་, literally "owner" or "master".

<sup>4</sup> རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་

<sup>5</sup> This is the Manchu emperor T'ai Tsung Wên, 1627-44 A.D. (Mayer's *Chinese Readers Manual*, p. 389).

<sup>6</sup> Probably intended for 'Hwang-kung, the imperial palace at Peking.

<sup>7</sup> He lived in the reign of two successive emperors.

seventh]<sup>1</sup> and the eighth Tālai Lama passed away in the ninth year of the reign of Chia-ching.<sup>2</sup>

20. "Before the fresh incarnation [was found] the Imperial Secretary,<sup>3</sup> the Ho-thog-thu,<sup>4</sup> and the Abbot-Lama<sup>5</sup> did their utmost for the doctrine, and prayed for the early return ahead of the reflected apparition<sup>6</sup> of Buddha.

21. "In the first month of the present year [1808 A.D.] the great imperial resident minister<sup>7</sup> of Tibet [?the Amban] named Yui-ning-chan reported [as follows]: 'The difficulties in the direction of Tibet are that there is a doubt as to which is the perfect and right advent of the sacred personage amongst nine children. The imperial secretary [?and] Ho-thog-thu have examined these children, and have found three of them to be miraculous. Amongst these, the son of Tu-si bTan-'dsin, the defender-of-the-faith, of the religious circle of Kham, was born on the first day of the second month of the wooden-bull year [= 1805 A.D.]. He is now under four years of age, but yet is extraordinarily clever. He can repeat many things about religion, and *clearly* remembers the birth of the fifth Tālai Lama [192 years ago!], and recognizes the *vajra*-sceptre and bell of that Tālai Lama, so that all classes of men, high and low, in China and Tibet, are astonished. Pan-ch'en Erteni also has visited Lhasa, and having obtained proofs is delighted and believes in him. I, Yul-ning-chan, also have tested him, and have found that he is wanting nothing in strength and power, also that he possesses all the wisdom which His Sublimity the former Tālai Lama had; and

<sup>1</sup> These were the notoriously dissolute Grand Lama, who was deposed and assassinated, and his successor

<sup>2</sup> བཟའ་ཆེན་, bChā-ch'in.

<sup>3</sup> rje druñ.

<sup>4</sup> For Mongol *khutuktu* = an incarnation.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless the Abbot of Gahldan.

<sup>6</sup> ལྷ་བཟོན་

<sup>7</sup> བོད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ཆེན་

'it seems to me that he has obtained it by inheritance.  
'No deceit is possible in this case, as this reincarnated  
'candidate has been able to state clearly concerning his  
'death, also to recognize his kingdom. The Ho-thog-thu  
'is unchangeably fixed in his conclusion that this is  
'the genuine reincarnation. All people, therefore, should  
'believe this reincarnation to be true.'

22. "By the spell of the sunbeams of The Compassionate  
Lord, The Master of *Tantric* Mysticism,<sup>1</sup>  
The son of the *Jina* (Buddha) is inherently good,  
and saves thousands of his followers.  
Whenever there is difficulty in finding him  
The augury of the urn should be consulted.  
O! minister of the interior lands,<sup>2</sup> attendants of  
The Five-times Fortunate One!<sup>3</sup>  
Rejoice that the highest-born messenger of the  
*Gya-nom* paradise is enthroned!  
May happiness be complete, and new feasts and  
unbounded praise  
Be given on hearing these glad tidings of The  
Compassionate One!<sup>4</sup>

23. "The golden urn has been instituted by the great  
Lord-Father [the emperor] for these reasons: that the  
doctrine of Buddha should be highly esteemed, and that  
all evils be averted. Now he is looking on all with  
celestial mercy, with never-dying love; therefore let  
this son of *bsTan-'dsin*, the defender-of-the-faith, who is

<sup>1</sup> རིགས་ཀི་བདག་བའི་ = master of the tantrik *Kalacakra*.

<sup>2</sup> སང་ནང་སྐོན་ཅན་

<sup>3</sup> སྐྱད་སྐྱམ་ཚོགས་ = literally "possessed of the three fortunes or blessings, namely, grace, glory, and wealth". It is a common personal name, and is prefixed five times to the titles of kings like its equivalent the Indian *Śrī*.

<sup>4</sup> Avalokita incarnate is the Tālaī.

the incarnation found to possess the highest miraculous signs, be deeply revered by all living things.

24. "When our father was alive, if such circumstances had been reported to him, he would have dealt kindly and would not have considered it necessary to shake the golden urn. Therefore, as this incarnation has given absolutely clear proofs of his being the true one, and as there is no doubt about it, the letter recognizing him to be the incarnation is sent accordingly. The Pan-ch'en Erteni has also prayed in front of the picture of the emperor, and offered his thanks.

25. "The following presents have been given to the new incarnation of the Tālai Lama: one scarf, one idol of the *Jina* of Everlasting Life,<sup>1</sup> a *du* *je*-sceptre and bell to match, a rosary of *sh'i-ga-shi*<sup>2</sup> with ten pearls. These have been sent to Lhasa by Khrin-thu-hi Chun-thei Tshan-de.

26. "At the same time [the Amban] Yul-ning-chan reported that the incarnation of the Tālai Lama was to be set upon the throne on the 22nd day of the 9th month, and he had sent the following persons to the ceremony: the ministers of the interior, Tu-rin *dZan-dvan*, To-ro Em-bu Mañju-vajra, Me-rin *dZan-gi* Kur-bu, sByor-k'a-gi-a-sri, Han-wan Bhan-chin, Hui-chan-chin, K'ya-me Ran-dzan-gi lun-p'u, and the Ho-thog-thu of the worshipful Gahldan. The presents consisted of a golden letter, dresses and other articles of great value, and ten thousand silver *srañ*.<sup>3</sup>

27. "Now [for the future, however] if such beneficent deeds by the Lord-Father for the benefit of all living things are to be continued, the golden urn must be employed, as it removes all doubts and errors, and so keeps the doctrine of Buddha pure. In the present case,

<sup>1</sup> རྩེ་མཐུང་ཡས་པ་

<sup>2</sup> Not Tibetan (*byi-ra* = coral); doubtless a Chinese word.

<sup>3</sup> About an ounce each in weight and in value about 3.

with the approval of the great Lord-Father [the emperor], it was not used because there were no doubts to be removed. But in the future such miraculous signs cannot be expected. So, the former custom of the urn is to be followed, and the names of the children written down and the urn shaken. If this be done there will be no deception whatever.

28. "This record is written holding to the old records as the foundation for the procedure. It is compiled by the owner of the [emperor's] confidence in the glad autumn in the eighth month of the earth-dragon year of the thirteenth year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing."

"This order is copied and engraved by me, 'Un-pis, Minister."

#### IV

### GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

#### III. THE AUSPICIOUS MARKS ON THE FEET OF THE INCARNATE DEITY

**B**EFORE proceeding to the subject-matter of this paper, I would ask leave to revert for a moment to the preceding article on the Bhāgavata system of incarnations.<sup>1</sup> Several kind Bhāgavata friends have sent me criticisms on points of detail in what I then wrote, which will be utilized when opportunity occurs. I would mention one now, as it affects the question of terminology. On p. 624 I used the name *Vibhu* or *Vibhava Avatāra* as the name of one of the forms under which the Supreme manifests Himself. I can give authority for both these names from North Indian literature; but, writing from Mysore in the south, Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, the translator of Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā*, informs me that the use of *Vibhu* in this connexion is incorrect. As a technical term of Bhāgavata theology, *vibhu* means "infinite", in contradistinction to *anu*, "finite." For the incarnation, *vibhava* is the only correct term. In this sense *vibhava* is explained as *vividhēna bhavati*, and means literally "many-becomingness".

The sixth verse of Nābhā's text, and the second in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

TEXT.

*Chappai.*

(6) (2) The marks on the feet of Raghu-vīra (i.e. Rāmacandra) are ever helpers to the Holy. Especially (1) the elephant-goad, (2) the vestment, (3) the thunderbolt, (4) the lotus, (5) the barley-corn, (6) the banner, (7) the cow's foot-mark, (8) the conch, (9) the discus, (10) the *svastika*, (11) the

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., 1909, pp. 621 ff.

rose-apple, (12) the pitcher, (13) the lake of ambrosia, (14) the half-moon, (15) the hexagon, (16) the fish, (17) the spot, (18) the upward line, (19) the octagon, (20) the triangle, (21) the rainbow, and (22) the man. These givers of blessedness aye dwell on the feet of the Lord of Sītā.

### Notes.

Having celebrated the various incarnations of the ADORABLE, Nābhā, as becomes a member of the Hanumān family (see notes to verses 2-4, JRAS. for 1909, pp. 618 ff.), now turns to the incarnation to which he is particularly devoted—that of Rāma-candra. The belief in auspicious marks on the hands and feet is very widely spread in India. The full number of auspicious marks on Rāma's feet is traditionally said to have been forty-eight, twenty-four on each foot, arranged as follows. The numbers against some of them are those of Nābhā's shorter list :—

### RIGHT FOOT (TOES).

<i>Jayamāla</i> , the wreath of victory.	5. <i>Yava</i> (on great toe), the barley-corn.
22. <i>Nara</i> , the man.	3. <i>Vajra</i> , the thunder-bolt.
<i>Chattra</i> , the umbrella.	<i>Ratha</i> , the chariot.
<i>Cāmara</i> , the fly-whisk.	4. <i>Kamala</i> , the lotus.
<i>Yama-daṇḍa</i> , Yama's rod.	2. <i>Ambara</i> , the vestment.
<i>Simhāsana</i> , the throne.	<i>Sara</i> , the arrow.
9. <i>Cakra</i> , the discus.	<i>Śeṣa</i> , the serpent of eternity.
<i>Mukuta</i> , the diadem.	<i>Musala</i> , the mace.
6. <i>Dhvaja</i> , the banner.	<i>Hala</i> , the plough.
1. <i>Aṅkuṣa</i> , the elephant-goad.	<i>Lakṣmī</i> , the Goddess Lakṣmī.
<i>Kalpa-taru</i> , the kalpa-taru.	19. <i>Aṣṭakōṇa</i> , the octagon.
10. <i>Svastika</i> , the Svastika.	

### RIGHT FOOT (HEEL).

## LEFT FOOT (TOES).

17. <i>Vindu</i> (on great toe), the spot.		<i>Candrikā</i> , the moon- beam.
<i>Jīva</i> , life.		<i>Hansa</i> , the swan.
<i>Gadā</i> , the club.		<i>Tūṇīra</i> , the quiver.
20. <i>Trikōṇa</i> , the triangle.	Sarayu, the River Sarayu.	21. <i>Dhanuṣa</i> , the bow.
15. <i>Ṣaṭkōṇa</i> , the hexagon.		<i>Vamśi</i> , the flute.
8. <i>Śaṅkha</i> , the conch.		<i>Vīṇā</i> , the lute.
14. <i>Ardha-candra</i> , the half-moon.		<i>Pūrṇa-candra</i> , the full moon.
11. <i>Jambū-phala</i> , the rose- apple.		16. <i>Mīna</i> , the fish.
<i>Patākā</i> , the pennon.		<i>Trivali</i> , the three wrinkles.
12. <i>Kalāṣi</i> , the pitcher.		13. <i>Sudhā-kunḍa</i> , the lake of ambrosia.
<i>Bhūmi</i> , the earth.		<i>Śakti</i> , the śakṭi dart.
7. <i>Gōṣpada</i> , the cow's footmark.		

## LEFT FOOT (HEEL).

In the above, we are supposed to be looking at the soles of the feet. Each mark is placed in its relative position. The marks are the creases, or lines, on the soles of the feet, corresponding to the lines on the palms of the hand employed in England for fortune-telling. The marks on Sītā's feet are the same as the above, but are reversed, those on her right foot being the same as those on Rāma's left, and vice versa.

Different Vaiṣṇava writers select different marks for special adoration. Nābhā, we have seen, mentions only twenty-two, eleven on each foot. In the *Śrī-Raghunāthā-nātha-carana-chikna-stōtra*, attributed to the Muni Agastī, only eighteen are enumerated, being the same as Nābhā's, with the omission of the rose-apple, the lake of ambrosia, the hexagon, the rainbow, and the man, and the addition of the bow. An anonymous *Sōraṭhā*, which is generally current, mentions *eight*, as follows:—

*Bandaṁ Siya-pada-rēkha,*

(1) *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, *aru* (2) *Śrī-Sarayu* |

(3) *Saktī*, (4) *puruṣa-viśēkha*,

(5) *svastika*, (6) *śara*, (7) *dhanu*, (8) *candrikā* ||

In this they are recorded as the marks on Sitā's (Siya's) feet. A verse of Yamunācārya, in the *Ālavandāra-stōtra*, communicated to me by Paṇḍit Gōvindācārya, mentions only seven, the conch, the discus, the kalpataru, the banner, the lotus, the elephant-goad, and the thunderbolt. Thus :—

*Kadā punaś śaṅkha-rathāṅga-kalpaka-*

*Dhvajā-'ravindā-'ṅkuśa-vajra-lāñchanam,* |

*Trivikrama ! tvac-caraṇā-'mbuja-dvayam*

*Madīya-mūrdhānam alaṅkariṣyati* ||

Tulasī-dāsa, in *Rāma-carita-mānasu*, I, 199, 3, says:—

*rēkha kulisa dhvaja aṅkuśa sōhai* |

*nūpura-dhuni suni muni-mana mōhai* ||

“The lines, the thunderbolt, the banner, and the elephant-goad, are full of beauty; the tinkling of his anklets charms the hearts of the saints as they listen to it.” Here only three are named.

For further particulars regarding these lines see the very elaborate account given by Bh. We shall see, in the next article, how they are connected with the Vaiṣṇava *niṣṭhās*.

These marks become “helpers to the Holy” and “givers of blessedness” through the good results which follow meditation upon them. The following is a summary of what P. says regarding the fruits of meditation upon each :—

1. The elephant-goad. No man can control of his own power that furious elephant, the thoughts of the heart. Hence Rāma hath placed the symbol of the elephant-goad upon His foot, that, meditating thereon in their hearts, the Faithful may bring that elephant under subjection.

2. The vestment. Because Rāma's liegemen experience the frost of the cold of apathy, He put the mark of the vestment, that meditating upon and clothed in the thought of this, they may become warm and so be established in the faith.

3. The thunderbolt. Meditation on this teacheth how Rāma splitteth the mountain of sin as with Indra's thunderbolt.

4. The lotus. This is the seat of Lakṣmī, the divine mistress of the nine *nidhis*, or perfect treasures. Therefore meditation upon it accumulath the perfect treasure of Faith (*bhakti*).

5. The barley-corn. He placed this upon His foot, because it giveth all wisdom and all perfections. It is the abode of a right mind, of a right conduct, and of a wealth of bliss. [Barley is a sacred grain. It is rubbed over the corpse of a Hindu and sprinkled on the head before cremation is performed. It is employed as an oblation at the *śrāddha* ceremony, and is the subject of an elaborate festival inaugurating the sowing of the winter crops, entitled the *Jayī*, or barley-feast. In folk-tales it appears as a magic remedy for barrenness. See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 200, 115, 373, 134, and 143.]

6. The banner. When the Faithful see the wickedness of this present Kali age they are for a moment terrified. But meditation on the banner of victory giveth them the confidence of fearlessness.

7. The cow's footmark. The water that lieth in a cow's footmark is but a little puddle. He placed this mark that the wise man, who looketh upon it with the eyes of his heart, may remember that the shoreless ocean of existence hath no terrors to the Faithful, to whom it is but a puddle to be stepped across.

8. The conch. He placed this mark to remind the Faithful of their victory over the hosts of deceit and

wickedness. [The conch is commonly employed in India as a trumpet of victory.]

9. The discus. This is a sign of the slaughter of the demons of lust. [The discus is Viṣṇu's special weapon.]

10. The *svastika*. This He hath placed for auspiciousness. [This is the well-known Svastika, or fylfot, familiar to antiquarians. As an auspicious emblem it is frequently met in India. See Crooke, op. laud., 7, 58, 104, 250.]

11. The rose-apple. Meditate thou on this, for it calleth to thy mind the "four fruits", and thus in many ways fulfilleth thy desires. [The four fruits are the well-known *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mōkṣa*, religious merit, wealth, pleasure, and final emancipation.]

12. The pitcher. 13. The lake of ambrosia. If a man meditate on these his heart becometh full of the nectar of Faith. Drink thou it from the pitcher (or cup) of the eyes of the soul and thou shalt live for ever.

14. The half-moon. Meditate thou on this, for thereby is thy faith increased and the three pains are diminished. [Pain is divided into three classes, viz., *ādhyātmika*, that which is natural and inseparable from the personality; *ādhibhautika*, that which is natural, but extrinsic; and *ādhidaivika*, that which is non-natural or superhuman.]

15. The hexagon. 19. The octagon. 20. The triangle. In that ant-hill, the body, there dwelleth the serpent of the senses. That His liegemen be not bitten by it, hath He taken this labour of placing these amulets there. [These geometrical figures are commonly employed in India as amulets. Cf. Crooke, op. laud., 208.]

16. The fish. 17. The spot. Rāma-candra placed these upon His foot as subjugating talismans. Thus they who meditate upon the feet of Rāma subjugate the hearts of all men. [The fish is the ensign of Kāma-dēva, the Gbd of Love, and therefore the subjugator of the whole

world. The spot is the *bindī*, or spangle, worn between the eyes of a woman, just over the nose. It is considered a great enhancer of beauty, and thus is looked upon as subjugating men's hearts. The corresponding mark worn by men is nowadays known as the *tilak*. Cf. Crooke, *op. laud.*, 202.]

18. The upward line. Who can cross, by his own efforts, the shoreless ocean of existence? Therefore by the upward line He signifieth the causeway which He hath built for His liegemen from this world to the next. [It is hardly necessary to point out that here we have a reference to Adam's Bridge, the causeway which Rāma is said to have built between India and Ceylon.]

21. The rainbow. When He placed the bow upon His foot, He destroyed the grief of those who meditate upon Him. For with his bow He smote the pride of the proud, whereof Rāvaṇa and others are witnesses. [With His bow Rāma slew the demon Rāvaṇa. So also will He slay all the enemies of the Faithful.]

22. The man. When thou hast heard the beautiful reason wherefor He placed the man upon his foot, earnestly desire thou Rāma. Saith He: "The man who, pure in heart, pure in word, and pure in action, meditateth upon Me, him will I put, like this mark, in My foot (*pada*)."  
Be a man never so full of wisdom, be he never so full of the nectar of the wealth of Rāma's form, still let him ever meditate in his heart on the marks on the LORD's feet and carry His name upon his lips. [The word *pada* has two meanings, viz., "a foot" and "a position". Hence when Rāma puts a servant in His *pada* the words may mean either that the servant has the high honour of being allotted a place at Rāma's feet, or that he will have a position near Him in a future life, "forever with the Lord."]

All the above, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the marks on the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

## IV. THE BHAGAVATA NISTHĀS

The word *niṣṭhā* means literally “position” or “attitude”, and as a Bhāgavata technical term implies the special characteristic of a particular saint, as it strikes the observer from the point of view of a devotee. In the various catalogues of saints they are often grouped or classed according to the particular *niṣṭhā* which distinguishes each. A saint may have many visible characteristics, and can thus belong to many *niṣṭhās*. In such a case he is classed under the characteristic that most prominently strikes the devotee. For instance, Bh. refers to Brahmā, who is reckoned amongst the Vaiṣṇava saints (see verse 7 below) in the following terms:—“Although he is most excellent and chief in all *niṣṭhās*, he is nevertheless most suitably included in the second, or *dharma-pracāraka-niṣṭhā*, for he was the leader of the deputation that approached the ADORABLE, and induced Him to become incarnate.” Again, a saint may change his *niṣṭhā*. Thus Ali Bhagavān (*Bhakta-māla*, 94) at first belonged to the 24th, or *prēma-niṣṭhā*, but was finally included in the 9th, or *līlānukaraṇa-niṣṭhā*.

Each *niṣṭhā* is sacred to one or other of the twenty-four incarnations described in the preceding article, and is also associated with one of the marks on the ADORABLE’S feet, as detailed above. The following is a list of the various *niṣṭhās*, together with the corresponding incarnations and footmarks. After each of the incarnations and footmarks I have added the serial number in Nābhā’s lists:—

Name of <i>Niṣṭhā</i> .	Corresponding Incarnation.	Corresponding Footmark.
1. <i>Dharma</i> . Morality, the Performance of good actions, which must be entirely <i>niṣkāma</i> , or disinterested, i.e. actions ( <i>karma</i> ) not done for the sake of reward in a future life.	The Fish (1).	The Elephant-goad (1).

<i>Name of Niṣṭhā.</i>	<i>Corresponding Incarnation.</i>	<i>Corresponding Footmark.</i>
2. <i>Dharma-pracāraka.</i> The Spreading of the Bhāgavata gospel of Faith.	The Vyāsa (11).	The Thunderbolt (3).
3. <i>Sādhu - sēva</i> and <i>Sat - saṅga.</i> Attendance on, and consorting with the Saints.	The Boar (2).	The Vestment (2).
4. <i>Śravaṇa.</i> Hearing the Word.	Kapila (23).	The Lotus (4).
5. <i>Kīrtana.</i> Psalmody, Singing of hymns.	Dattātrēya (22).	The Barley-corn (5).
6. <i>Vēṣa.</i> Dress and Sectarian marks.	Yajña (16).	The Banner (6).
7. <i>Guru.</i> Teachers.	Ṛṣi (12).	The Cow's Foot-print (7).
8. <i>Pratimā-arcā.</i> Worship of images of the ADORABLE.	The Swan (14).	The Conch (8).
9. <i>Līlānukaraṇa.</i> Devotion to the earthly acts of the ADORABLE.	The Tortoise (3).	The Discus (9).
10. <i>Dayā-Ahimsā.</i> Tenderness and Mercy.	Dhanvantari (20).	The Svastika (10).
11. <i>Vrata-Upāsa.</i> The Performance of difficult vows and Asceticism.	The Man-Lion (4).	The Pitcher (12).
12. <i>Mahāprasāda - mahimā.</i> Reverence for the sacramental meal.	Hayagrīva (18).	The Rose-apple (11).
13. <i>Bhagavaddhāma-mahimā.</i> Reverence for places where the ADORABLE lived on earth.	The Dwarf (5).	The Half-moon (14).
14. <i>Bhagavadnāma - mahimā.</i> Reverence for the name of the ADORABLE.	Paraśu-rāma (6).	The Hexagon (15).
15. <i>Jñāna-Dhyāna - mahimā.</i> Reverence for, or mightiness in, Knowledge and Contemplation.	Sanatkumāra (24).	The Fish (16).
16. <i>Vairāgya-Śānti.</i> Passionlessness and Resignation.	Nārāyaṇa (21).	The Spot (17).
17. <i>Bhagavat-sēvā.</i> Service of the ADORABLE.	The Buddha (9).	The Upward Line (18).
18. <i>Dāsyatā.</i> Obedience.	Ṛṣabha (17).	The Full Moon.

# GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

<i>Name of Niṣṭhā.</i>	<i>Corresponding Incarnation.</i>	<i>Corresponding Footmark.</i>
19. <i>Vātsalya</i> . Tender Fondness for the ADORABLE, as that between parents and children.	Hari (11).	The Rainbow (21).
20. <i>Sauhārda</i> . Affection for the ADORABLE, as that between friends.	Kalki (10).	The Octagon (19).
21. <i>Śaraṇāgati</i> . Taking refuge in the ADORABLE, Self-abandonment.	Manvantara (15).	The Umbrella and the Fly-whisk.
22. <i>Sākhyā</i> . Personal regard or friendship for the deity (higher than No. 20).	Dhruva's Boon-Giver (19).	The Diadem.
23. <i>Mādhurya</i> . Passionate Love, as that of a damsel for her beloved, or as that of the herd-maidens for Kṛṣṇa.	Kṛṣṇa (8).	The Triangle (20).
24. <i>Prēma</i> . Perfect Love.	Rāma (7).	<i>Hṛdaya</i> , the Heart.

In the above, while the list of incarnations corresponds to Nābhā's, the list of footmarks differs somewhat. Nābhā's Lake of ambrosia (13) and Man (22) are omitted, and there are five which are not in his list. Of these five, four, the full moon, the umbrella, the fly-whisk, and the diadem, are in the larger list given on p. 88, and one, the heart, is not recorded in any other list of footmarks which I have seen. The connexion between these incarnations and footmarks on the one side, and the *niṣṭhās* on the other, is clear enough in one or two instances, but in most cases it is quite obscure to me. Doubtless there is some mystic meaning in each case.

The 16th, 18th, 22nd, 19th, and 23rd *niṣṭhas*, viz., *Śānti*, *Dāsyatā*, *Sākhyā*, *Vātsalya*, and *Mādhurya*, are the five *rasas*, or Flavours, of *bhakti*, as explained on p. 611 of JRAS. for 1909. They represent ascending grades, in the order here given, of the faith which is experienced by a holy man. *Śānti* is *bhakti* in its simplest form—a mere resignation. In *dāsyā*, it takes a more active

form in the obedience which the devotee takes upon himself, and so on for the others, as explained in the table. See also Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, i, 163.

## V. THE TWELVE MIGHTY IN THE FAITH

The seventh verse of Nābhā's text, and the third in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

TEXT.

*Chappai.*

(7) (3). (1) Brahmā, (2) Nārada, (3) Śiva, (4) Sanaka and his Brethren, (5) Kapila, (6) the royal Manu, (7) (Prahāda) the Liegeman of the Man-lion, (8) Janaka, (9) Bhīṣma, (10) Bali, (11) Śuka, and (12) the Righteous One (Yama). He who knoweth, and he who telleth, of these most intimate followers of the LORD that sing His fame, obtaineth blessings from the beginning unto the end. Know thou the tale of Ajāmila as the ascertainment of the worth of the Supreme Duty. These twelve are the Chiefs. Moreover, by their mercy do all others gain understanding.

*Notes.*

Nābhā next celebrates the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, or those Mighty in the Faith, who are considered to be the founders of the *Bhāgavata* religion. Authorities are at variance as to whom the author intended as the twelfth. Some take the word *Dharma-svarūpa*, which I have translated "the Righteous One", as merely an epithet of Śuka, and count Ajāmila as the twelfth. I have followed the explanation of Bh., who makes *Dharma-svarūpa* the equivalent of *Dharma-rāja*, i.e. Yama. He is the supreme judge of the value of duties performed, or not performed, in this life, and, if he is the twelfth in Nābhā's list, he is quoted on account of the story of Ajāmila, for which see below. The word *prasāṅga*, which I have translated "tale", is a technical term in these Vaiṣṇava works, and is equivalent to what lawyers would call a leading case.

*Parama-dharma*, which I translate by the "Supreme Duty", is a synonym for *Bhāgavata-dharma*. Ajāmila's case is a typical instance of the valuelessness of works (*karma*) as compared with faith (*bhakti*). So far as works went he was a gross sinner, but the accidental utterance of the name of the ADORABLE at the moment of his death was an act of faith, albeit a small one, and the ADORABLE, in His infinite mercy, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, destroyed the sequence of all his evil works, and saved him.

We see here the same distinction between faith and works that exists in Christendom. I have dealt with this question at length in an article on *The Modern Hindū Doctrine of Works*, on pp. 337 ff. of the Journal of this Society for 1908, and I do not repeat what I said on that occasion.

The following are the particulars regarding these twelve Mighty in the Faith:—

1. *Brahmā* (properly *Brahmān*). As explained above, on p. 94, he is classed in the second, or *dharma-pracāra-ka nīṣṭhā*. A good deal has been already said about him on p. 637 of the article on Incarnations. Whenever any offence (*vighna*) occurs in the world, it is *Brahmā* who moves the ADORABLE to become incarnate in order to remove it. For the part taken by *Brahmā* in the creation of the universe, see *Bhṛ. P.*, III, viii–xii. It should be observed that, although a *dēva*, *Brahmā* is a finite being. According to the *Bhāgavatas*, there is only one eternal God—the ADORABLE.

2. *Nārada*. The well-known *dēvarṣi*, and chief of the heavenly musicians. For a full account of his important position in the *Bhāgavata* hierarchy, see pp. 637 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Although he can appropriately be classed under the second (*dharma-pracāra-ka*), or under the third (*sādhu-sēvā*), or under the fifth (*kīrtana*), or under the twelfth (*mahāprasāda-mahimā*), he most

peculiarly belongs to the fourth (*śravaṇa*) *niṣṭhā*. This is owing to his attentive listening to the conversations of saints in a former birth, as described in the former article.

3. *Siva*. He is fully dealt with on pp. 639 ff. of the article on Incarnations. As the founder of the *Rudra-sampradāya*, he is classed in the second (*dharma-pracāraka*) *niṣṭhā*.

4. *Sanaka and his Brethren*. These have been already dealt with on pp. 634 ff. of the article on Incarnations. Like the thousand sons of Dakṣa, who learnt the Sāṅkhya philosophy, and hence begat no children (*MBh.*, I, lxxv), they, too, had no offspring (*Bhg. P.*, III xii, 4). Priyā-dāsa is here silent regarding them.

5. *Kapila*. Priyā-dāsa is also silent here about him. He is described in the article on Incarnations (p. 634). He is classed as one of the Mighty in the Faith, as being the original teacher to men of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The *locus classicus* for Kapila is *Bhg. P.*, III, xxiv ff. He was son of Kardama and Dēvahūti. This would make him a Kṣatriya by caste, for Dēvahūti's father was the Rājarsi Manu Svayambhuva (III, xxi, 26). It may seem strange that followers of so strongly monotheistic a cult as that of the Bhāgavatas should attach such great importance to the name of Kapila, making him actually an incarnation of the ADORABLE, for the Sāṅkhya is a system of pure atheism. The fact is explained by noting that what is really meant is the Yōga development of Sāṅkhya, usually attributed to Patañjali, but really much older. This is theistic, and it is worthy of note that while Patañjali calls his Īśvara, or Supreme Deity, a *puruṣa-viśeṣa*, in *Bhg.*, I, iii, 1, care is taken to state that the ADORABLE took the form of *Puruṣa* before he became incarnate as Kapila. The Sāṅkhya philosophy also calls what is the nearest thing to a deity in its system by the same name. In the *Bhg. P.* and in the *Bhakta-māla* Patañjali's name is not mentioned, and Kapila is everywhere referred to as the founder of the

Yōga system. In the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahā-bhārata* (XII, cccxxxvi-cccliii), while the intimate connexion between the Sāṅkhya-Yōga and Bhāgavata systems is over and over again insisted upon, the author of the Yōga system is said to have been Hiranyagarbha "and no other" (13,703). In *Bhg. P.*, III, xxv ff., this system, with alterations to make it harmonize more closely with the *bhakti*-cult of the Bhāgavatas, is explained at some length, the speaker being said to be Kapila himself. In the course of several chapters Kapila first explains what *yōga*, or concentration, means, and in the following chapters describes *bhakti*, and explains that it is the same as *yōga*, the ADORABLE, or Bhagavat, being the same as the Īśvara of that system of philosophy. *Yōga* is divided into two kinds, action (*karma-yōga*) and contemplation (*jñāna-yōga*). The Deity is given a much more important part in the system than in that of Patañjali. All this closely follows the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

In Lōkācārya's *Artha-pañcaka*, which is a summary of the doctrines of Rāmānuja, five *Upāyas*, or methods of salvation, are mentioned, viz., *karma-yōga*, *jñāna-yōga*, *bhakti-yōga*, *prapatti-yōga*, and *ācāryādbhimāna-yōga*. The last is a resort for the weaker brethren, and need not concern us here. *Karma-yōga* is purification by ritual, followed by active methods of concentration. This concentration leads to *jñāna-yōga*, which consists in fixing the mind on the Deity. This leads to the highest stage, or *bhakti-yōga*, which consists in seeing nothing but the Deity. *Prapatti-yōga* is absolute self-abandonment to the Divine mercy and love, and is prescribed for those who find the active exercise of devotion (*bhakti*) too difficult.

Cf. M. Senart's *Origines Bouddhiques*, pp. 21 ff., for a luminous account of the manner in which the religion of the Bhāgavatas became mixed up with *yōga*. Also the Introduction to Professor Garbe's German translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

6. *Manu*. This is the well-known Svâyambhuva Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha, to whom, as we have just said, the *MBh.* attributes the origin of the Yôga system of philosophy. He was a *Rājarsi* (*Bhg. P.*, III, xxi, 26), which connects him with the Kṣattriya caste. According to Tulasī-dāsa,<sup>1</sup> his and his wife Śatarūpa's *mantra* was *ōm namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya*. Their devotion was so intense that the ADORABLE revealed Himself personally to them under the form of Hari and blessed them, promising that Manu should be reborn as Daśaratha, and that He Himself would become his son in the person of Rāma.

7. *Prahlāda*. He belongs to the 18th, or *dāsyatā niṣṭhā*. His story is told in *Bhg. P.*, VII. Jaya and Vijaya were *Pārṣadas* of the ADORABLE, being gatekeepers of Viṣṇu's heaven. One day they refused to allow Sanaka and his Brethren (No. 4, above) to enter. They were misled by their perpetual youth into thinking that they were children who had no business there. The saints cursed them each to be reborn three times as Asuras. Jaya was first reborn as Hiranyākṣa, and Vijaya as his brother Hiranyakaśipu. Then they were reborn as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, and, finally, as Śiśupāla and his brother Dantavakra. Further information about Jaya and Vijaya will be found in the notes to verse 8. Cf. also *Bhg. P.*, III, xv ff.

When the ADORABLE, in his Boar incarnation, had killed Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakaśipu, warned by experience, performed austerities, and obtained from Brahmā the boon that he should not die at the hand of any being of Brahmā's creation; or in or out of doors; or by night or by day; or by weapons; or on the earth or in the sky; or by man or by beast; or by things with breath or by things without breath; or by gods, or by Asuras, or by Nāgas. His son, Prahlāda, was devoted to Viṣṇu, and was in consequence cruelly persecuted by his father. Prahlāda

<sup>1</sup> *Rām.*, I, dō. 148 ff., q.v. for the whole story.

recited to his father long arguments in favour of the **Bhāgavata** religion, which are duly recorded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. When Hiranyakaśipu was about to slay his son, Viṣṇu took the form of the Man-Lion incarnation (neither man nor beast) and seized Hiranyakaśipu, took him to the doorway of the palace (neither inside nor outside), set him on his (the Man-Lion's) thigh (neither on the earth nor in the sky), and tore him asunder with his nails (not with weapons), in the twilight hour (neither by night nor by day).

Prahlāda was a devotee of the ADORABLE, because his mother, when she was pregnant with him, fell under the instruction of Nārada. Prahlāda's favourite utterance is said to have been "Śri-Sītā-Rāma", which is an anachronism, as Rāma was a much later incarnation than the Man-Lion. His story is so well known that I have omitted details.

8. *Janaka*. Janaka is remembered by Bhāgavatas, not only as being the father of Sītā, but also as being in a special way a master of *yōga*. Śukadēva, the narrator of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (see No. 11, below), paid a visit to him, and was astonished at his powers in this direction. The *Bhakti-prēmākura*, in its commentary to this passage, gives a long account of the visit. The same visit is described in *MBh.*, XII, cccxxvi-vii, where Janaka is even represented as teaching Śuka. This is quite in accordance with other Bhāgavata authorities, for his name is not only intimately connected with the origins of Yōga philosophy, but is also frequently associated with the Bhāgavata religion. Even in the earliest books of the sect he is mentioned as one of the old teachers (e.g. *Bhg. G.*, iii, 20). He belongs to the 20th, or *Sauhārda*, *niṣṭhā*, owing to his having been Rāma's father-in-law.

9. *Bhīṣma*. The well-known hero of the *Mahābhārata*. Owing to the many occasions on which he followed the rules of Duty, he belongs to the 1st, or *Dharma*, *niṣṭhā*. It is sufficient to explain here that he is counted as one of

the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, because he recited the *Nārāyaṇīya* and other *bhakti* sections of the *Mahābhārata*, while lying on his arrow death-bed.

10. *Bali*. He was Prahlāda's grandson (see No. 7), and, like Bhīṣma, is included in the 1st, or *Dharma*, *niṣṭhā*. He conquered earth and heaven, and, at the intercession of Aditi, the ADORABLE took the Dwarf incarnation, and asked Bali for the famous three steps of land. Although a *Daitya*, Bali was, as became Prahlāda's grandson, a pious *bhakta*. He refused to listen to the objections of Śukra, his *guru*, and readily gave the area asked for. When the ADORABLE covered Heaven and Earth with the two first steps, there was nothing left for the third step, and so He condemned Bali to reign in Hell, as a punishment for not fulfilling his promise. At the same time he promised that, in his next birth, Bali should reign in Heaven (*sura-pura*).

In acting as he did in the Dwarf incarnation, the ADORABLE committed the serious offence of cheating a *bhakta*. He therefore condemned Himself to become Bali's doorkeeper in Hell, in the shape of the Dwarf, thus, not only punishing Himself, but also giving Bali the bliss of having ever present to his view one of the ADORABLE'S incarnations. The story of Bali will be found in *Bhg. P.*, VIII, xv ff.

Bali's claim to be entered on the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* is based on the theory that he was not taken in at all by the Dwarf, whom he recognized from the first as an incarnation of the ADORABLE. So great was his *bhakti* that he refused to heed the words of his *guru*, and at once knowingly gave up to Him all that he had.

11. *Śuka*. He was son of the Vyāsa, and belongs to the 5th, or *Kīrtana*, *niṣṭhā*. One account of his birth, taken from *BhK.*, pp. 107 ff., is that he was originally a parrot (*śuka*) in Śiva's paradise. One day Śiva was occupied in telling to Pārvatī in strict privacy the mystery

of the name of Rāma. While he was telling her, Pārvati fell asleep, but Śiva did not notice it, for, by the will of the LORD, the young parrot was there, and kept saying at intervals, in Pārvati's voice, "Yes, yes" (*hā, hā*). Owing to his hearing the story of the mystery of the name of Rāma,<sup>1</sup> he became filled with the supreme wisdom, and, at the same time, immortal. After a time Śiva discovered that it was the bird that was saying "Yes, yes", and in his anger tried to kill him, but he escaped and took refuge in the womb of Vyāsa's wife. There he remained hidden for twelve years, but at length, being entreated by the gods and Ṛṣis, he consented to be born from her as Śuka-dēva. Directly he was born<sup>2</sup> he began to wander about in the forest. His father, Vyāsa, ran after him crying "My son, my son", but he would not stop or give reply. Then the trees<sup>3</sup> of the forest cried out to Vyāsa that he was forgetting that there was really no distinction between the "I" and "thou", happiness and unhappiness, father and son, all being but forms, of the One, the ADORABLE. Vyāsa, convinced by these arguments, returned home, but, still wishing to find his son, taught a number of lads to recite the *Bhāgavatu Purāṇa*, and sent them repeating it into the forest in which Śuka was roaming. Śuka heard one of the lads reciting the *ślōkas*, describing the forgiveness and salvation of the witch Pūtānā,<sup>4</sup> who attempted to poison Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>1</sup> Tulasi-dāsa refers to this story as illustrating the power of the sacred Name in *Rām.*, I, xxvi, 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Bhḡ. P.*, I, iv, 8, he never stayed in one house longer than the time occupied in milking one cow. He was so pure in thought that though he was naked the nymphs who were bathing as he passed by did not trouble even to blush, much less to put on any apparel. On the other hand, when Vyāsa, his father, passed by with all his clothes on in pursuit of his son, they hurried on their garments as fast as they could.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bhḡ. P.*, I, ii, 2. The trees were inspired by Śuka's spirit.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhḡ. P.*, X, vi, 35—

*Pūtānā lōka-bāla-ghnī rākṣasī rudhīrā- 'śanā |*  
*jīghāmsayā 'pi Harayē stanān datvā- 'pa sadgatim ||*

He was so struck by the infinite grace shown by this merciful and forgiving act of the Deity that he asked the boys where they had learnt it. They referred him to Vyāsa. He went to his father, who taught him the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. He then, for the salvation of the world, taught it to King Parikṣit.

*MBh.* XII, cccxxiv-xxxiv, gives a different account of the birth of Śuka, and adds a long story of his wanderings and of his final emancipation.

Śuka's claim to be included in the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* rests on the fact that it was he who narrated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

12. *Yama*. He is the ruler of the nether world, and sinners are his prey for torture after death. His title to be inserted in the list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas* is based on his readiness to forego his claim to carry off sinners, on hearing, at the time of their death, merely the name of the ADORABLE. The "leading case" on this point is the story of Ajāmila, given in *Bhg. P.*, VI, i, ii. In iii, Yama recites a long account of the glory of the ADORABLE. P., who gives no particulars regarding any of the *Mahābhaktas* after Śiva, gives the following account, the translation being amplified, as usual, by the explanation of Bh. G. and K. :—

Ajāmila was the son of a Brāhmaṇa. His parents gave him the name of "Ajā-mēla", which was a true name for him. For he became united to Ajā,<sup>1</sup> and abandoned his lawful wife of good Brāhmaṇa caste. He had taken to drinking wine, and therefore he seized his wisdom (i.e. his wife) and flung it far away. He joined his body

<sup>1</sup> According to Bh., "Ajā" here means "Māyā" or "illusion" in the person of a harlot. K. simply says that "Ajā" means "harlot". G. takes "ajā" as meaning "she-goat", and says that he became the servant of a butcher, and was associated with the offal of the slaughtered she-goats. K. adds that he was expelled from the town by the king, and lived in a hut outside the town on the earnings of the harlot.

to a woman that was a sinner whom he had taken to himself.

It chanced that holy men (*sādhu*) came to his village and asked where they should abide for the night. Some wicked fellows, as a joke, sent them to Ajāmila's house. When Ajāmila saw them his native wisdom returned to him, and instead of treating the holy men with contumely, he hospitably received them. As they departed in the morning, he laid his pregnant slave girl before their feet, and asked them to bless her. The leader of the holy men blessed her in the name of the Lord Rāma. He promised that the child within her womb should be a son, and commanded Ajāmila to call his name "Nārāyaṇa". When her time came, a son was born, and so he named him.

While he remained bound in the illusion of love for his mistress and her son alone, his fated hour came, and it was the time for him to die. Terrible demons, messengers from Yama, did he see around his bed, waiting to carry off his soul to torment. In his agony he called for that very son who had been given to him by the mercy of the saints. "Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa," he cried in terror. The ADORABLE'S<sup>1</sup> archangels (*pārśada*), who ever wander hither and thither on their Master's business, heard a poor human being calling in distress upon "Nārāyaṇa", and rushed to his aid. They tore open the nooses which Yama's demons had cast around him. When these demons asked them why they had released so great a sinner, they told them the glories of the name of the ADORABLE and drove them away. The demons hastened to Yama and complained, but he, when he had heard their tale, condemned them. "May the thunderbolt fall upon you," said he. "Hear ye me. No matter how great a sinner a man may be, go ye not near him if ye hear issuing from

<sup>1</sup> One of the ADORABLE'S names is Nārāyaṇa.

his mouth, even though it be in error, the Holy Name of the LORD.”<sup>1</sup>

NOTE ON THE POWER ATTRIBUTED TO THE NAME OF THE DEITY IN  
THE BHĀGAVATA RELIGION.

The sacredness and mystic power of the Name of the Deity, mentioned here by Yama, is much dwelt upon by Bhāgavata writers, and finds interesting parallels in ancient and mediæval Christian compositions. Origen himself (*Contra Celsum*, i, 6) says that the power of exorcism lies “in the Name of Jesus, which is uttered as the stories of His life are being narrated”. He talks of a secret “science of names”, which confers powers upon the initiated. “The Name of Jesus,” he adds, “comes under this science of names.” Growse, in his translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasī-dāsa (I, xxv), quotes several parallel passages from later theologians, viz., “The holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect” (*Thomas à Kempis*). (*P. Pelbart*) “By His most holy Name, which consists of five letters, He daily offers pardon to sinners.” (*S. Bonaventura*) “No one can devoutly utter Thy Name without profit,” and again, “Glorious and wonderful is the Name. Those who keep it, will have no fear when at the point of death.” (*Ricardus de S. Laurentio*) “The Name alone is sufficient for healing; for there is no plague so obstinate that it does not inevitably yield to the Name.” (*S. Bridget*) “Evil spirits flee, as if from fire, when they hear the Name,” and “All demons honour this Name and fear it. When they hear it, they at once release the soul which they have been holding in their talons”. (*Honorius*) “The Name is full of all sweetness, and of divine relish.” There are traces of this reverence for the name in modern Christian hymns.

So Tulasī-dāsa, like Thomas à Kempis, praises (*Rām.*, I, xxiv) “these two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world, and felicity in the next”. With Oriental hyperbole he (xxv) even maintains that the Name is greater than the substance. “The form is of less importance than the Name, for without the Name you cannot come to the knowledge of the form; if the very form be in your hand, still, without knowing the Name, it is not recognized; but meditate on the Name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion.” Again, Nānak says:—

*sabhi japa sabhi tapa sabha caturāi | ujharī bharamē rāhi na pāi ||*  
*bina sūjhē kō thāi na pāi | nāma bihūnē matthē chāi ||*

All prayers, all austerities, all wisdom, are wandering in the waste and finding no way. Without the (true) vision man has no abiding place; for bereft of the Name, he hath but ashes on his head (i.e. he is a castaway).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. Bridget's words quoted in the following paragraph.

## VI. THE SIXTEEN ARCHANGELS

The eighth verse of Nābhā's text, and the sixth in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

*Chappai.*

(8) (6). May the thoughts of my mind ever there dwell where the Archangels abide at the feet of Nārāyaṇa. (1) Viṣvaksēna, (2) Jaya, (3) Vijaya, (4) Prabala, and (5) Bala, the givers of benison; (6) Nanda, (7) Sunanda, (8) Subhadra, and (9) Bhadra, the destroyers of the disease of the world; (10) Caṇḍa and (11) Pracāṇḍa, the humble; (12) Kumuda and (13) Kumudākṣa, the abodes of compassion; (14) Śīla, (15) Śuśīla, and (16) Suśēṇa, the protectors of the loving Faithful,—all skilled in giving pleasure to the Lord of Lakṣmī, the friends of the Faithful who delight in adoration.

The Author now celebrates the sixteen *Pārṣadas* or Chief Attendants on the ADORABLE. Gōvindācārya well calls them "Archangels". They all belong to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*. Of these Viṣvaksēna, Jaya, and Vijaya are the best known. The word "Viṣvaksēna" (He whose hosts are ubiquitous) is also used as a name of the ADORABLE Himself (e.g. *MBh.*, VI, 2944, and *Bhg. P.*, I, ii, 8; III, xiii, 3). As one of the archangels he is mentioned as their chief in *Bhg. P.*, V, xx, 40. In VIII, xxi, 16, he is mentioned with Jaya, Vijaya, Prabala, Nanda, Sunanda, Kumuda, and Kumudākṣa as leading the heavenly armies against the troops of Bali. Jaya and Vijaya will be referred to more particularly below. In *Bhg. P.*, X, lxi, 12, 17, they are referred to as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Prabala, Nanda, and Sunanda also appear in *Bhg. P.*, II, ix, 14. In *Bhg. P.*, X, vii, 15, Bala and Prabala are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa. Nanda and Sunanda appear in *Bhg. P.*, IV, xii, 24, as the messengers of the ADORABLE to tell Dhruva of his elevation to the Pole. In I, xiv, 32, they are referred to as prominent Sātvatas in attendance on the mortal Kṛṣṇa. In the preceding line Suśēṇa is mentioned as Kṛṣṇa's son.

Bhadra and Subhadra are mentioned as sons of Kṛṣṇa in *Bhg. P.*, X, lxi, 14, 17. Sunanda again appears, this time with Kumuda, in *Bhg. P.*, VII, viii, 39, where they hymn the Man-Lion after he has killed Hiranya-Kaśipu.

P.'s commentary is to the following effect : The sixteen chief archangels are saved by Nature<sup>1</sup> and store up service to Nārāyaṇa, the Lord of Śrī, like wealth in the treasuries of their hearts. Very skilled are they in doing His pleasure. They meditate upon Him, and are devoted to protecting His servants as surely as the eyelid protects the eye.

Such joy have they in fulfilling the commands of their Master, that, when Sanaka and his brethren (see note 7 to the preceding verse) cursed Jaya and Vijaya to be born three times as Asuras<sup>2</sup>, and when He Himself appeared to them and commanded them to accept the curse as though they were drinking nectar, so obedient were they to His command that they gave up the joy of His service, and gladly accepted a state which was hostile to Him.

<sup>1</sup> Ordinary beings are divided, according to the *Artha-pañcaka*, into four grades, viz. :—

- (1) *Baddha*, those who are tied to the things of this world, and are not on the way of salvation ;
- (2) *Mumukṣu*, those who desire salvation, but have not yet become fit for it ;
- (3) *Kēśava*, the pure in heart, who are devoted to the ADORABLE alone, and who are thus on the way of salvation ;
- (4) *Mukta*, the saved.

To these is added a fifth class—those who have never entered into the round of transmigration, but are saved (*mukta*) from the moment of their creation and for ever (*nitya-mukta*). This class includes the Pāśadas, as stated above, Garuḍa, and other semi-divine persons.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this, and of the birth of Jaya and Vijaya in the womb of Diti, see *Bhg. P.*, III, xiv-xix.

(To be continued.)



## THE BABAR-NAMA DESCRIPTION OF FARGHANA

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

[THE following article contains a revised translation of Bābar's account of Farghāna, a passage discussed and quoted by many writers on Turkistān. Some mistaken inferences have been drawn from it as it stands in the *Memoirs* and *Mémoires*, because these both lacked a pure textual basis and modern local knowledge. I regret that, obeying a Turk in his Turkī, an autobiographer in his style, my wording departs from Mr. Erskine's. The speech of some Englishmen can go straight into Turkī; out of Turkī, Bābar's should go straight into theirs. They are not schooled, nor was he. Neither blurs meaning by complex statement; neither throws "and" into the pause between two thoughts. Mr. Symonds' rule gathers force from the clearness of the mould of Turkī speech: "A good translation should resemble a plaster cast, the English being *plaqué* upon the original, so as to reproduce its exact form, although it cannot convey the effects of bronze or marble which belong to the material of the work of art."]

[fol. 1b<sup>1</sup>.]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

<sup>2</sup>I became ruler <sup>3</sup>in the country of Farghāna, in my twelfth year, in the month Ramzān, at the date 899.<sup>4</sup>

Farghāna is of the fifth climate.<sup>5</sup> It is situated on the limit of settled habitation. It has Kāshghar on the east, Samarqand on the west, the mountains of the Badakhshān border on the south. On the north, though there may once have been towns,<sup>6</sup> such as Ālmāligh, Ālmātū, and

Yāngi which (*kīm*) in books they write Ūṭrār, all is now desolate; there remains no settled population whatever, because of the Mughūls and the Ūzbegs.<sup>7</sup>

Farghāna is a small country, abounding in grain and fruit. Round about it are mountains; to the west there are none, that is,<sup>8</sup> towards Khujend and Samarqand. During the winter an enemy can come in only from that side.<sup>9</sup>

The Saihūn River (*daryā*), commonly known as the Khujend Water [fol. 2], coming in from the north-east, flows westward through<sup>10</sup> the country. After passing Khujend on the north and Fanākat,<sup>11</sup> now known as Shāhrukhīa, on the south, it turns straight towards the north and goes to Turkistān. It does not join itself to any sea (*daryā*),<sup>12</sup> (but) sinks into the sand a good way below Turkistān.

Farghāna has seven separate townships,<sup>13</sup> five on the south of the Saihūn, two on the north. Of those on the south, one is Andijān which (*kīm*) has a central position and is the capital of the country. It produces much grain, fruit in abundance, excellent grapes and melons. In the melon season, to sell the fruit up at the beds is not the custom.<sup>14</sup> Better than the Andijān *nāshpātī* there is none.<sup>15</sup> Its walled town (*qūrghān*) is the largest in the Māwarā'u'n-nahr after Samarqand and Kesh. It has three gates; its citadel (*ark*) is on its southern side. Into it water goes by nine channels; out of it, it is strange that none comes at even a single place.<sup>16</sup> Along the outer side of its ditch<sup>17</sup> runs a gravelled highway; the width of this same road separates the town from its surrounding suburbs.

Andijān has good fowling and hunting. Its pheasants [fol. 2b] become so extremely plump that it is rumoured four people could not finish one they were eating with its stew.<sup>18</sup>

The Andijānīs are all Turks—not a person in town or its bāzār but knows Turkī. The speech of its people is

correct for the pen ; hence, though Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī<sup>19</sup> was bred and grew up in Herī,<sup>20</sup> his writings are one with their dialect. Good looks are common amongst them. Khwāja Yūsuf who (*kīm*) is famous in music, was an Andijānī.<sup>21</sup> There is malaria (*'ufūnat*) in the air ; people generally get fever in autumn.<sup>22</sup>

Again, there is Ūsh, to the south-east inclining to east of Andijān and distant 4 *yīghāch* from it by road.<sup>23</sup> It has a fine climate ; running water abounds<sup>24</sup> ; its spring season is very beautiful indeed. Many traditions have their rise in its excellencies.<sup>25</sup> To the south-east of the walled town is a symmetrical hill, known as the Barā Koh.<sup>26</sup> On its summit, Sultān Malūmūd Khān built a retreat (*hajra*), and on its shoulder, lower down, in 902 (1496), I built one, having a porch. Though his lay the higher, mine was the better placed, all the town and suburbs being at its feet [fol. 3].

The Andijān torrent<sup>27</sup> goes to Andijān after passing through the suburbs of Ūsh. Garden-plots (*bāghāt*)<sup>28</sup> lie along both its banks ; all the Ūsh gardens (*bāghlār*) overlook it. Their violets are very fine ; they have running waters and in spring are most beautiful with the bloom of many tulips and roses.

There is a mosque, called the Jauzā Masjid, on the skirt of the Barā Koh<sup>29</sup> ; between this and the town a large canal flows from the direction of the hill ; below its outer court is a shady and pleasant clover-meadow where every passing traveller rests. If anyone fall asleep there, it is the joke of the ragamuffins of Ūsh to let water out of the canal upon him.<sup>30</sup> In 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā's latter days, a very beautiful stone, waved red and white,<sup>31</sup> was found on the Barā Koh ; of it they make knife-handles and the clasps of belts and many other things.

For climate and pleasantness, no township in all Farghāna equals Ūsh.

Again, there is Marghinān, 7 *yīghāch*<sup>32</sup> by road to the west of Andijān. It is a fine township, full of good things; its grapes and pomegranates are most excellent. They call one kind of pomegranate, the Great Grain (*dāna kalān*); its sweetness has a little of the sub-acid of the apricot and it may be preferred [fol. 3] to the Semnān.<sup>33</sup> Again, there grows an apricot which they dry after stoning it and putting back its kernel; they (then) call it *subhānī*<sup>34</sup>; it is very palatable.

Marghinān has good hunting and fowling; *āq kīyīk*<sup>35</sup> are found close by. Its people are Sārts,<sup>36</sup> boxers, noisy and turbulent. Their pugnacity is known all over Māwarā'u'n-nahr; most of the noted bullies (*janḡralār*) of Samarqand and Bukhārā are Marghinānīs. The author of the Hidāyat<sup>37</sup> was from Rushdān, a village of Marghinān.

Again, there is Asfara, in the hill-country (*koh pāya*)<sup>38</sup> 9 *yīghāch*<sup>39</sup> to the south-west of Marghinān. It has running water, beautiful small gardens<sup>40</sup> and many fruit-trees, but in its gardens mostly alnonds. Its people are all Persian-speaking Sārts.<sup>41</sup> Amongst the low hills, a *shar'i* (circa 2 miles) to the south of Asfara (town), is a piece of rock called the Mirror Stone.<sup>42</sup> It may be about 10 *qārī* (arms'-lengths) long; it is as high as a man in some places, up to his waist in others. Everything is reflected in it as in a mirror.

The *wilāyat* of Asfara is (in) four hill-country divisions (*balūk*). One is Asfara, one Warūk, one Sūkh, one Hushyār. When Shaibānī Khān had defeated Sultān Maḥmūd Khān and Alacha Khān, and taken Tāshkent and Shāhrukhīa,<sup>43</sup> I went into the Sūkh [fol. 4] and Hushyār hill-country and there, after nearly a year spent in great misery, I decided for Kābul.<sup>44</sup>

Again, there is Khujend,<sup>45</sup> 25 *yīghāch* by road to the west of Andijān and 25 *yīghāch* by road to the east of Samarqand.<sup>46</sup> It is one of the ancient towns; of it were

Shaikh Maṣlahāt and Khwāja Kamāl.<sup>47</sup> Fruit grows well there; the excellence of its pomegranates is well known; people talk of a Khujend pomegranate as they do of a Samarqand apple. Just now, however, Marghinān pomegranates are much more met with.<sup>48</sup>

The walled town of Khujend is on high ground, the Saihūn flowing to the north of it at the distance perhaps of an arrow's flight. To the north of both the walled town and the river is a range called Munūghul;<sup>49</sup> they say turquoise and other mines are to be found there; it has many snakes.

The hunting and rowling grounds of Khujenu are first-rate; *āq kīyūk*,<sup>50</sup> *būghū*, *marāl*,<sup>51</sup> pheasants and hares are all had in great plenty.

The climate of Khujend is very malarious; in autumn there is much fever;<sup>52</sup> they rumour that the very sparrows get fever. The cause of the malaria, they say, is the hill lying on the north.

Kand-bādām<sup>53</sup> is a dependency of Khujend; though not a township (*qasba*), it makes rather a good approach to one (*qasbacha*). Its almonds are excellent, hence its name [fol. 4b]; they all go to Hormuz and Hindūstān. It is 6 or 7 *yīghāch*<sup>54</sup> to the east of Khujend.

Between Kand-bādām and Khujend lies a waste, known as Hā Darwesh. Here there is always (*hamesha*) wind; wind goes always (*hamesha*) from it to Marghinān which is to the east of it; wind comes continually (*dā'im*) from it to Khujend which is to the west of it.<sup>55</sup> It has violent, whirling winds (*tund gillār*). They say, some darweshes having met with this wind in this desert (*bādiya*), and not being able to find one another again, kept crying: "Hāy Darwesh! Hāy Darwesh!" All perished, and from that time forth people have called the waste "Hā Darwesh".

Of the townships to the north of the Saihūn Water, one is Akhsi. This in books they write Akhsikī; hence the

poet Aṣīrū'd-dīn is known as *Akhsikīṭī*.<sup>56</sup> After Andijān, Akhsī is the largest township in Farghāna;<sup>57</sup> it is 9 *yīghāch*<sup>58</sup> by road to the west of Andijān. 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā made it his capital. The Saihūn River flows by below the walled town (*qūrghān*). This stands above great (*buland*) ravines. It has deep (*'umīq*) ravines in place of a ditch. {Umar Shaikh Mīrzā when he made it his capital, in several instances (*martaba*) cut other ravines from the outer ones.<sup>59</sup> No walled town in Farghāna is so strong as Akhsī [fol. 5].

The suburbs of Akhsī extend a *shar'ī* (*circa* 2 miles) beyond the walls (*qūrghān*).<sup>60</sup> The proverb, "Where is the village? where are the trees?" they seem to have said of Akhsī.<sup>61</sup> Its melons are excellent; one kind they even call Mir Tīmūrī; it is not known to have its equal in the world.<sup>62</sup> The melons of Bukhārā are famous; I had some brought from there and some from Akhsī when I took Samargand; they were cut up at an entertainment and nothing compared with those from Akhsī.

The Akhsī fowling and hunting are very good indeed. In the waste on the Akhsī side of the Saihūn *āq kīyīk* abound; in the jungle on the Andijān side are to be had many *būghū*,<sup>63</sup> *marāl*, pheasants and hares, all in very good condition.

Again, there is Kāsān, rather a small place to the north of Akhsī. The water of Akhsī comes from it in the way the water of Andijān comes from Ūsh.<sup>64</sup> Kāsān has excellent air and beautiful garden-plots. These, because they all lie along the bed of the torrent,<sup>65</sup> they call *postīn pesh barah*.<sup>66</sup> There is rivalry between Kāsānīs and Ūshīs about the beauty and climate of their townships.

In the mountains round Farghāna are excellent pastures. There and nowhere else grows the *tabalghū*,<sup>67</sup> a tree (*yīghāch*) with red bark [fol. 5b]. They make staves of it,

they make whip-handles of it, they make bird-cages of it, they scrape it into arrows;<sup>68</sup> it is an excellent wood (*yīghāch*) and is taken away to distant places as a rarity.<sup>69</sup> Some books write that the mandrake<sup>70</sup> is found in these mountains, but for this long time past nothing has been heard of it. A grass called the heating (*īq*) grass and having the qualities of the mandrake, is heard of in Yiti Kint;<sup>71</sup> it seems to be the mandrake under another name. There are turquoise and other mines in these mountains.

<sup>1</sup> The foliation marked in the text of this article is that of the Haidarābād Codex of the *Bābar-nāma*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Hai. and Elphinstone MSS. the text begins here; in Kehr's MS. an invocation precedes.

<sup>3</sup> *Pādshāh*. To translate *pādshāh* by "king" or "emperor", as if part of the style of any Timūrid, previous to 913 A.H. (1507), is an anachronism, because till that date even a ruling Timūrid was styled Mirzā (fol. 215), and then first did Bābar change his title. The word *pādshāh* (it is hardly necessary to say) occurs frequently as a common noun in the writings of Bābar's circle. He himself says, e.g., that his father was an ambitious *pādshāh*, i.e. ruler (fol. 5b); it was proposed to make Jahāngīr Mirzā *pādshāh* (ruler) in Farghāna (fol. 24b); Haidar Mirzā writes of Yūnas Khān as *pādshāh* in Mughūlistān, i.e. having chief authority (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Elias & Ross, p. 74). Gul-badan Begam writes of an amīr who was *pādshāh*, i.e. commandant, in Bhakkar (*Humāyūn-nāma*, trans., p. 148). I have seen an instance of its use for a chief boatman. In the *Tazkirāt-ūl-būghrā* the word *pādshāh* is part of the style of a Mughūl nomad, Sātūq-būghrā Khān Ghāzī *Pādshāh* and, it would seem, implies his supremacy amongst the Mughūl Khāns. Perhaps Bābar's assumption of it as a title in 913 A.H. asserted his then supremacy amongst living Timūrid Mirzās.

<sup>4</sup> Bābar was born on Saturday, February 15, 1483 (Muḥarram 6, 888 A.H.), and died December 26, 1530 (Jumāda i, 6, 937 A.H.). His father, 'Umar Shaikh whom he succeeded in Farghāna, died on June 4, 1494 (Ramzān 4, 899 A.H.), "the year of Charles VIII's expedition to Naples" (Erskine). Bābar was born nine months before Luther (b. November 10, 1483).

<sup>5</sup> See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Jarrett, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Shahr-lār bār ikān dūr*. The modern term suiting Central Asian towns is "Garden Cities". Ālmālīgh (lit. "apple-like") was the old capital of Kulja; Ālmātū (var. Ālmātī, named also from the apple) is the Russian Vierny; the now ruined Ūtrār is on the Sīr, somewhat below its intake of the Aris (var. Urus). "In the days of Timūr, Otrār was a place of great note; he died there" (807 A.H., 1405 A.D.) "while preparing for his expedition to China" (Erskine).

## THE BABAR-NAMA DESCRIPTION OF FARGHANA

<sup>7</sup> Of the clause here noted, there have been the following translations.—Hail., Elph., and Kehr's MSS, "*Mughūl u Ūzbeg jihat dīn*;" *Wāqī'āt-i-bābārī* (i.e. Pers. trans.), I O MS 217, "*az jihat 'ubūr Ūzbeg*;" Erskine (*Memoirs of Babar*, p. 1), "In consequence of the incursions of the Ūzbegs;" De Courteille (*Mémoires de Baber*, 1, 1), "(Grace aux ravages commis par les Mongols et Uzbegs)" The Persian *'ubūr* may be thought to improve on Bābar, since the towns mentioned lay in the tide way of nomad passage between east and west, but they are a departure from his words. The Persian text, here as elsewhere, has caused Mr Erskine to diverge from Babar. It may be said (though not in this instance) that some part of the deviation found in the French translation, deviation both from the true Turki text and from Erskine's, is the sequel of defect in Kehr's earlier and Persianised pages (Cf JRAS, January, 1908, art Bābar nāma, for specimens of this Persianisation. For Erskine's comments on the peculiarities of the Persian text see his Preface, p. viii.)

<sup>8</sup> *kim* (*Samarqand u Khujend*) *bulghai*. This frequent phrase of Babar I do not find mentioned in the Turki grammars, it always, I think, expresses apposition; "that is to say" may be its meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Following the Persian trans. Abū'l-fa'z and Erskine omit Babar's seasonal limitation here (*Akbar nama*, Bib. Ind. ed., 1, 85, and trans. H. Beveridge, 1, 221). For a description of the passes into Farghana see Kostenko's *Turkistan Region*, trans. Simla, 1882, vol. 1, sect. 1, cap. 2 and 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Wilāyat nūng ichkarī bula*, perhaps "through the trough of the country" (de Meynard, *ichkar*, creux).

<sup>11</sup> "A town in Mawarūnnahr, also called Shash, and in modern times Tashkend" (Rieu, 1, 79). Babar does not identify Fanakat (var. Benākat, Fiakat) with Tashkent: he does so with Shāhrukhiya. As he distinguishes between Tashkent i.e. Shash, and Fanakat, i.e. Shāhrukhiya while Rieu identifies the two, it may be that Rieu's statement applies not to "modern" but to old Tashkent which stood some 14 miles nearer to the Sir than the newer town does. (Is its first syllable *Ar-jana*, expressive of its bygone status?) Fanakat (Shāhrukhiya) is located by Babar's and by Haidar's narratives near the Sir, perhaps near modern Chinaz. For a discussion on the origin of the name Tashkent see Von Schwarz's *Turkistan*, index s n Tashkent, see too Kostenko, 1, 320; Parker, *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1909, art. Samarqand, pp. 2, 74; JRAS, April, 1909, art. Babar nama. Also Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-nasiri*, index s nn Tāshkent, Fanākat, Shāhrukhiya.

<sup>12</sup> *Hech daryā gha qatūlmas*. Pers. trans. (I O 217, fol. 1b), *hech daryā'ī dīgar ham rāh na shuda*. E. and de C. have understood Babar to say that below Turkistan the Sir is not tributary to any other river, but, although this is the fact, there is room for doubting if this is what he meant. He may preface his clear (but erroneous) statement that the whole Sir sinks (*sinkar*) into the sand by one denying an alternative end of its course, i.e. fall into a *daryā*, a larger body of water, presumably the Sea of Aral. His preposition is *gha* (to), and E.'s "other" is the translation of the gloss *dīgar* of his Persian source.

Bābar, it is evident, did not know the whole course of the Sir. (See Schuyler, i, 550 ff., and Kostenko, i, 198, 218, amongst modern writers about it.)

<sup>13</sup> *Qasbalār*. Bābar's geographical unit is the township, or, more exactly, the village, the inhabited and cultivated oasis. Of frontiers he says nothing.

<sup>14</sup> "i.e. passengers eat them gratuitously" (Leyden). Klaproth, "all ein es ist streng verboten sie zu verkaufen ehe sie reif geworden sind" (*Archiv für Asiatische Literatur*, pp. 101 ff.); cf. T. R. trans., p. 425. See Timkowski's *Travels of the Russian Mission*, i, 419.

From this point there is a gap of two folios in the Elph. MS.

<sup>15</sup> One kind of melon is called the *nāshpātī*, but as Bābar has not mentioned the pear, *nāshpātī* here may mean this fruit. See *Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, p. 6; Kostenko, i, 251; von Schwarz, p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> *Tūqaz tar nau sū kirār, bū 'ajab tūr kim bir yir dū ham ch'gmās*. Pers. trans., I.O. 217, fol. 2: *nūh jūy āb dar qūla' dar mī āyid u in 'ajab ast kah hamā az yak jā ham wa mī bar āyid*. Erskine (p. 2, using Mr. Metcalfe's MS., see Rieu, p. 244), "The water-courses of the mills by which the water enters the city are nine, and it is singular that they all issue from the same place;" Erskine (p. 2 n., using his own MS., see Rieu, l.c.), "Nine streams of water enter the fort, and it is singular that they do not all come out at the same place;" de Courteille (i, 2), "Neuf canaux entrent dans la ville, et il y a cela d'étonnant qu'ils ne sortent par aucune issue." Mr. Erskine had here only the Persian translation to guide him, there being still a gap in the Elph. MS. As he translated in India, the words *tar nau* took on their technical Indian meaning of channels or pipes serving mills. Bābar's meaning is, I think, that all the water brought into the town of Andijān by nine artificial channels was consumed there, leaving no surplus to come out at even one place.

<sup>17</sup> *Khanduq nūng tāsh yānī*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *dar kinār sang bast khanduq*. E. (p. 2), "On the edge of the stone-faced ditch;" de C. (i, 2), "sur le bord extérieur du fossé." There can be little doubt that the Persian trans. is wrong in its *sang bast*, both on the ground of the Turkī wording and because Bābar's point is the unusual circumstance of a road round a ditch: also because Andijān is built on loess and of loess.

<sup>18</sup> *Qirghāwal āshkina sū hīla*. *Āshkina* is allowed by dictionaries to be the rice and vegetables commonly served with the bird. Erskine (p. 2) writes "broth" and adds, in a note, "a sort of stew, or rather, jelly-broth." Ilminsky prints *iskana*, whence de Courteille (i, 3), "quatre personnes ne peuvent venir à bout d'en manger une cuisse." Klaproth (p. 104), "so fette Adler dass vier Menschen von einem ausgewachsenen satt werden können." For a recipe likely to be *āshkina* see Kostenko, i, 287.

<sup>19</sup> b. 1440; d. 1500.

<sup>20</sup> *Heridā nashū u namā tābīb tūr*. M. de Courteille applies these words to *Nawā'ī's* writings: "quoique publiées à Herat, sont conques dans cet idiom" (i, 3).

<sup>21</sup> See Daulat Shāh's *Memoirs of the Poets*, E. G. Browne, pp. 350, 351. Yūsuf was with Bāysanghar Mirzā; he may be one with Yūsuf *Badi'* of Farghāna (fol. 181).

<sup>22</sup> *Gūzlār il bīzkāk kūb būlūr*. The Pers. translator has read Turki *gūz*, autumn, to be Turki *goz*, eye, and adds (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *ashūh chashm u waram ān biyār mī shud u iṭibbā ānrā qirrat mī gūyand*. There is no Turki basis for the above gloss. For statistics of autumn fever in Turkistān and for a novel febrifuge, see von Schwarz, index s.n. Fieber, and also Kostenko, i and iii, Table of Contents.

<sup>23</sup> Pers. trans. *farsang*. Ujfalvy (*Expédition Scientifique*, ii, 179), "L'igadj ou le *farsang* vaut environ 6 kilomètres." Cf. von Schwarz, p. 124. From de C.'s Dict. s.n. *yīghāch*, may be quoted what shows the variable length of this measure: "Trois fois la distance à laquelle un homme, placé entre deux autres, peut se faire entendre d'eux, soit un *farsang*, soit un mille." I cannot bring Bābar's statements of distance in *yīghāch* to agree with the *farsang* of about 4 miles. They work out more nearly to 8 miles per *yīghāch*. Here if the *yīghāch* equal the *farsang* of 4 miles, the distance from Ūsh to Andijān would be 16 miles, but Kostenko gives it (ii, 33) as 50 versts, i.e. 33 m. 1½ fur.

<sup>24</sup> *Āqār sū*, the irrigation channels on which in Turkistān all cultivation depends. Major-General Gérard writes (*Report of the Pamir Boundary Commission*, p. 6), "Osh is a charming little town, resembling Islamābād in Kashmīr,—everywhere the same mass of running water, in small canals, bordered with willow, poplar and mulberry." He saw the Āq Būra, mother of all these running waters, as a "bright, stony, trout stream"; Dr. Stein saw it as a "broad tossing river" (*Buried Cities of Khotan*, p. 45). Cf. Réclus, vi, cap. Farghāna; Kostenko, i, 104; von Schwarz, index under related names.

<sup>25</sup> *Ūsh ning fazilatidā khaili ahādīs wārid dūr*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2), *Fazilat Ūsh ahādīs dar wārid ast*; E. (p. 3), "The excellencies of Ūsh are celebrated even in the sacred traditions;" de C. (i, 2), "On cite beaucoup de traditions qui célèbrent l'excellence de ce climat." Many and various legends have gathered round Ūsh; cf. e.g. Ujfalvy, ii, 172. It may be celebrated, as Mr. Erskine says, in the Sacred Traditions, because of places near it honoured of Musalmāns; it is open to question if Bābar's *fazilat* should be restricted, as M. de Courteille restricts it, to climate only. Ūsh has been distinguished for many centuries by its traditions, is a place of pilgrimage still and has revered objects of presumed curative power.

<sup>26</sup> A good deal has been written about the position of the Barā Koh (e.g. Ritter, v, 432, 732; Réclus, vi, 540; Schuyler, ii, 43; and the references of the first and second. Also, Timkowski, ii, 49). It seems safe to identify it with the Takht-i Sulaimān Ridge, as e.g. Ujfalvy and Schuyler's personal observations led them to do; but some considerations lead me to suggest that by Barā Koh Bābar does not mean the whole ridge, but one only of its four marked summits, i.e. the one shown in Madame Ujfalvy's sketch of it as the highest and as being symmetrical (Bābar's *mauzūn*). "Il y a quatre sommets dont le plus

élevé est le troisième comptant par le nord" (Ujfalvy, i, 96). Madame Ujfalvy's sketch would seem to be taken from the north, because its third summit is the highest (*De Paris à Samargand*, p. 330). A permissible meaning of the words Barā Koh is Pointed Hill; this meaning suits her sketch and Bābar's *mauzūn*; it also helps out the identification of her third summit as the Barā Koh, since only this third is well-shaped and definite. There is this in favour of limiting the name Barā Koh; Bābar must have known that Takht-i Sulaimān was the name of the whole isolated rocky ridge. It would clear up a good deal of confusion about names and location, written of by Ritter, Réclus, Schuyler and others, if the name Barā Koh be taken as limited in the way I mention. (A suggestion made (i, 3 n.) by M. de Courteille that Barā Koh should be Bālā (high) Koh has no support in the MSS.)

<sup>27</sup> *Rūd*, a precise word, since the Āq Būra, issuing as the Tūrūq from the Kordun Pass (13,400 feet), falls, after creating the Little Ālāi Valley, to Ūsh (3040 feet) through a canyon 1000 to 2000 feet deep; and thence again to Andijān (1380 feet). Kostenko, i, 104; Huntingdon, in Pumpelly's *Explorations in Turkistan*, p. 179; French Military Map of 1904.

<sup>28</sup> When Bābar uses a word twice, once with the Arabic plural *āt*, once with the Turkī *lār*, as here, or as elsewhere, *begāt u beglār*, he seems to mean "all, of every degree". Hence I translate *bāghāt* here by "garden-plots", not intending, however, to give it when it stands alone the meaning of *bāghcha*, small garden, but taking it as the complement of the closely following *bāghlār*, with the meaning of "gardens of all sorts". The point is small, but one does not follow Bābar's words without receiving the impression that it is safest to give each weight. He wastes none. Ujfalvy mentions that Ūsh "est situé sur le versant d'une montagne; presque toutes les rues sont en pente" (i, 96). Perhaps this explains why all the gardens were on the torrent and why Bābar mentions that they were so.

<sup>29</sup> Madame Ujfalvy has sketched its probable successor. Schuyler found two mosques at the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān, perhaps Bābar's Jauza (Twin) Mosques. (Klaproth takes Jauza Masjid to mean "Nuss-tempel.")

<sup>30</sup> *Aūl shāh jūy dīn sū qūyūrlār*. Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *az in shāh* (var. *shah*, *sih*) *jūy āh niguzārand*; Erskine (p. 3) tentatively, "carry across three streams;" de C. (i, 3), "verser de l'eau du torrent sur quiconque," etc.

<sup>31</sup> Ribbon jasper, presumably.

<sup>32</sup> Kostenko (ii, 30), 71½ versts, i.e. 47 m. 4½ fur., Postal Road.

<sup>33</sup> "A town between Khurāsān and 'Irāq, near Damghān" (Erskine).

<sup>34</sup> The Persian translator inserts *maghz-i bādām*, almonds, in the apricots, a fashion well known in *khubānī*, bought in India, but the Turkī words allow the return to the fruit of its own stoned kernel. Mr. Rickmers tells me that in the Zar-afshān Valley he has often met with apricots so stuffed. Steingass gives "*jauz-āghand*, a peach stuffed with walnut-kernels". My husband has shown me that Nizāmī seems

to allude in the following passage from the *Haft Paikar*, to the practice of inserting almonds in fruits :—

“I gave thee fruits from the garden of my heart,  
Plump and sweet as honey in milk ;  
Their substance gave the lusciousness of figs,  
In their hearts were the kernels of almonds.”

<sup>33</sup> Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 2b), *ahū-i warāq*, “said to be the *arkali* described in many books of Natural History. See *Voyages de Pallas*, iv, 325” (Erskine). If, however, as is done by some travellers, the *arkali* (*arkhara*) be identified with *Oris poli*, it cannot be Bābar’s *āq kīyik* (white or light-coloured deer or sheep) found at the level of the Sir, *circa* 2000 feet (cf. fol. 5), unless, indeed, the habitat of *Oris poli* has changed. Parts of the Marghinān and Khujend *wilāyat* are high enough for the present limit (10,000 feet) of *Oris poli*, running back as they do up the northern face of the Kok Sū and Khūtār which, moreover, have their southern slope to the Pamirs, a haunt of the great sheep. Perhaps the *āq kīyik* found at Akhsi were *Oris Karadūi*; the *āq* of the name not needing to be taken as pure white, light and whitish being common meanings of the word. Cf. Curzon’s *Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, p. 26; Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. *kīyik*; Atkinson’s *Amur*, index under related names.

<sup>34</sup> Pers. trans. Tājik. Bābar describes the Asfara people as Persian-speaking Sārts. Modern opinion distinguishes the Sārt as a settled resident, usually of mixed descent. This modern view would allow Bābar’s Marghinānī Sārts to be Turkī-speaking, settled Turks, and his Asfara Sārts to be Persian-speaking Tājiks. Cf. Shaw’s *Voc.* s.n. Sārt; Schuyler, i, 104 and note; Nalivkine’s *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p. 45 n.; von Schwarz, index s.n.

<sup>37</sup> Shaikh Burhānu’-d-dīn ‘Alī Qīlich, b. *circa* 1135, d. 1197 (b. 530 A.H., d. 593 A.H.). See Hamilton’s *Hidāyat*.

<sup>38</sup> Asfara town is in the foot-hills of the Turkistān Range; Asfara *wilāyat* runs back too far upon this for “foot-hills” to apply. Wāruk (4470 feet) lies 34 miles back from Asfara town, Hushyār (Curzon, Ushiyār; French Map, Outchyār) about as far. “Hill-country” suits for both Sūkh and Hushyār.

<sup>39</sup> Measured on the French Military Map, the direct distance may work out at some 65 miles, but the road makes a *détour* round mountain spurs. To the word *farsang* of his source, Mr. Erskine here attaches an elaborate note concerning Indian measurements which, valuable as it is in itself, is made the less applicable here by the uncertain length of the *yīghāch*.

<sup>40</sup> *Bāghcha*. Cf. n. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Hai. MS. *Fārsī gūy*, the word *Fārsī* being entered, apparently by the scribe of the MS., over the line, as if at first omitted. [The lacuna of the Elph. MS. still continues.] Kehr’s MS. has *kohī*, but its earlier pages are Persified; the Pers. trans. (I.O. 217) has also *kohī*, hence the “mountaineers” and “montagnards” of E. and de C. The *Fārsī* of the H. MS. would have been useful to Ritter (vii, 733-4) and to Ujfalvy (ii, 175).

<sup>42</sup> Of this stone neither Fedtchenko nor Ujfalvy could get news.

<sup>43</sup> Here Bābar distinguishes between Tāshkent and Shāhrukhiā. Cf. fol. 2, n. 11.

<sup>44</sup> In 908 A.H. (first half of 1503). He left the hill-country above Sākh in Muharram, 910 A.H. (mid-June, 1504).

<sup>45</sup> For an interesting account of Khujend see Kostenko, i, 346.

<sup>46</sup> Kostenko, ii, 29-31. Andijān to Marghinān, 47 m.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fur.; Marghinān to Khokand, 56 m.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  fur.; Khokand to Khujend, 83 m.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  fur.; total, 187 m. 2 fur. from Khujend to Andijān. By help of the time-table of the Transcaspian Railway, the distance by rail from Khujend to Samarqand can be pieced out as 154 m.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  fur.

<sup>47</sup> Both are still honoured in Khujend. See Kostenko, i, 348. For Khwāja Kamāl's Life and *diwān* see Rieu, ii, 632, and Ouseley's *Persian Poets*, p. 192.

<sup>48</sup> *Kūb ārtūq dūr*. Perhaps this means that the fruit was the more taken to India where Bābar wrote. Pers. trans., *biyār bihtar*; Erskine, "greatly excelled;" de Courteille, "beaucoup plus en vogue."

<sup>49</sup> Hai. MS., M( )nūgh( )l; Pers. trans. and Erskine, Myoghil; Ilminsky, M( )tūgh( )l; de C., Mtoughuil; Réclus and Schuyler, Mogul Tau; Nalivkine, "d'après Fedtchenko," Mont Mogol; French Map of 1904, M. Muzbek; Kostenko, Mogol Tau. This is, says Kostenko (i, 101), the western end of the Kurāma Range (Kendir Tau) which comes out to the bed of the Sir. It is  $26\frac{3}{4}$  miles long and rises to 4000 feet. Von Schwarz says it is quite bare; various writers ascribe climatic evils to it.

<sup>50</sup> Pers. trans. *ahū-i safīd*, a variation of its rendering (fol. 36) by *ahū-i warāq*.

<sup>51</sup> The *murāl* is frequently mentioned by Atkinson who takes it to be the red or fallow deer. Von Schwarz mentions it (index s.n.), and Kostenko (i, 57, and iii, 70) writes of the export of its fresh horns to China and of the value of its skin. Under the word *būghū* there stands in the Hai. MS. (fol. 4) *gazawan-kohī* and (fol. 5) *tiku-kohī*. De Courteille (i, 7) takes *būghū murāl* to mean "cerf et biche", and this they could do if it were not open to give them the fuller meaning of two kinds of game. A precise parallel of the double meanings of these two words is found in von Schwarz's list of Turkistān game, where stand together *Hirsch Damhirsch*, stag and hind, or two varieties of deer.

<sup>52</sup> Here in the Pers. trans. recurs the misreading of "eye" for "autumn" noticed in n. 22.

<sup>53</sup> "The Village of the Almond." See Schuyler, ii, 3, and note.

<sup>54</sup> Schuyler (ii, 3), 18 miles.

<sup>55</sup> Hai. MS. *Hamesha bū desht tā yil bār dūr*. *Marghinān ghā kīm sharqī dūr, hamesha mūdīn yil bārūr*; *Khujend gha kīm gharībī dūr, dū'im mūdīn yil kīlūr*. Bābar seems to say that the wind goes always east and west from the steppe as from a central generating point. E. and de C. have given it alternative directions, but in saying that wind goes east or west in a valley hemmed in on north and south there is little point. Bābar's statement is limited by him to the steppe in the contracted mouth of the Farghāna Valley (pace Schuyler, ii, 51) where special climatic conditions rule. Of these, roughly put, are difference

of temperature on either side of the Khujend narrows, draughts resulting from this difference, the heating of the narrows by reflected sun heat from the Mogol Tau and inrush of north west wind through the pass near Mirzā Rabāt Babar calls the wind of Hā Darwesh a whirling wind and so modern travellers have found it Thinkable at least it is that a strong westerly current (the prevailing wind of Farghana) entering over Mirzā Rabat and becoming, on the hemmed in steppe, the whirlwind it does become—perhaps by conflict with the hotter indraught from the Khujend narrows—might force that indraught back into the narrows, in the way e.g. that one Nile forces back the other Local observation only can guide the translator, the directness of Babar's words compels belief in their significance and this most so when what he says is unexpected The manuscript sources agree in having "to (*gha*) Marghinan and "to (*gha*) Khujend" It is somewhat strange that Babar should take for his eastern wind objective a place so remote and sheltered as Marghinan Makhram, where, moreover, there is a "cleft" to which evil climatic influence is attributed would suit his context better but it finds no mention in the *Babar nama* Cf Réclus, vi, 547, Schuyler, ii 51, Cahun, *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, p 28, Sven Hedin's *Durch Asiens Wusten*, index s n *buran*

<sup>56</sup> i.e. Akhsi Village Kehr Akhsikit, Ilminsky, Akhsikis Dr Ethe mentions that in I O 1909, the *duan* of Asud din, the place name is written clearly Akhsikes, the form to which Ilminsky has departed from Kehr The ancient name of Akhsi was Akhsi kint the three dots which have been taken as those of *sa i mawillana* might be those of the *nūn* and the *ta* in *kint*

<sup>57</sup> See Rieu, ii, 563, Daulat Shah l.c. p 131 Ethe, I O 1909

<sup>58</sup> By measurement on the map the distance seems to be about 80 kilometres, i.e. 50 miles

<sup>59</sup> Modern information about the oasis towns of Turkistan allows Bābar's description of Akhsi to be better understood than it has been either by earlier translators or by the numerous writers who have drawn inferences from their words

1 —The Turki passage is as follows H, Flph, Kehr & MSS (Ilminsky, p 6), *Sashun darya si quryhan asidin agar Quryhan baland jar austida waq' bulub tur Khandaqi nung unuqha 'umiq jarlar din 'Umar Shaikh M kim mim pay takht qildi, bu iki martaba tashraq din yana jarlar saldi*

Of this the translations are as follows —

(a) Pers trans (I O 217, fol 3b), *Darya i Sashun az payha qila' i o mi rezad u qila' i o bar jar balandi waq' shuda ba jay khandaq jarha i 'umiq uftada 'U S M kah anra pay takht sakhta, yak du martaba az birun ham baz jarha andakhti*

(b) Erskine (p 5, translating from the Persian), "The river Sashun flows under the walls of the castle The castle is situated on a high precipice, and the steep ravines around serve instead of a moat When 'U. S. M. made it his capital he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside the fort "

(c) De Courteille (1, 6, translating from Ilminsky's imprint), p. 6, "Le Seihoun coule au pied de la forteresse qui se dresse sur le sommet d'un ravin, dont les profondeurs lui tiennent lieu de fosse 'U S M à l'époque où il en avait fait son capitale, avait augmenté à une ou deux reprises, les escarpements qui la ceignent naturellement"

2 —The key to Babar's meaning is provided by the word *jar*, taken in the sense, common in Turkistan, of a ravine cut by water or by man, in the loess of oases, below the general level of the land. Writing of Tashkent, Kostenko (1, 321) says of one subdivision (in which is *Jar Kucha*, Ravine Jane) that it is on level ground and is divided by a deep ravine. Of another he says that it is cut by deep ravines (Babar's '*umma jarlar*'). These statements, together with the information given by Kostenko and von Schwarz about the plan of towns, the creation of oases and the characteristics of loess, allow Babar to be understood as saying of Akhsi in the fifteenth century what Kostenko says of Tashkent in the nineteenth, namely, that its *qurghun* stood above the ravines, natural or artificial, of the Kisan Water and not on a precipice washed by the Saihun.

3 —Wanting this modern light on the word *jar*, Babar's meaning has not been clearly understood. Of this there is sign in Erskine's location of Akhsi on a precipice with its walls washed by the river and in his and de C's uncertainty as to the nature of the work done by 'Umar Shaikh. It is now clear that what the Mirza did was not escarpment but the excavation of water channels, whether for the completion of a pseudo moat or to meet the needs of a population augmented by his residence.

4 —Wanting modern information again it has been thought that the walled town abutted on the river and it has been inferred that Babar's rather 'Umar Shukh, met his death by falling into the Saihun (cf. vol. 6b). Babar's words, however, when taken with other available information, do not demand to be understood as locating the walls on the river's bank. If Akhsi, i.e. the *qurghun*, stood back (as it seems to have done) up the river on slope, the Saihun might be said to flow beneath it as the Thames flows below Richmond.

Circumstantial testimony is merely accessory to Babar's plain statement that Akhsi stood above ravines, the Saihun did not flow in a cleft near Akhsi, it could have been no part of the pseudo moat. Circumstantial only, but weighty, since the permanent influence of the Kisan Water fixes the site of Akhsi both in the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, is Yaqut's statement that Akhsi had gardens through "a whole parasang" and entered from every gate. So too is Babar's that the Akhsi suburbs stretched about 2 miles beyond the town (see *infra*, n. 61).

5 —It can be only in the passage under discussion that General Nalivkine found testimony by Babar to what he sets forth in the following extract (*Histoire du Khanat de Khokend*, p. 53) — "L'emplacement que cette ville occupait alors était un lieu escarpé, assez élevé au dessus du fleuve, par les eaux duquel il était constamment miné. Aussi la ville, au témoignage du sultan Babar, reculait elle successivement vers le nord, ce qui obligea d'en reporter dans la même direction et à plusieurs reprises,

les murs et les fortifications. Il est très possible que cette destruction progressive du rivage par les eaux ait été l'une des causes qui firent abandonner l'antique capitale du Farghanah, réduite aujourd'hui à l'état de *kichlak* (*qishlāq*, winter quarters) insignifiant. Le site de celui-ci est à quelque distance de la berge, qui a cessé d'être affouillée par le fleuve, depuis qu'il s'est formé un grand banc de sable."

An obvious objection to the theory that erosion has led to the retreat and dwindling of Akhsi, lies in the fact that the Kāsān Water does not yet fall into the Saihūn. If in the fifteenth century the Saihūn was undermining the very walls of Akhsi, a town which in the twelfth century was, Yāqūt says, one parasang from the mouth of the Kāsān Valley, how is it that land on which it stood remains?

Against this objection it might be urged that the water issuing from the valley may have become less and less in volume, whether by general desiccation or because of increased cultivation on the higher reaches of the stream. These points raise problems requiring scientific adjustment between (supposed) erosion, lessened rainfall and increase of cultivation.

6.—Mr Pumpelly has posited the search for the site of old Akhsi as an archaeological task of the future. Approximately, that site is fixed by the Kāsān stream and its oftakes. Perhaps the importance of Akhsi bulks too large in literature through the haze of imperfect information, the town was on and of loss, the valuables of past, as of present Turkistān were movables; treasures of art or architecture are not to be looked for. Akhsi town in the fifteenth century was a small place; the measure of its gardens is the measure, not of its walled town, but of the oasis lands redeemed from the waste by the help of the Kāsān Water. It became a "capital" by the capture of one man, it ceased to be one because the boy Babar's advisers stayed in Andijan.

7.—Cf p 114 for distances which would be useful in locating old Akhsi if Babar's *yūghach* were not variable. Ritter, vii, 3, 733 ff, Reclus, vi, index s n Farghana; Ujfalvy, ii, 168 ff, and his references to Yāqūt, Nalivkine, pp 14 ff and 53, Schuyler, i, 324; Kostenko, Tables of Contents, for cognate general information, and i, 320, for Tashkent; von Schwarz, index under related names and especially p 345 and plates; Pumpelly, pp 18 and 115.

The maximum time during which Akhsi could have been his capital is twenty-eight years, i.e. from his appointment to the Farghana Government, as a child, to his death (870 A H to 899 A H).

<sup>60</sup> *Mahallatī qirghān dūn bi shar'i yaraq rāq tūshābtūr*. Pers trans (I O. 217, fol 3b), *mahallāt o az qila' yak shar'i durtar uftada*. From these passages E and de C have understood that the suburbs of Akhsi were a *shar'i* (circa 2 miles) from the walled town. The Turki wording is against this, however, (1) in its comparative *dūn yaraq rāq*, i.e. further than; (2) in its verb, *tūshābtūr*, denoting extension, (3) in its use of *mahallat*, suburbs. It is far to go to Yāqūt for support of what Babar says of Akhsi in the fifteenth century, but as in his century also the gardens depended on the Kāsān Water, it is useful to know that Yāqūt describes all the gates of Akhsi as opening on gardens and waters which stretched a whole parasang (Ujfalvy, ii, 180,

who refers to Yāqūt, i, 162) For its *mahallat* not to adjoin a town would be not only a misnomer, but against the uniform plan of the oasis towns of Turkistan (cf. von Schwarz, pp. 133 ff.).

<sup>61</sup> I do not see the point of the Persian proverb Bābar quotes. As suits with his reading that the suburbs of Akhsi were 2 miles from their town, Erskine takes the questions as asked by a person coming out of town and looking for the suburbs. De Courteille (i, 8) translates by, "Ne me parlez plus de village." "Ne me parlez plus d'arbres." If with Erskine, he had not understood the suburbs to be 2 miles from Akhsi, he might be thought to express the fatigue of one making for the walled town and wearying of the long suburban road. As he has not translated accurately, his varied wording suggests that he knew the proverb elsewhere. His rendering supports my location of the suburbs rather than his own.

(N.B. The lacuna in the Elph. MS. ends before the *raq tushūlur* of the passage under discussion.)

<sup>62</sup> *Andaq qawun ma'lum imas kim 'alamda bulghai*, a characteristic idiom.

<sup>63</sup> Pers. trans. *gawazn*. So too H. MS. beneath the word *bughu*. Cf. fol. 3b and note, fol. 4 and note.

<sup>64</sup> *Su*, here and in some earlier instances seeming to be a common noun. It is used in Turkistan as we use 'water' in 'Allan Water' and "Water of Leith."

<sup>65</sup> *Sa'i*. Leyden (B.M. MS. trans.) and Erskine have read this as Pers. *sayā*, and have translated by 'entirely in the shade' and 'we sheltered along the banks of the stream'. I.O. 217, fol. 4, l. 4, has *sa'i*.

<sup>66</sup> This Persian phrase has been found difficult of interpretation. It has been taken as follows:—

(a) Pers. trans. (I.O. 217, fol. 4), *postin pesh b( )rah*

(b) Pers. MS. quoted by E. (p. 6 n.), *postin i mush burra*

(c) Leyden's MS. translation, "a sheepskin mantle for five lambs"

(d) Erskine (p. 6), "a mantle of five lambskins"

(e) Klaproth (p. 109), "*postin pesh bish*, d. h. gieβden vorderen Pelz"

(f) Kehr (p. 12), *postin bish b( )rah*

(g) De Courteille (i, 9), "fourrure d'agneau de la première qualité"

(h) Pers. annotator of Elph. MS. under the *pesh* or *bish*, *pany*

(i) Ilminsky (p. 6), *postin bish l( )rah*

Erskine's five lambskins carry on the notion of comfort started by his previous *sayah*. De Courteille also lays stress on fur and warmth but flowery gardens bordering a torrent seem less likely to prompt a phrase emphasizing warmth and textile softness than one bespeaking ornament and beauty. If the phrase might be read as *postin pesh peru*, what adorns the front of the coat, or as *postin pesh i burah*, the fine front of the coat, the gardens would be allowed to recall the gay, embroidered border of a leathern *postin*. Cf. von Schwarz's plate, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Shaikh Sulaimin (Konos) explains this as the tamarisk, if this it be, it seems likely to be the *Tamarix gallica* (Brandis, *Indian Trees*, p. 45, and Balfour's *Cyclopædia*). Shaw (*Vocabulary*), "a mountain bush;" Redhouse, (a) a tree of the buckthorn tribe, (b) the red willow, *Salix purpurea* or *Salix rubra*, (c) sappan-wood, the wood of the

*Cesalpinia sappan*. A rod-like plant such as the red willow would suit the several uses of it mentioned by Bābar. "*Tabalghū* has the same meaning as *tabarkhūn* or *ṭabarkhūn*. See Vullers, i, 420b, and Meninski, i, 1030, and ii, 3084, s.n., who quotes the *Lughat Ḥalīmī* and the *Lughat Ni'matu'l-lāh*. See, too, Rieu, *Turki Cat.*, pp. 137, 142. It is the Hyrcanian willow" (H. Beveridge).

<sup>68</sup> Erskine (p. 6), "They also cut it into forked tops of arrows;" de Courteille (i, 9), "On la taille aussi en flèches." Steingass, s.n. *giz*, "a sort of arrow or dart without wing or point, the two ends being small, the middle thick," a description allowing the scraping (*tarāsh*) of the Turki text. Bābar distinguishes the *tir-giz* from the *auq*.

<sup>69</sup> *Taharrukūq bila yarāq yīrlār kā ilitlār*. Erskine (p. 6), "It is carried to a great distance as a rarity much in request;" de Courteille (i, 19), "On le transporte au loin, où il trouve un débit avantageux." The text allows the statement that the trees (*yīghāch*) are carried afar, and this would allow the word *yīghāch* to be translated all through the passage by "tree" instead of both by "tree" and "wood". But if the *tabalghū* were rod-like, a statement about its wood would slip easily into the plural form. The *Burhān-i qāti'* includes the *tabarkhūn*, the uses of which suit the *tabalghū*.

<sup>70</sup> *Yabrūju's-ṣannam*, "the mallow consecrated to idols" (Leyden). "The plant called mandragora or mandrake. See the *Uṣṣuz Uduṣṣiyeh* or *Materia Medica* of Nouredḍīn Muh. Abdalla Shirazy, published with a translation by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name *atikoti* is derived from the Turki "(qy. Arabic)" word *ayek*, vivacity, and (Turki) *ot*, grass. *Mehergīāh* seems to be merely the Persian translation of the name, from *meher*, affection, and *gīāh*, grass. It is, however, called *atikoti* or dog-grass, a name which comes from the way in which it is said to be gathered. They have a fancy that any person who plucks up this grass dies; on which account they are said to dig round its roots, and when these are sufficiently loosened, tie it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth. See D'Herbelot, art. Abrousanam and Asteirenk. The same story is still told."

The *mīhr-gīyāh* (*Mandragora officinarum*, love-apple) is mentioned in the *Ḥādīqatu'l-aqālīm* of Murtaṣū Ḥusain *Bilgrāmī* (Pers. lit. ed., p. 426). Cf. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1900, art. Garden of Climes, H. Beveridge. Worldwide superstitions have prevailed and still prevail about the mandrake; some are preserved in English villages. Cf. Genesis xxx, 14, and Song of Solomon vii, 13. De Courteille translates *iq-ḥī* by "l'herbe aux ours" and *mīhr-gīyāh* by "l'herbe d'amour" (i, 9).

<sup>71</sup> Seven Villages. Mr. Ney Elias has discussed the location of this place (T.R., p. 180 n.). He mentions that it is placed in Arrowsmith's map of 1878 as a district of Kurāma, in the elbow of the Sir. The *Bābar-nāma* narrative where Yiti Kint is mentioned allows of Arrowsmith's location. Other names of similar form suggest, like this one, that the numeral in them denotes so many villages served by the same water. Biskent which is in the neighbourhood assigned to Yiti Kint, may mean Five Villages.

## VI

### BUDDHIST NOTES

#### VEDANTA AND BUDDHISM

By LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

THERE is much to support the opinion of Rāmānuja, Dr. Thibaut, and many others, that Śaṃkara's doctrine of "illusion" is a biassed rendering of the old Vedānta, Bādarāyaṇik as well as Aupanishadic. If that be granted, it is by no means self-evident that Buddhism has been without influence on Śaṃkara's speculation; and the last writer on the subject, Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, a very able pupil of Professor Jacobi, does not conceal his opinion, or his surmise, that Śaṃkara is indebted to Nāgārjuna.<sup>1</sup> That may be true, but I would object that we really know little or nothing about the history of Vedānta, and that conclusions based on philosophical parallels are by no means definitive. Autonomous developments—autonomous if not absolutely independent—are admissible. Nāgārjuna (or his predecessors, the anonymous authors of the oldest Mahāyānasūtras), by the very fact that he proclaims "voidness" to be the real nature of things, was prepared to distinguish the relative truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and the absolute one (*pāramārthika*); and his nihilism coupled with "idealism" might lead to the Vijñānavāda: "existence of pure non-intelligent (?) intellect." On the other hand the Aupanishadas, from their main thesis (*tat tvam asi*, etc.),<sup>2</sup> could derive the distinction of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Teachings of Vedānta according to Rāmānuja* (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn, August 12, 1908; Wien, Druck von Adolf Holzhausen, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> I think that no unprejudiced reader will admit Rāmānuja's interpretation of the old pantheist or monist sayings of the Upanishads. Against Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar (p. 13), I adhere to the opinion of Dr. Thibaut: "The fundamental doctrines of Śaṃkara's system are manifestly in greater harmony with the essential teaching of the

two *brahmans*, of the two *vidyās*. Both developments are natural enough; the conception of the universal void (o) and the intuition of the infinite ( $\infty$ ) are convergent, in the end; but parallel and convergent as they are, these developments do not lose their primitive tinge. The *qualis ab incepto* is true of every evolution, political (as M. de Kérallain has proved<sup>1</sup>) or doctrinal: the *samvrtisatya*, "erroneous truth," of Nāgārjuna is really "untruth"; the *vaiyavahārika satya*, "practical truth," of Śaṅkara is truth, provisory indeed, but truth *quand même*. Māyā is. Śaṅkara's "magic play" is caused by a magician, and this magician is a Lord. Nāgārjuna's *samvrti*, the Buddhist counterpart of the Vedāntic *māyā*, is like the son of a barren woman: it is not, it cannot be. But the two systems bear *un air de famille*, which has been taken into account more than once and from both sides.

This problem is of paramount importance in the history of Indian thought. It would not be imprudent to say that as long as we have not ascertained the chronological relations between primitive Buddhism and the Aupaniśhadic-Śaṅkhya theories, between the system of Nāgārjuna and that of Śaṅkara, between Dignāga and "orthodox Nyāya",<sup>2</sup> we cannot boast of even having traced the cardinal lines of the spiritual and intellectual history of India.

It is not my present object to discuss the claims of

Upanishads than those of other Vedantic systems" (S.B.E., xlv, p. cxxiv). The "essential teaching" of the Upanishads is not their spiritual undogmatic or polydogmatic enthusiasm (the chief part from the point of view of the history of religion), but their ontological surmises.

<sup>1</sup> M. de K. is the French translator of Sumner Maine, Sir Frederick Pollock, and Sir Alfred Lyall. One will find in the *Études sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême Orient* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1908) a splendid translation of the *Asiatic Studies* of Sir Alfred, with many notes, illustrations, and appendices of no small interest.

<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that M. Th. de Stcherbatskoï is writing in Russian.

Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja to Aupanishadic orthodoxy, or to unravel the problem of the relations of Buddhism to Śaṅkara's monism, to specify the possible or probable loans on both sides. I only intend to give a few references, some of which are already well known.

## I

The common opinion of the Dvaitavādins or "dualists" (Sāṃkhyas, Viśiṣṭādvaitavādins) is that the Māyā-doctrine is not Vaidic, i.e. Aupanishadic: *māyāvādam avaidhikam*, says Śiva; *na . . . tad Vedāntamatam*, argues Vijñānabhikṣu. This doctrine is "Buddhism in disguise", a doctrine of "crypto-Bauddhas" (as says Dr. Thibaut)—

*māyāvādam asac chāstraṃ pracchannaṃ bauddham  
eva ca.*

The theologians who maintain the "Neo-illusionism" (*ādhunika māyāvāda*) and style themselves Vedāntin (*Vedāntibruva*) are, in fact, Buddhists; more precisely, they belong to that branch of the Buddhist school which is named Vijñānavādins, "who maintain the sole existence of thought" (*bauddhaprabhedāh, Vijñānavādyekadeśitayā*). They assimilate the "data" of experience, merit, and demerit, etc., to the "data" of a dream, and, using the (Buddhist) phrase *sāṃvṛtika* (erroneous) as the exact connotation of the "particular", they admit that the world, the whole of the "knowable" (*prapañca*) is produced by Ignorance. Therefore they ought to be styled *Nāstikas* (miscreants, or Buddhists). Thus Vijñānabhikṣu.<sup>1</sup>

Yamunācārya, too, the *guru* of the *guru* of Rāmānuja,

<sup>1</sup> See *Sāṃkhyaprapaṇcābhāṣya*, edited and translated by Professor Richard Garbe, index *sub* *vo* *bauddha*, *pracchannabauddha*, *vijñānavāda*. With I, 22 (p. 16, 6-7), compare the readings of *Padmapurāṇa* (xliii) apud Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxoniensis*, p. 14: "*māyāvādam asac chāstraṃ pracchannaṃ bauddham ucyate, mayāiva kathitam devi kalau brāhmaṇa-rūpiṇā . . . parātmajīvaḥ aikyaṃ mamātra pratipadyate, brahmaṇo 'sya paraṃ rūpaṃ nirguṇaṃ vakṣyate mayā, sarvasya jagato 'py atra mohanāya kalau yuge.*"

clearly refers to Dharmakīrti in his *Siddhitrayam*,<sup>1</sup> when he compares a thesis of the "avowed Buddhists" (*prakaṭāḥ saṃgatāḥ*), with the formula of the "Buddhists in disguise".

The first say—

"Although the pure intelligence is free from differences, it is understood, by people whose view is troubled, as multiple: object of knowledge, subject of knowledge, knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

The second say—

"The pure reality is not the cause of the development [of names and forms, of the intellectual contingencies], because it ceases not to be [what it is, pure]: therefore it is Illusion who is the mother of this distinction, knower, knowable."

It is only just to say that Rāmānuja could hardly avoid the reproach of dualism, and may be styled "Sāṃkhya in disguise".

## II

Whilst Brahmin nihilists (*māyāvādins*) are charged with the crime of Buddhism, Buddhist monists (*vijñānavādins*) have to apologize for their "Brahmic" speculations.<sup>3</sup>

As has been said in this Journal (1908, p. 889), Buddhists are aware of the close relation between Vedāntism and some of their systems. The Vijñānavāda, at least in some of its ontological principles, is very like

<sup>1</sup> Chowkhamba S.S. (No. 36), p. 19. For this reference I am indebted to Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, p. 19, who also refers to Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣya*, ii, 2. 27.

<sup>2</sup> This line occurs in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 16 (Bibl. Indica, 1858), and elsewhere; it is extracted from the *Pramāṇavinīścaya* of Dharmakīrti (see *Muséon*, 1902, and *Bouddhisme d'après les sources brahmaniques*, p. 34; add reference to *Śuklavidarśanā*). It runs as follows: *avibhāgo 'pi buddhyātmā viparyāsitadarśanaiḥ, grāhyagrāhakaśaṃvittibhedavān iva lakṣyate* (or *kalpyate*). Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar understands *buddhyātmā*: the Buddhist attributes the false distinction . . . to *buddhi*, as the Pseudo-Buddhist attributes the same distinction to *māyā*. I prefer my translation.

<sup>3</sup> Śākyamuni has condemned Vijñānavāda-Vedānta, *Majjhima*, i, p. 329: *viññānaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbatopabhaṃ*.

Vedāntism in disguise, or, to be more exact, it is likely to be understood in a Vedāntic sense : as Mahāmāti said to Buddha in so many words. We cannot forget that Vijñānavādins are divided into several schools, which are not without analogy with the schools of Vedānta. Some of them believe that the prime spirit or thought remains pure, untouched by the development of contingencies [*prapañca*, i.e. *manas*, *manovijñāna* (= *nāma*, *nāma-rūpa*)] : does not this resemble *vivartavāda* ? Others will admit that the development is real : does not this resemble *viśiṣṭādvaita* ?

I will not miss this opportunity of avowing that I have been perhaps unfair in my review of my friend Suzuki's book, *Outlines of Mahāyāna* (see *Journal*, 1908, p. 885). The claim of the Buddhists to be *sūnyatāvādins*, "doctors of the voidness," not *brahmarāvādins*, cannot be set aside : philosophers must be credited with the opinions they profess to cherish. And I have strong objections, as an historian, to the Buddhist modernism of the Japanese scholars, of P. L. Narasu, etc. But there may be some slight portion of truth in Modernisms (they may develop old, unconscious ideas : much that is believed to be modern is old),<sup>1</sup> and, as a matter of fact, *sūnyatā* turns out to

<sup>1</sup> I have just read a good book, written from the "intellectualist" point of view, but very "matter of fact", *Pragmatisme, Modernisme, Protestantisme* (Paris, Bloud, 1909 ; by A. Leclère, Dr. es-Lettres, Prof. agrégé à l'Université de Berne). The author says, p. 217, note—"Il vaudrait la peine, après avoir rapproché le modernisme catholique du Protestantisme libéral moderne ou modernisme protestant, d'étudier le modernisme israélite et le modernisme mahométan. On sait qu'il s'est récemment formé à Paris une association israélite en vue de mettre le Judaïsme, en le simplifiant, à la hauteur de la pensée contemporaine ; ce mouvement a déjà une littérature ; il s'est constitué par un minimisme assez analogue à ceux que nous avons signalés. D'autre part, le Babisme, si tangent chez ses meilleurs représentants avec la pure religion naturelle, et si bienveillant à l'égard de toutes les religions positives, qu'il prétend dépasser, modernise avec ardeur le vieil Islam. Autant de dissolutions des formes positives de la religion. L'écart est moins grand qu'on ne le pense généralement entre celles de ces dissolutions où on a l'illusion d'approfondir l'esprit de la doctrine qu'on

be very like *brahma*, and *nirvāṇa*, "translated" as it is by *bodhi* or \**buddhabhūya*, has the same religious import as *brahmabhūya*.

### III

One cannot read the Gaudapāḍakārikās without being struck by the Buddhist character of the leading ideas and of the wording itself. The author seems to have used Buddhist works or sayings, and to have adjusted them to his Vedāntic design; nay more, he finds pleasure in *double entendre*. As Gaudapāda is the spiritual grandfather of Śaṅkara, this fact is not insignificant.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth chapter bears a distinctly Buddhist tinge. It has been happily summarized by Professor A. A. Macdonell: "It is entitled *Alātāsānti*, or 'Extinction of the firebrand (circle)', so called from an ingenuous comparison made to explain how plurality and genesis seem to exist in the world. If a stick which is glowing at one end is waved about, fiery lines or circles are produced without anything being added to or issuing from the single burning point. The fiery line or circle exists only in the consciousness (*viññāna*). So, too, the many phenomena of the world are merely the vibrations of the consciousness, which is one."<sup>2</sup> One could add that, really, knowledge (*jñāna*) or *brahman* is free from the threefold determination; knower, knowable, and knowledge. If we are not to rest on syllables—*appamattakaṃ kho pan 'etaṃ yaḍ idaṃ byañjanaṃ! mā āyasmanto appamattakehi vivādaṃ āpajjittha*<sup>3</sup>—

transforme [as it is apparently the case with Nāgārjuna, with Śaṅkara], et celles où l'on a conscience d'évoluer tout à fait en dehors de la tradition." (Neo-Buddhists ought to be aware that they are pouring new wines, and, alas! sophisticated alcohols, into old bottles.) A historical study of Neo-Buddhism would be very interesting, as an episode of the intellectual conquest of the East by the West and vice versa.

<sup>1</sup> The following notes are by no means exhaustive.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Majjhima*, ii, p. 240. "Syllables are of little importance: do not, O monks, dispute on mere trifles."

this transcendent knowledge is like the absolute blank of the Vijñānavādins.

The simile of the firebrand circle occurs in *Maitry-upaniṣad*, ix, 24: "He beholds Brahman flashing like the circle of a whirling torch, in colour like the sun . . .";<sup>1</sup> but it can also be traced in Buddhist books as one of the numerous symbols of unreality,<sup>2</sup> namely, in the *Laṅkāvatāra* <sup>3</sup>—

*tadyathā Mahāmate acakram alātacakram bālaiś cakrabhāvena parikalpyate na paṇḍitair, evaṁ eva Mahāmate kuḍṛṣṭitīrthyāśayapatitā ekavānyatibhaya-tvānubhaya-tvaṁ parikalpayiṣyanti sarvabhūtopattan :*

"The firebrand circle is not a circle, and is wrongly supposed by the ignorant, not by the wise, to be a circle. In the same way, heretics will suppose that beings originate from themselves, from others, from both, without both."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cowell's translation. *Alātacakram iva sphurantam ādityavarṇam . . . brahma . . . apaśyat.* (Comm.: *tasya brahmana ātmābheda-tva-khyāpanāyā pūṇḍrīṅgair viśeṣanair viśiṇasti.*) *Id est, the unreal qualifications of brahman, "flashing like a firebrand circle," are in the masculine "to show the identity between the neuter brahman and the masculine soul", says Rāmātīrtha (and also to spare the undenotability and the unconcern of the Absolute). As a matter of fact, Brahman does not flash into unreal solar protuberances, but it appears, it appears to itself, to be flashing. Cf. vi, 17: Brahma . . . eko 'nantah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvīryupatti*, § 139, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Buddhist Text Society, p. 28. 93

<sup>4</sup> The simile of the firebrand is also of use in the Sautrāntika school, to explain the *quomodo* of the "compound perceptions". See Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, p. 284 (312): "The forms of the object penetrate one after the other into the understanding: the illusion of simultaneity is caused by the swiftness of this proceeding. Just so an arrow passes through the eight leaves of a flower, as it were, at the same time, and firebrand appears as a circle."

From another point of view it is evident that any compound perception (i.e. every perception) is "born from imagination", or subjective: "The notion of a cloth or a straw mat is gradually produced: therefore this notion has for real object the parts of the cloth or straw mat, and as such, as cloth or mat notion, it results from imagination. As in the case of a firebrand. The notion of a firebrand circle has for real object a firebrand which obtains successively different places owing to a rapid

Nevertheless, the title of the fourth chapter of the *Kārikās* cannot be said so far to be Buddhist (the phrase *alātastīnti* has not been traced in Buddhist books); but the main idea that there is no birth, production, *jāti*, *utpāda*, that causation is impossible since the cause cannot be identical with, nor different from, the effect, since neither being, nor nonbeing, nor being + nonbeing, can originate, is thoroughly Madhyamaka. Gaudapāda maintains *ajāti* (once *anutpatti*), and denies *uccheda*, with the same emphasis as Bhagavat in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* or in the *Laṅkāvatāra*; and he supports his thesis by Nāgārjuna's or Buddhapālita's favourite arguments:—

II, 32. *na nirōdho na cotpattir na baddho na ca sādhanah  
na mumukṣur na vai mukta ity eṣā paramārthatā*

"There is no destruction, no birth, no bound, no endeavouring [for release], no desiring release, no released: such is the real truth."<sup>1</sup>

Or again—

IV, 59. *yathā māyāmayād bijāj jāyate tanmāyo 'ṅkuraḥ  
nāsau nityo na cocchedī tadvad dharmeṣu yojanū*

"From a magical seed is born a magical sprout: this sprout is neither permanent nor perishing. Such are things, and for the same reason."

It is the *śūnyebhya eva śūnyā dharmāḥ prabhavanti dharmebhyaḥ*, "from void things, void things are born," each

motion. Just so. Argument: cloth is not real, because the grasping of it depends on the grasping of its parts, as is the case with the fire-brand circle"—*yasmāt kramena paṭabuddhiḥ kaṭabuddhir vā tasmān avayaveṣu eva paṭāvayaveṣu kaṭāvayaveṣu vā tadbuddhiḥ paṭabuddhiḥ paṭabuddhir vā vikalpavastād bhavati. alātacakravat. yathālāte śighra-saṃcārāt tatra tatropadyamāne 'lātacakrabuddhir bhavati, tadvat. sādhanam cātra: na dravyasat paśo 'vayavagrahaṇasāpekṣagrahaṇatvād, alātacakravat (Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, MS. Soc. As., fol. 267a).*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted more than once by Vijñānabhikṣu; see Garbe's indexes. *Madhyamaka*, xvi, 5: *na badhyante na mucyante.*

according to its causes, for "illusion is manifold, being produced by manifold causes".<sup>1</sup>

As concerns the wording, let us compare—

1. Gauḍapāda, ii, 38<sup>2</sup>—

*tattvam ādhyātmikam dṛṣṭvā tattvam dṛṣṭvā tu bāhyataḥ  
tattvibhūto tadārāmas tattvād apracyuto bhavet.*

COMM. bāhyam pṛthivyādi tattvam ādhyātmikam ca dehādilakṣaṇam  
rajjusarpādivat svapnamāyādivad asat; ātmā ca sabāhyāntaro hy ajo  
. . . nirguṇo niṣkalo niskriyas tat satyam sa ātmā . . . evam  
tattvam dṛṣṭvā . . .

Bhagavat (quoted *Madhyamakavṛtti* p 348)<sup>3</sup>—

*śūnyam ādhyātmikam paśyu paśya śūnyam bahirgatam  
na vidyate so'pi kaś cid yo bhāvayati śūnyatām.*

2. Gauḍapāda, iv, 1—

*jñānenākāśakalpena dharmān yo gaganopamān  
jñeyābhinnena sambuddhas taṇi vande dvipadāṇi varam*

COMM. ayam eveśvaro yo Nārāyaṇākhyas taṇi vande . . . dvipadāṇi  
varam dvipadopalakṣitānāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ varam pradhānaṃ puruṣottamaṃ  
ity abhiprāyaḥ . . . jñānajñeyajñātrbhedarahitam paramārthatattvadar-  
śanam . . .

It is probable that this śloka is a Buddhist one: the excellent biped is Śākyamuni.

3. Gauḍapāda, iv, 7—

*prakṛter anyathābhāvo na katham cid bhaviṣyati.*

Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, xv, 8 (*Madhyamakavṛtti*,  
p. 271)—

*prakṛter anyathābhāvo na hi jātūpāpadyate.*

4. Gauḍapāda, iv, 17, 18—

*aprasiddhaḥ katham hetuḥ phalam utpādayiṣyati ?  
yadi hetoḥ phalāt siddhiḥ phalasiddhiś ca hetuḥ  
katarat pūrvanispānnaḥ yasya siddhir apeksayā ?*

<sup>1</sup> *Sāpi nānāvidhā māyā nānāpratyaayasambhavā*, Bodhicaryāvatāra,  
ix, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ānandāśrama* edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

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Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, x, 8 (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 207)—

*yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir apekṣyāgnim yadīndhanam  
katarat pūrvanīspannam yad apekṣyāgnir indhanam?*

5. Gauḍapāda, iv, 19—

*evam hi sarvathā buddhair ajātiḥ paridīpitā.*

Comm. *evam* hetuphalayoh kāryakāraṇabhāvānupapatter ajātiḥ sarva-syānutpattiḥ paridīpitā prakācitānyonyāpekṣadosaṃ bruvadbhir vādibhir buddhaiḥ paṇḍitair ity arthah.

Laṅkāvatāra (p. 78)<sup>1</sup>—

*anutpannāḥ sarvabhāvāḥ.*

Satyadvayāvatārasūtra (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 375)—

*evam eva devaputra . . . saṃsāro' py puramāṛthato  
'tyantānutpādatā yāvan nirvāṇam api paraṃāṛthato  
'tyantānutpādatā.*

6. Gauḍapāda, iv, 22—

*svato vā parato vāpi na kiṃ cid vastu jāyate  
sad asat sudasad vāpi na kiṃ cid vastu jāyate.*

Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamaka*, i, 1 (Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 12 ; cf. i, 6-7, p. 82)—

*na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nūpy ahetutāḥ  
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kva cana ke cana.*

7. Gauḍapāda, iv, 93—

*ādisāntā hy anutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva sunirvṛtāḥ  
sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajaṇ sāmyaṃ viśāradam.*

Comm. *ādisāntā* nityam eva śāntā . . . ajās ca prakṛtyaiva suṣṭhū-paratasvabhāvāḥ . . . sarve dharmāḥ samās cābhinnāś ca . . . ajaṇ sāmyaṃ viśāradam viśuddham ātmatattvaṃ yasmāt tasmāc chāntir mokṣo vā nāsti kartavya ity arthah.

Mādhyamikas, too, maintain that *nirvāṇa* or *śānti* or *mokṣa* is not to be acquired, as says Bodhisattva Sarvaṇī-varaṇaviṣkambhin in

<sup>1</sup> Buddhist Text Society.

Ratnameghasūtra (quoted Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 225)—  
*ādiśāntā hy anutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāḥ*  
*dharmās te vivṛtā nātha dharmacakrapravartane.*

8. Gauḍapāda, iv, 98—

*alabdḥāvaraṇāḥ sarve dharmāḥ prakṛtīnirmalāḥ*  
*ādau buddhās tathā muktā budhyanta iti nāyakāḥ.*

COMM. alabdhām aprāptam āvaraṇam avidyādinibandhanam yeṣāṃ te dharmā alabdhāvaraṇā bandhanarahitā ity ārthaḥ. prakṛtīnirmalāḥ svabhāvasuddhā ādau buddhās tathā muktā yasmān nityasuddhabuddhamuktasvabhāvāḥ. yady evaṃ katham tarhi budhyanta ity ucyate. nāyakāḥ svāmināḥ samarthā boddhum bodhaśaktimat-svabhāvā ity ārthaḥ. yathā nityaprakāśasvarūpo 'pi savitā prakāśata ity ucyate yathā vā nityanivṛtta-gatayo 'pi nityam eva śailās tiṣṭhanti ucyate tadvat.

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 104—

*sattvāḥ prakṛtyā parinirvṛtāḥ.*

Pañjikā ad ix, 108—

*sarvadharmāḥ . . . anutpannāniruddhasvabhāvatvāc*  
*ca prakṛtiparinirvṛtā ādiśāntā ity ucyante.*

Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 151— **A. 540**

*nirvṛtānirvṛtānāṃ ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutaḥ.*

COMM. nirvṛtā ye sarvadharmāvarāṇaprahāṇād vinirmuktasarvabandhanāḥ. anirvṛtā ye rāgādikleṣapāśāyattacittasampratayāḥ saṃsārācārakāntargatāḥ. teṣāṃ ubhayeṣāṃ api viśeṣo bhedo nāsti na saṃbhavati . . . vastutaḥ paramārthataḥ sarvadharmānāṃ niḥsvabhāvatayā prakṛtiparinirvṛtatvāt (nirvṛtaḥ svabhāvasūnyatvād utpādanirodharahitaḥ paramārthena paramārthasatyataḥ prakṛtīnirvāṇatayā 'diśāntatvāt.

Lankāvatāra (p. 80)—

*prakṛtiprabhāsva-raviśuddhyādiviśuddha . . . tathāgu-*  
*tagarbha.*

Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā (p. 47)—

*ādiśuddhatvād ādipariśuddhatvāt sattvasyu.*

9. Gauḍapāda, iv, 99—

*kramate na hi buddhasya jñānaṃ dharmeṣu tāyinaḥ*  
*sarve dharmās tathā jñānaṃ naitad buddhena bhāṣitam*

COMM. yasmān na hi kramate buddhasya paramārthadarśino jñānaṃ viśayāntareṣu dharmeṣu dharmasamsthāṃ savitarīva prabhā. tāyinaḥ,

tāyo 'syāstīti tāyī, saṁtāyavato<sup>1</sup> nirāntarasyākāśakalpasyety arthah, pūjāvato vā prajñāvato vā. sarve dharmā ātmāno 'pi tathā jñānavad evākāśakalpatvān na kramante kvacid apy arthāntara ity arthah. yad ādāv upanyastam jñānenākāśakalpenetyādi<sup>2</sup> tad idam ākāśakalpasya tāyino buddhasya tadananyatvād ākāśakalpaṁ jñānaṁ na kramate kvacid apy arthāntare. tathā dharmā iti. ākāśam ivācalam avikriyaṁ niravayavaṁ nityam advitīyaṁ asaṅgaṁ adṛśyaṁ agrāhyaṁ aṇanāyadyatītaṁ brahmātmataṭṭvam "na hi draṣṭur drṣṭer viparilopo vidyata" iti śruteḥ, jñānaññeyajñātrbhedarahitaṁ paramārthatattvaṁ advayaṁ etan na buddhena bhāṣitaṁ. yady api bāhyārthanirākaraṇaṁ jñānamātrakalpanā cādvayavastusāmīpyam uktam, idaṁ tu paramārthatattvaṁ advaitam vedānteṣv eva vijñeyam ity arthah.

"The knowledge of an Awakened (*Buddha*), *id est* of a seer of reality, does not bear on things, *id est* on any extraneous object; it resides on things itself, as does light in the sun. Awakened = *Tāyin*. The Awakened one is, indeed, homogeneous (*tāyin*), *id est* endowed with homogeneity, possessed of continuity, without interval or difference, space-like. *Tāyin* can also be understood in the meaning of Adorable or Sage. Such are all the things, *id est* all the souls; just as the knowledge [of a Buddha], they are space-like, and do not bear on anything outside themselves. What has been said at the beginning of this treatise (Gauḍapāda, iv, 1), 'by a space-like knowledge,' that space-like knowledge of a space-like homogeneous Awakened who is nothing else than this knowledge<sup>3</sup> does not bear on anything outside. Such are [also] things [whatever they are]. This [knowledge] space-like, immovable, unmodifiable, without parts, fast, sole, free, not to be seen, not to be grasped, beyond hunger and the like, essence of Brahma-ātmā, according to the Scripture 'there is not discontinuity of seeing to the seer' (Brhat. iv, 3. 23), free from the opposition knowledge-knowable-knower, reality, non-duality, has not been taught by (Sākyamuni) Buddha. When denying the existence of the external world and supposing the sole existence of knowledge, he came very near the essential non-duality: but this non-dual reality can only be learned in the Upanishads."

As a matter of fact, this knowledge, without "knowable-knower-knowledge", is the knowledge of a Buddha, according to the Mahāyāna. And a Buddhist may say *naitad buddhena bhāṣitaṁ*, "This doctrine has not been taught by Buddha," for Buddha does not teach anything.

<sup>1</sup> Editor has *tāpī(yi)naḥ tāpo(yo) saṁtānavato*; MSS. *tāpī, tāyī, tāpo, tāyo, saṁtānavato*—see M. W.<sup>2</sup>; *tāy* = to spread, to proceed in a continuous stream or line, Dhātup., xiv, 18. See Mahāvīyutpatti, 1, 15; 96, 6; Nāmasaṁgīti, = *trātar*; Burn., *Intr.*, p. 227; Kern, *ad Lotus*, i, 73, ii, 47 (mighty, able, clever), iv, 40 (strenuous; Pāṇ. i, 3. 38, *kramate, tāyante*), ix, 4 (mighty saint); Speyer, *ad Divyāvadāna*, Wien Z. xvi, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 137, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *tadananyatvāt* (?).

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION A

In view of some remarks which have been made to me, it seems desirable to give a note, which did not seem necessary when I edited the record (this Journal, 1909. 1087), on the term *Kāsīputa*, which we have as the metronymic of king Bhāgabhadra.

Dr. Bloch, whose unexpected death has removed a promising worker in the field of Indian epigraphy, took the vowel of the first syllable as a damaged *ō*, and read *K[ō]sīputasa*, which he interpreted as meaning "of the son of a lady belonging to the Kautsa *gōtra*". To that, however, there is, even apart from the point that the reading is distinctly *Kāsīputasa*, the following substantial objection.

It is the case that there are various words in which *ts*, and the *chchh* which results from *t* + *ś*, become *ss*, and sometimes *s* with lengthening of a preceding short vowel; e.g., *ussagga* = *utsarga*, *ussukka* or *ussumka* = *uchchhulka*,<sup>1</sup> *vasantūsava* = *vasantōtsava*, *sūsāsa* = *sōchchhvāsa*: see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 327a. But that change takes place only in compounds, when *t* is the final letter of a syllable. That is not the case in *Kautsa*. And from the feminine *Kautsī* we could only have, with the usual change of *ts* to *chchh* (op. cit., § 327), *Kochchhī*, which in the Bēsagar inscription would have been written *Kochhī*. This is, in fact, the established corruption: we have it in the instrumental, written *Kochhiye*, in the Mathurā inscription of the year

<sup>1</sup> The word *ussukka*, *ussumka*, 'free from customs', comes from the *Kalpasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, § 102. The same passage gives also *utkara* = *utkara*, 'free from taxes'. This is worth noting in connexion with *ubalike* = *udbalika*, 'free from the *balī*', in the Rummindēi inscription: see this Journal, 1909. 467, 760.

72 (EI, 2. 199, No. 2), and in the metronymic, written *Kochhiputa*, in the Kuḍā inscription No. 20 (ASWI, 4. 87).

Dr. Bloch would seem to have been misled by a belief, not confined to him, that in a metronymic formed with *putra* the first member must be necessarily the feminine form of the name of a *gōtra*. But that is not the case. It is sufficient to cite the well-known metronymic of king Ajātaśatru; namely, Vēdēhiputta = Vaidēhiputra, "son of a lady of the Vaidēha (Vidēha) people", or "son of a daughter of a king of the Vaidēha people": e.g., Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, this Journal, 1875. 49; Vinayaṭṭaka, Chullavagga, 11. 1. 8. But we can also point to other such metronymics in which the first component is probably not the name of a *gōtra*: for instance, one of the Pabhōsā inscriptions gives us Tēvaṇiputra and Vaihidariputra (EI, 2. 243): as regards the first of these terms, there was, indeed, an ancient teacher named Traivaṇi; but the name Traivaṇa, fem. °ṇī, seems, according to the Gaṇa and comments under Pāṇini, 4. 1. 112, to be derived from Trivaṇa as a substitute for Trivēṇī, a well-known name of a place.

The *Kāsiputasa* of our text stands quite naturally and regularly for *Kāsīputrasa*. And king Bhāgabhadra is described as "son of a lady of the people of Kāśī, Kāśī (Benares)", or as "son of a daughter of a king of Kāśī".

J. F. FLEET.

## A SECOND NOTE ON THE RUPNATH EDICT

In this Journal for 1909, pp. 728-30, I proposed to take the word *pakama* of the Rūpnāth edict (for which the Sahasrām version reads *palakama*) in the sense of the Buddhistic term *pabbajjā*. This is, however, hardly admissible; for, as stated by Dr. Fleet in his recent article on "The Last Words of Aśōka" (p. 992 above), the sixth and tenth rock-edicts distinctly employ the word *parākrama* as a synonym of *appamāda*, 'diligence.'

In this way my suggested explanations of *vivāsayati*, *vyuṭṭha*, and *sata-vivāsa*, lose their main support, and the view that the figures 256 mark the number of years elapsed since Buddha's renunciation falls to the ground. While thus confessing to have gone astray, I would like to submit a few additional remarks on the ambiguous word *sata* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict, and on the meaning of *chhavachhare* at the beginning of it.

In my previous note, I proposed to take *sata* = Pāli *mahāsatta* or *bodhisatta*. Dr. Fleet (loc. cit., p. 1007) explains it as standing for *saṁta* = *śānta*, 'tranquil.' It must be granted that this rendering is equally possible. Dr. Fleet would find this very form *saṁta* = *śānta* in a passage of the eighth rock-edict, where he takes the words *saṁto ayāya sambodhiṁ* of the Gīrnār version to be a quotation from some verse (loc. cit., p. 1008). But the Kālsī text reads *saṁtaṁ nikhamiṭhā sambodhi*, which is not metrical: the Dhāuli version omits *saṁto* altogether; and—last not least—none of the different versions exhibits after the supposed quotation the particle *iti*, which is elsewhere used for marking the end of a quotation. Consequently, *saṁto* has to be explained here quite simply as the Prākṛit form of the present participle *san*, and has to be construed with the preceding nominatives.

The preamble of the Rūpnāth edict was originally translated by Bühler as follows (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 156):—"The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus: (*It is*) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (*of the law*), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (*of ascetics*), and that I have exerted myself strenuously." Professor Oldenberg showed that, instead of "thirty-two years and a half", the original has actually "two years and a half". M. Senart's

## THE RUPNATH EDICT

translation (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 165) runs:—"Thus saith the (*king*) dear unto the Dēvas:—During two years and a half was I an *upāsaka* (Buddhist layman), and did not display great zeal. A year has passed since I visited the Saṅgha (the monastic community), and I displayed great zeal." Bühler's revised text of the same edict (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 299) introduced a fresh complication. He believed to recognize in the *Sahasrām* version the form *suḍvachhale*, and this reading seemed to support the form *chhavachhare*, 'six years,' of the Rūpnāth edict, which he had previously corrected to *saṁvachhare*, 'a year.' Mr. Rice's discovery of the Mysore versions brought two further variants: the insertion of the three words *husaṁ ekaṁ savachharaṁ* after *pakānte*, and the use of *saṁvachhare* instead of *chhavachhare*. Naturally enough, Bühler considered the former to be an equivalent of the latter and translated now (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 140):—"The Beloved of the gods issues (*these*) commands:—More than two years and a half (*have elapsed*), since I (*became*) a lay-hearer; but, indeed, I did not exert myself strenuously. One period of six years,—but, indeed, more than a period of six years, (*has elapsed*), since I have entered the community of the ascetics (*and*) have strenuously exerted myself." Dr. Fleet has quite appropriately objected to the translation of *ekaṁ savachharaṁ* by 'one period of six years', and has translated "one year, but, indeed, a period of six years and somewhat more" (above, 1909, p. 1001).

To all the above renderings, besides the very first one, the following points may be raised in objection:—

(1) In the Aśoka inscriptions the particle *tu* is invariably the second word of a fresh sentence. Hence the two words *ekaṁ savachharaṁ*, before which Bühler introduced a full stop, may rather be expected to form part of the preceding sentence.

(2) As *ekam savachharam* cannot reasonably be made to mean anything but 'one year', those who continue to translate the word *samvachhare* of the next sentence by 'six years' are forced to assume that Aśoka propounded a riddle to future generations, by employing in the second case the word *vatsara* instead of *samvatsara*, and using the compound *shadvatsara* in the sense of *shutsamvatsara*, though its Prākṛit form is identical with that of the preceding *samvatsara*.

(3) Bühler's first translation correctly renders the word *sumi*, in the second sentence of the inscription, by 'I am'. In all subsequent translations it has been tacitly changed into 'I was' or 'I became'. If we adhere to the literal translation of *sumi*, it follows that the 2½ years of Aśoka's *upāsakatvam* do not precede the second period, but include it. This point was already recognized by M. Senart in 1892 (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. 8, vol. xix, p. 481).

Thus I would now translate the opening part of the Rūpnāth edict as follows:—

"Devānāmpīya speaks as follows —More than two and a half years (*have passed*) since I am a lay-hearer. But [the Mysore edicts insert: I had] not exerted myself strongly [the Mysore edicts add: for one year]. But more than a year (*has passed*) since I have joined the clergy and exerted myself strongly."

This would imply a period of somewhat more than 2½ years, to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period.

But there still remain two difficulties: the reading *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, and the supposed *sadvachhale* at Sahasrām. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Thomas (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 23) in considering the former a clerical mistake for *savachhare*. But I would explain its origin differently: the engraver may have at first left

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out the two symbols *sava*; he found out this omission after engraving the *chha* and added *va* after it, intending to correct the preceding *chha* into *sa*, but forgot to make the required alteration. Regarding *sadvachhale*, it will be best to wait for a mechanical copy of the Sahasrām rock: I see no trace of the *ḍ* of the supposed *dva* on the published plate (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 299), though Professor Bühler found a basis for it in the estampage supplied to him with the impression from which that plate was made.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE (SAALE).

### REMARKS ON THE ABOVE NOTE

On the points that the Dhauli text, in its version of the *saṃto ayāya sambōdhini* of the Gīrnār text, omits the word *saṃto*, or at any rate appears to do so, and that the Kālsī text presents, instead of *ayāya*, a word which gives one syllable too many for the metre, I have already made my observations in this Journal, 1909. 1008, note 2. I would only repeat that the word *saṃto*, in the sense of *san* in apposition with *abhisito* = *abhiśikṭaḥ*, is not found in any of the other passages, fifteen in number without reckoning duplicates, in which it might have been used, and add that such use of it would be unnecessary and, in fact, bad. The absence of an *iti* after *sambōdhini* to mark the three words as a quotation, or rather, in this case, to state a fact as a reason for what follows, does not appear to me to be of any importance: various instances could be cited from the edicts, in which the adverb stands in some of the texts, to fulfil several purposes, but was omitted from other recensions of the same passages. The want of an *iti* here is well supplied by the *tēna*, 'therefore', which follows the three words. Moreover, if those words are not a quotation and from a verse, why does the verb *ayāya* stand before its

accusative?: in the preceding clause, *ñayāsu* occupies the usual position for prose, after the accusative which is governed by it.

The Mysore texts introduce also a third variant in the opening sentences of the Last Edict: they omit *sumi*, 'I am', after *upāsake*. It is this omission, coupled with their use of *husam*, 'I was', in the next clause, which has led me to follow M. Senart and practically Professor Bühler, and to regard *sumi* as the historical present; as indeed, did Professor Hultzsch himself in his previous note on this record.

The word *tu*, 'but', may introduce a subordinate clause of a sentence, quite as much as an entirely new sentence. On the other hand, in support of what Professor Hultzsch argues, it may be remarked that in *ēkam savachharam* we can find an accusative (of the duration of time) quite as well as a nominative, if not, indeed, better.

But the important point is this. Can we get rid of the *ḍv* which gives us *sudvachhale* in Sir A. Cunningham's lithograph of the Sahasrām text, and was found by Professor Bühler in the impressions used by him in 1893? As long as that reading remains, we can only take the *chhavachhare* of the Rūpnāth text in its straightforward meaning of 'six years', and treat the Brahmagiri text on that understanding. In support of the possibility of amending it, we may observe that the supposed *ḍv* stands in such a position that the *v* is on the line of the writing, instead of lying below it in the place which it would occupy better as a subjoined letter.

To dispose of that detail either way, we must await fresh impressions of the Sahasrām text; or better still, if we should ever be so fortunate, the discovery of yet another recension of the record. Meanwhile I may say this. If the Sahasrām reading can be reduced to *savachhale*, then there will probably be no reason to decline to follow Professor Hultzsch, and to take the

*chhavachhare* of the Rūpnāth text as a clerical mistake for *savachhare*, made in the circumstances suggested by him. In that event, we would accept all that results; altering our rendering of the passage in the Mysore texts to match.

To this, as I have previously remarked (this Journal, 1908. 819, note), there is no chronological objection. The position would simply be changed as follows. Instead of Aśōka becoming a formal convert to Buddhism, and assuming the status of an Upāsaka about half-way through the 30th year after his anointment to the sovereignty, he did that about half-way through the 35th year. He abdicated, and passed into the religious life soon after the end of the 37th year (as already laid out in this Journal, 1909, 28). And his dying speech was delivered some eighteen months after that, in (as already laid out) the course of the year 256 expired after the death of Buddha. But, as I have indicated, this rearrangement of details is only hypothetical at present.

If, on the other hand, this record does contain anything so ambiguous as to amount to a riddle, it is by no means unique in that respect amongst early Indian inscriptions: and we may attribute the feature, not to any intention on the part of Aśōka, but to clumsy drafting by those who reduced his words to writing, coupled with a generally prevailing great laxity in the matter of orthography. The record is, indeed, in any case enigmatical. It says that Aśōka became an Upāsaka, joined a Saṃgha, displayed application or diligence, and established the falsity of gods who had previously been held to be true gods. But it does not tell us who those gods were; nor even the nature of the Saṃgha which Aśōka joined: and the Jains had a Saṃgha and Upāsakas, just as the Buddhists had. It leaves us entirely dependent on other clues. For the knowledge that it was the Buddhist Saṃgha that Aśōka joined, we have to turn to the Bhabra edict: and

even from that record we learn the fact, not so much from its mention of Aśōka's respect and favour for "Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha",—so far, the record might be Jain quite as much as Buddhist, since "Buddha" was an appellation or epithet of Mahāvira as well as of Gautama,—as from its mention of certain texts which are identified as Buddhist texts. In the Last Edict, however, there is absolutely nothing to disclose any sectarian nature, except the statement at the end, dating it, somewhat obscurely, 256 years after the death of the founder of Buddhism.

J. F. FLEET.

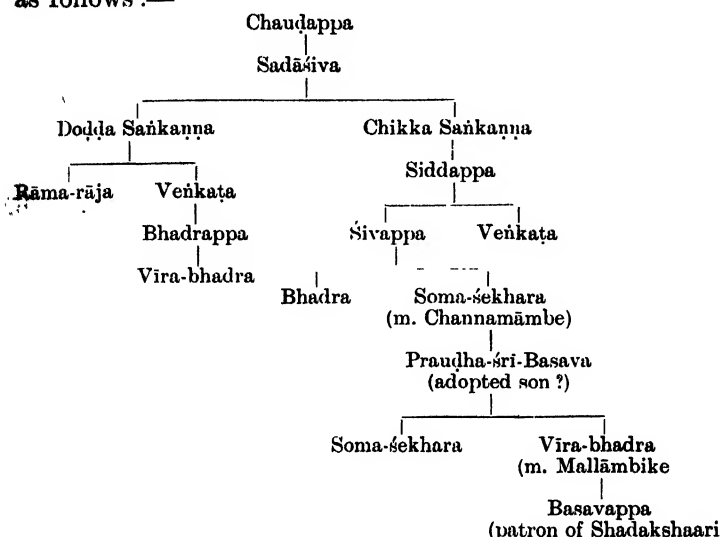
#### THE KELADI RAJAS OF IKKERI AND BEDNUR

In 1908 was published at Mysore, in the *Vira-śaiva-grantha-prakāśikā* Series, the *Vīra-śaiva-dharma-śiromaṇi* of Shāḍakshari Mantri. This worthy was a minister of Basavappa Nāyaka, the Raja of Bednūr, and has prefixed to his book a metrical pedigree of his patron's family. As this account in some respects differs from the details given by Mr. Sewell in his *List of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. ii, p. 177, it may be worth while to summarize it here.

Shāḍakshari mentions two sons of the elder Saṅkaṇṇa, Rāma-rāja and Venkaṭa, as having reigned successively; Mr. Sewell does not appear to know of the former. Shāḍakshari gives the name of Venkaṭa's grandson and successor as Vira-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list he is Bhadrappa, which is really his father's name. According to Shāḍakshari, the younger Saṅkaṇṇa had a son Siddappa, whose son Śivappa succeeded Vira-bhadra; in Mr. Sewell's list Śivappa is the brother of Siddappa. Shāḍakshari states that Śivappa was succeeded by his younger brother Venkaṭa, who is omitted in Mr. Sewell's pedigree. Shāḍakshari gives the name of Soma-śekhara's consort as Channamāmbā, Mr. Sewell as Dodḍa Chinna-māji. The son of this pair was Praudha-śri-Baṣava, who,

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according to Mr. Sewell, was adopted by them; but Shadākhari explicitly calls him the *tanūja* of the queen. The whole pedigree as given by Shadākhari is accordingly as follows :—



The additional information derivable from this list is of some interest. A considerable amount of historical literature exists in Mysore which is hardly known in Europe, and it is much to be desired that a critical scholar like Mr. Narasimhachar should publish a digest of it in English or Kannada.

L. D. BARNETT.

### NOTES ON THE DYNASTIES OF BENGAL AND NEPAL

I. The chronology and names of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal are still far from being definitely settled.<sup>1</sup> A small fact may be gathered from the colophon of the MS. Or. 6902 in the British Museum, a beautiful copy of

<sup>1</sup> Some additional information from Tibetan sources has been recently collected by Mahāmahopādhyāya Satīśchandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Appendix B of his *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*. Reference may also be made to an article by Mr. V. Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, 233 ff.

the *Ashṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The words in question are as follows :—*parameśvaraparamabhaddāraka-paramasaugutamahārājādhirājaśrīmadgopāladevapravardhamānakalyāṇavijayarājyetyādi samvat 15 asmine* [sic] *dine 4 śrīmadvikramaśīladevavihāre likhiteya*[*ṇi*] *bhagavatī*. Now this volume very closely resembles the MS. Or. 3346, especially in its colophon. The latter was written in the reign of Vighraha-pāla, whom Mr. Bendall with great probability identifies with the second king of that name. Accordingly we may conclude that the king mentioned in MS. Or. 6902 is Vighraha-pāla's immediate predecessor, Gopāla II.

II. The MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 6903 is a calligraphic copy of the Pañcha-rakshā, which, according to its colophon, was written at the Maṇi-saṅgha Vihāra of Khatmandu by the Vajrācārya Jinachandra in the Nepal Saṃvat 624 (A.D. 1504). It was a gift of a certain Jivarāja Siṃha, and its colophon, with barbarous grammar, informs us that it was written under the joint reign of Jayaratna Malla and Yaksha Malla :—*rājādhirājaparameśvara paramabhaddārakan śrīśrījayaratanamalladevasya śrīśrījākshendra-malladevasya rāje*.

L. D. BARNETT.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES

### I. *Bhū* WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

There are a few cases in which *bhū* appears to govern the accusative, and which are perhaps worthy of a little consideration. The *St. Petersburg Dictionary* <sup>1</sup> cites, besides some passages from the Epic, three distinct cases of its use in Vedic texts, to which no addition appears to have been made elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> v, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* and Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* add nothing. The occurrence of *bhū* with accusative is specifically denied by Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, and no example is cited by Gaedicke, *Der Accusativ im Veda*, or by Speijer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, i, 13, occurs : *yo vai bhavati yaḥ śreṣṭhatām āsnute sa kilbisaṃ bhavati*, which is rendered "der geräth (leicht) in Verfehlung"; in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, i, 7, 7, 4, there is : *Prṥthir Vainyo 'bhyasicyata | sa rāṣṭraṃ nābhavat | sa etāni pāṛthāny āpaśyat | tāny ajuhōt | tair vai sa rāṣṭraṃ abhavat | yat pāṛthāni juhōti rāṣṭraṃ eva bhavati | Bārhaspatyaṃ pūrveṣāṃ uttamaṃ bhavati* | etc. ; in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* there occur several passages of the type, ii, 4, 3, 1 : *te* (the gods and Asuras) '*manyanta | yatarān vā iyaṃ* (the Gāyatrī) '*upāvartsyati ta idaṃ bhaviṣyantīti* | So also *ibid.*, vi, 1, 3, 1 ; 6 ; 2, 7, 1, which are held to give the sense "Glück haben". Further, in a considerable number of cases from the Epic and Kāvya,<sup>1</sup> *bhū* with an accusative of an abstract noun forms a periphrastic perfect.

The examples are of interest, but not conclusive. Those of the periphrastic perfect we can safely discard, for not one can be cited from the Vedic literature. The form was originally made with the perfect (*cakāra*, *cakre*) of the root *kṛ*, and *āsu* appears merely very sporadically in the later texts of the Vedic literature,<sup>2</sup> when no doubt the precise sense of the compound had ceased to be felt, just as by Pāṇini's time<sup>3</sup> the real origin of the second future had been forgotten.

The examples with *idaṃ bhaviṣyanti* or *bhaviṣyati* are surely cases of the simple nominative. He will, or they will, become all this, i.e. will have the highest place. Mere good fortune is not in point ; the question at stake is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Böhtlingk, *Dictionary*, iv, 272 ; Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1073. The example from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 17, occurs in the later portion of that work, and, even assuming that it is genuine, no conclusion can be drawn as to the lateness of the *Aitareya* as a whole. Moreover, a sporadic case is no good proof of date, as the linguistic possibility of such a case is always present ; cf. Whitney, *JAOS.*, xi, p. cxlvii ; Liebig, *Pāṇini*, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>3</sup> See Whitney, *AJP.*, xiv, 184 ; Böhtlingk, *Sächs. Ber.*, 1893, pp. 7-9 ; *Gurupñjākamuṇḍi*, pp. 18 seq.

existence, and literally the phrase means that the one side or other will be reality, the world. This is, I think, preferable to Delbrück's suggestion,<sup>1</sup> that the *idam* is adverbial, "der wird hier—in dieser Welt—gedeihen," though, of course, this view is quite possible, and *idam* is sometimes adverbial<sup>2</sup> in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. On the other hand, it can often be taken as meaning "this universe", e.g. in *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 4, 1: *ātmaṁ vā idam eka evāgra āsīt*, where "the Ātman was formerly alone, composing the universe", is good sense, though the transition to the adverbial use is easy.

If *idam* is a nominative, we may compare *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xx, 14, 2: *Prajāpatir vā idam eka āsīt | tasya vāy eva svam āsīt | vāy dvitīyā | sa aikṣatāmām eva vācāṁ visrjā iyaṁ vā idam sarvaṁ vibhavanti eṣyatīti* | Here *idam* is again doubtful, but *svam* is clearly a nominative neuter, and *idam sarvaṁ* seems to be a nominative; indeed, the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*<sup>3</sup> appears to take it as such. Lévi's version,<sup>4</sup> "se transformant en toute chose," is ambiguous. In *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 1, in Mantras we have:

*mana ivāpūrvāṇi vāyur iva slokabhūr bhūyāsām | and  
ahar iva svaṇi rātrir iva priyo bhūyāsām |*

But in these cases attraction of the predicate to the object of comparison is an adequate explanation.<sup>5</sup>

*Sa kilbiṣaṇ bhūvati* now presents fewer difficulties, and it is fair to accept Delbrück's suggestion that *kilbiṣaṇ* is a nominative, "he becomes a reproach." Compare e.g. *Iliad*, xvi, 498: *σὸς γὰρ ἐγὼ . . . κατηφέειν καὶ ὀνειδος*, while Sophokles, *O.T.*, 1494, makes Oidipous call his daughters *τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδῆ*, or *Iliad*, iv, 235: *οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ*

<sup>1</sup> *Vergl. Synt.*, i, 370-2.

<sup>2</sup> A good example is *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā*, ii, 4, 8; cf. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xx, 14, 5.

<sup>3</sup> v, 332.

<sup>4</sup> *La doctrine du sacrifice*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Delbrück and Speijer ignore the usage, it seems. Cf. cases in Latin like *Corioli oppidum captum*, Livy, ii, 33, 9.

φρεδέσσι<sup>1</sup> πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἔσσετ' ἀρωγός. Another possibility, but for the presence of the other examples, *sa* or *ta idam bhaviṣyati* or *bhaviṣyanti*, would be to find here the adverbial *sa* seen in *sa yadi* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> but the usage, though it goes to examples as strange as *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 6, 3, 3; *sa yat soma-pānam* (head) *āsu tataḥ kapiñjalāḥ samabhavat*, seems yet not to be found thus except with *yat*, *yadi*, *ya*, *yāvat*, and similar expressions.<sup>3</sup> This is natural, for the history of the case is simply that of an anacoluthon: the sentence begins with the logical subject, but in the course of its development the whole form is changed, and the *sa* remains in the air, with the result that in some cases *sa yadi* becomes a mere meaningless phrase.

There remains *sa rāṣṭram nābhavat*, followed by *tair vai sa rāṣṭram abhavat*, and *rāṣṭram eva bhavati*. I have little doubt that in the absence of the context the last sentence would be taken by any scholar as "the kingdom becomes (his)", nor do I think that even in the context this is wrong. *Bhavati* occurs twice in the remainder of the section in its normal sense and construction, and there is no need to doubt the sense. But the two remaining sentences can only be explained by assuming a slight textual corruption. I would read in the second *sa rāṣṭram ābhavat*, an easy and no doubt an old error, and

<sup>1</sup> There seems no need to alter the accent as suggested by Aristarchos' reading. The word is concrete here and not abstract (cf. Leaf, ad loc., with Monro, *Homeric Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, p. 105). So in *Iliad*, iv, 242, we have ἐλέγχεα, "ye reproaches"! And cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 1, 3, 7: *āsur vāi puruṣaḥ*, "the man is a wound"; Wackernägel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, 1, p. 5.

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then take the verb as *ābhavati*. Then all is in order, and *ābhavati* naturally governs an accusative, as in *Rgveda*, x, 153, 3: *sá víśvā bhúva ābhavaḥ*, and in prose *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 3, 7: *athā kena rūpenemaṃ lokam ābhavātī 3 m̐*. The accusative has the sense necessary through the preposition as Gaedicke<sup>1</sup> has sensibly pointed out, and the same sense is usually given by *abhisambhavati*, as in the passage immediately preceding the last citation from the *Aitareya*, and often in the Brāhmaṇa style.<sup>2</sup>

Whether the construction with the accusative has any real existence is doubtful. The instance, *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*, vi, 10, referred to by Hopkins,<sup>3</sup> is one of the accusatives of specification, *indriyārthan pañca svādūni bhavanti*, and even if correct—which I do not believe, for we know that the text of the Upaniṣads is often wrong<sup>4</sup>—is no parallel to the construction assumed in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. Hopkins<sup>5</sup> ignores the two Epic examples (one a v.l.) given by the *Dictionary*, but cites *bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam*, *Mbh.*, xv, 62, 30, but this is from the pseudo-epic, and stands on the same footing of honour as *drśyate 'drśyate cāpi*, *ibid.*, xiii, 14, 160, though that has the dignity of a Vārttika<sup>6</sup> to conceal its demerits. Such an accusative is merely bad Sanskrit and of no syntactical value, any more than the extraordinary productions of later Sanskrit, like the *Pañca-dandachattraprabandha*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Der Accusativ im Veda*, p. 94.

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## II. THE CONDITIONAL.

The use of the conditional in Vedic presents some interesting traces of a tendency to develop a natural form of indirect speech, as compared with the clumsy expedient of repeating the form of the direct speech usual in Vedic and Sanskrit. It is well known that in Homer<sup>1</sup> the indirect is expressed, not by the artificial present or future tenses of Attic syntax, but by the more natural pasts, and in the case of the future by a periphrasis with μέλλω, as in the *Iliad*, οὐδέ τὸ ἤδη ὁ οὐ πείσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. Now in the Vedic for this use we find a precise parallel in the use of the conditional, and the disappearance of the use is due to the same facts which prevented the growth of a regular system of indirect speech in Sanskrit.

In RV., ii, 30, 2, we have: *yo Vṛtrasya sinam atrā-bharīṣyat pra taṃ janitrī viduṣa uvāca* | The sense is doubtful,<sup>2</sup> but the *abharīṣyat* is clearly a past of a *bharīṣyati* in the mouth or mind of the *janitrī*. I do not think that the example shows the proper and original sense of the conditional<sup>3</sup> as denoting that something was going to be done. It seems to me no more than a past form of *bharīṣyati*. This appears very clearly from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 7, 3, 1: *ciraṇi taṃ mene yad vāsaḥ paryadhāsyata* | The sense "was going to" is quite impossible, and it is equally impossible to treat this as conditional, as does Whitney. The idea in Purūravas' mind was *paridhāsyāmi*; in the past that becomes *par-yadhāsyata* by a natural analogy. Quite similar are *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 8, 1; 9, 3: *sa tad eva nāvindat Prajāpatir yatrāhoṣyat*; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 11, 8, 7:

<sup>1</sup> Monro, *Homeric Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig takes the mother as Indra's mother; the natural sense is Vṛtra's mother. Cf. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda*, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> So Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 339; cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 365-7. If this theory of the origin of the conditional were correct, it would be very strange that there should be such a very limited use of the form in that sense.

*sa vai tuṃ nāvindad yasmai tāṃ dakṣiṇām aneṣyat* ; and the same principle—and not the conditional or “was going to be” sense—explains *Śatupatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 7, 3, 1 : *na ha vā etasmā agre paśavaś cakṣamire yad annam abhaviṣyan* ; viii, 6, 2, 1 : *na haṛṣo 'taḥ purā tasmā alam āsa yac chriyam adhārayiṣyat* ; in either case a future is before the mind of the subject of the main clause ; the same principle explains *ibid.*, iii, 7, 3, 12 : *ete etasmā ādhriyantu yud havir abhaviṣyan*.

The transition in sense to a conditional proper is a natural one, and notoriously that use—of a past unreal condition—is the only abiding use of the conditional. But its real origin as a reflected future is neatly illustrated by the alternative form used in *Mait.āyaṇi Saṃhitā*, iv, 1, 9 : *te vai devās tuṃ nāvindun yasmīn yajñasya krūrūṃ mārksyāmahū<sup>1</sup> iti*. In the face of that example the force of the conditional as a future thrown into the past can hardly be denied. Accordingly I do not regard the *akarīṣyam* of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 33 : *śatāyuyāṃ gām akarīṣyaṃ sahasrāyuyāṃ puruṣam*, as does Whitney, as a case of “was going to”, but with Delbrück I prefer to take it as a conditional with suppressed protasis : the suppression is very natural, as the immediately preceding words make it plain, *apehi alaso 'bhūr yo me vācam avadhīh*, and in the *Gopatha* it is actually supplied (*prāgrahīṣyaḥ*).

There remains *Śatupatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 4, 2, 3 : *tata evāśya bhayaṃ vīyāya kasmād hy abheṣyat*. That may be interpreted either as *bheṣyāmi* (a common use in questions<sup>2</sup>) thrown into the past, or as a conditional proper. In *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vi, 1, 3, *uta tam ādeśam aprākṣyaḥ*, Speijer<sup>3</sup> reads *aprakṣyaḥ*, and renders “Would

<sup>1</sup> So emended by Whitney and Delbrück from *ārksyāmahā* of von Schroeder's text.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 60.

that thou hadst asked the instruction", but I agree with Böhtlingk<sup>1</sup> in rejecting this rendering.

The use of the conditional in the case of present unreal conditions is not primitive, but follows naturally from the use in past conditions, just as probably the use of the imperfect subjunctive in present unreal conditions in Latin is derived from the use in past conditions, which necessarily are unreal. In many cases the transition is very easy: if in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5, 3, 13, *yad evaṃ nāvaksyo mūrdhā te vy apatisyāt* occurs, the sense "If thou hadst not spoken so, thy head would have fallen" passes by a natural development into "If thou wert not to speak so, thy head would fall",<sup>2</sup> and even in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature the *Śatapatha* has the use; see vi, 7, 3, 9; viii, 3, 3, 7. In many passages of the later literature either sense will do quite well, e.g. in the passage of the *Śakuntalā*,<sup>3</sup> *kim vābhaviṣyad Aruṇas tamasāṃ vibhettā taṃ cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nākarisyāt*, the sense may be equally "How could Aruṇa have become the destroyer of the darkness?" or "How could Aruṇa now be?"

The transfer of the use to the present leads naturally to confusion with the optative, as an expression of a possible condition, and the optative on its part becomes transferred to the unreal condition, a function which it has not in the Vedic language, so that instances<sup>4</sup> like *Mbh.*, viii, 70, 27, *bhrātaraṃ jyestham adya yadi hanyāḥ kim uttaram akariṣyuh*,<sup>5</sup> or vii, 72, 71, *yady evam aham*

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG., xli, 187.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Whitney, op. cit., p. 339, cites the passage in this sense from the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Whitney, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, pp. 36, 37; Böhtlingk, ZDMG., xli, 187.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Manu, vii, 20 (Böhtlingk, *Sächs. Ber.*, 1896, p. 250), *yadi na prapṇyed rājā daṇḍaṃ daṇḍiyeṣv atandritaḥ | śūle matsyam ivāpakṣyan durbalaṃ balavattarāḥ* (so Medhātithi and Govindarāja, with the v.l. *ivāhimsyuh*), where the condition is possible.

## THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAT"

*ajñāsyam aśaktān rakṣane mama putrasya Pāṇdu-pāñcālān mayā gupto bhavet*, which are present and past conditions respectively, are found, and the conditional can alternate with a decidedly future form, as in v, 48, 55, *yadā draṣṭā . . . tadā yuddham Dhārtarāṣṭro 'nvatapsyat*.

Holtzmann cites also two strange examples from the *Mahābhārata* where an aorist replaces a conditional, viz., viii, 68, 5, *idaṃ yadi Dvaitavane 'py acakṣaḥ-vayaṃ tataḥ prāptakālam . . . upaiśyāma*, and xiii, 1, 12, *ahaṃ samare gamitaḥ śutrubhiḥ kṣayam abhaviṣyam yadi purā na tvām evaṃ suduhkhārtam adrākṣam*. Neither case seems to me very probable: in the latter *adrakṣyam* presents itself as irresistible, for the error to *adrakṣam* was inevitable,<sup>1</sup> and then a facile conjecture would bring *adrākṣam*. In the former case, *acakṣyaḥ* is palæographically very easy: it is true that the form *cakṣyati* is not found and is irregular, but *rakṣye* occurs in *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 61, 19; *rakṣyāmi* in *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, ii, 2, 2, 241; *īkṣyati* in *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv, 40, 39, and cf. *didhakṣyāmi*, *ibid.*, iii, 68, 27,<sup>2</sup> and I have little hesitation in reading *acakṣyaḥ*. It is true that past tenses (imperfect and pluperfect) have a marked force in similar conditional sentences in Latin, but the evidence in Vedic or Sanskrit is inadequate to support such a usage in them.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

## THE TRANSLATION OF THE TERM "BHAGAVAT".

The word "Bhagavat" is the principal name applied by Bhāgavatas to the Supreme Deity. It is by origin an epithet, and has a number of allied meanings. Monier-Williams' Dictionary gives the following: "possessing fortune, fortunate, prosperous, happy; glorious, illustrious, divine, adorable, venerable; holy."

<sup>1</sup> See references in my *Āitareya Aranyaka*, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>2</sup> See Michelson, *JAOS.*, xxv, 135, 142.

As a name of the Deity the question arises whether it should be treated as a proper name, and not translated, or whether it should be treated as an adjective, and translated. Most writers on the subject follow the latter alternative. Thus, in their translations of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Cockburn Thompson uses "The Holy One", Telang "The Deity", Barnett "The Lord", and Garbe "Der Erhabene". Only Gōvindācārya employs "Śrī Bhagavān". All native writers use the word with an underlying consciousness of a meaning contained in it. I think, therefore, that those who translate follow the right course. The question accordingly arises as to what is the best translation. We should consider, not what is in our opinion the true meaning of the word, but what the word, as an epithet, connotes to a Bhāgavata—not what it *ought* to mean to him, but what it *does* mean to him. Now the meanings fall into two groups. These deal with it, respectively, as qualifying the Deity either subjectively or objectively. If He is qualified subjectively, then the word must mean "Blissful", "Holy", or something of that kind. If He is qualified objectively, then it must mean "He Who is blessed by others", or "He Whom others consider as Holy", and so on. I think that Indian ideas all follow this latter interpretation, and therefore, in dealing with the Bhāgavatas, after much consideration and much vacillation, I have taken to using "THE ADORABLE" as the equivalent of "Bhagavat". The reason for my adopting this translation is that the word is etymologically connected with *bhakta* and *bhakti*, and that Bhāgavatas are aware of this and lay stress upon it. For numerous examples from Bhāgavata Sanskrit literature see the *Śabdakalpadruma* s.v. *Bhagavadbhakta*. That the root idea of the word "Bhagavat" is "Some one to be adored" is borne out by that work and also by the *Vācaspatya*, both of which, after quoting the verse *aiśvarasya*, etc., reproduced below, give as the equivalent

or sum of all the meanings catalogued *pūjyaḥ*. Similarly, in the 45th chapter of the *Dēvī-purāṇa* (quoted in the *Vācaspatya*), Dēvī is called Bhagavati because—

*sēvyatē yā suraiḥ sarvaiḥ tān cai 'va blujatē yataḥ*  
*dhātur bhajē 'ti sēvāyām, "Bhagavaty" ēva sā smṛtā.*

A full account of what the word "Bhagavat" means to a Bhāgavata will be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (VI, v, 69 ff.). Most of the text is printed in the notes to Wilson's translation, and it is curious that attention has not been more directed to this important passage. The essential part, quoted by all Bhāgavatas, is—

*aiśvarasya samagrasya dharmasya yasaśḥ śriyaḥ,*  
*jñāna-vairāgyayōś cai 'va saṇṇām "bhaga" itī 'ṅganā.*

This is based on an absurd comparison of *bhaga* with *bhu-ga*, but it is valuable as expressing what a Bhāgavata thought the name implied. In the 71st verse it is said that the word "Bhagavat" is used in worship (*pūjāyām* "Bhagavac" *chabdaḥ kriyatē hy aupacārikaḥ*). In the 77th verse it is specially said to be "the general denomination of an adorable object" (*pūjyapudrthōkti-paribhāṣāsamanvitaḥ*), "used in a special signification with reference to the Supreme," i.e. as a proper name of the Supreme. Ratnagarbha's commentary on this passage makes the meaning quite clear.

For these reasons I do not think that any adjective signifying merely a condition, such as "Blissful" or "Happy", indicates correctly the idea felt by Bhāgavatas in applying the word "Bhagavat" to the Supreme. I think we must use some adjective implying worship, or adoration, due to be paid to Him, and hence, as at present advised, I think "ADORABLE" is the most suitable word. If, however, a better one is suggested, I shall be ready to adopt it. These remarks are put forth to invite criticism. The point is not unimportant, and it would be well if all scholars could agree upon the same translation.

The word "Bhagavat" is also employed in Buddhist theology, but, as this lies outside the region of my studies, I do not venture to make any suggestion in regard to its use in that religion. "Buddha" itself is also, of course, an adjective, but in Europe its use as a proper name is now so firmly established that it would be hopeless to advocate its translation wherever it occurs. But the general remarks made in regard to "Bhagavat" apply with equal cogency to it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 11, 1909

#### THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN POLITE IMPERATIVE.

The origin of the so-called "Polite Imperative" of Hindōstānī and other cognate languages has never yet been definitely determined. It usually ends in *iyē*, as in *māriyē*, please to kill; but sometimes in Hindōstānī, and almost always in the western languages, in *jīyē*, *jē*, or some similar termination commencing with a *j*, as in H. *dījiyē*, please to give; *hūjiyē*, please to become, and so on. Lassen (*Inst.*, pp. 355 ff.) and Trumpp (*Sindhī Grammar*, p. 268) doubtfully attribute the forms to the Sanskrit Precative, and in this they are followed by Beames (*C.G.*, iii, p. 111). Hoernle (*G.G.*, p. 340) derives the *iyē* forms from the future, and the *jīyē* forms from the passive. There is no doubt that the latter is a possible phonetic equation. The Apabhraṃśa Prakrit form of *dīyatē* is *dījjai*, from which we can at once derive *dījē* or *dījiyē*.

A suggestion made some time ago by Dr. Konow has given me a clue which has led me to the conviction that Lassen's conjecture was right, and that both the *iyē* and the *jīyē* forms are derived from the Sanskrit Precative. A reference to p. 330 of Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*

will give all the necessary materials for coming to a conclusion.

The second person singular of the Sanskrit Precative ended in *yās*. Thus *bhūyās*, mayst thou be; *dēyās*, mayst thou give; *māryās*, mayst thou kill. In Apabhraṃśa this *yās* assumed two forms. Sometimes it became *jjahi* and sometimes *iahi*, so that we find forms such as *hojjahi* (from *bhūyās*), mayst thou be; *dejjahi*, mayst thou give; and *mārīahi*, mayst thou kill. From the first set are descended Hindōstānī forms such as *hūjiyē* and *d̥jiyē*, while, from the second, we have forms such as *māriyē*.

This explanation does not account for a few forms of common occurrence which are usually looked upon as polite imperatives with special idiomatic meanings. Such are Marāṭhī *mhaṇajē*, that is to say, videlicet; *pāhiyē*, it is necessary; Gujarātī *jōiyē*, it is necessary; Hindōstānī *chāhiyē*, it is necessary; and *jāniyē* in phrases such as *kyā jāniyē ki*, how does one know that?

Here I think that Hoernle's explanation gives the right clue. These are not imperatives or precatives, but are simple present passives, the derivation of which offers no difficulty, while their modern forms happen by accident to coincide with those of the modern polite imperatives. These passives are common in Rājasthānī, and in the Aryan languages of the Himālaya, in the case of all transitive verbs. As passives:—

*mhaṇajē* means literally "it is said".

*pāhiyē* and *jōiyē* mean literally "it is looked after".

*chāhiyē* means literally "it is desired"; and

*kyā jāniyē ki* means "what is known that" or "how is it known that"?

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

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November 11, 1909.

INDONESIAN ALPHABETS

On p. 113 of the *Report of the Committee on the Organisation of Oriental Studies in London* (1909) I notice the statement that "the people of the Malay Archipelago invented nine different written characters before their general conversion to Mahomedanism".

This is a curious survival (or revival) of an exploded idea. Its original author, I believe, was John Crawfurd, who maintained it unswervingly, from the first of his works (*History of the Indian Archipelago*, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 75 seq.) to the last (*Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, *passim*). In this respect he was like the Bourbons, he learned nothing and forgot nothing.

As a matter of fact, the Indonesian alphabets are of Indian origin. Half an hour's study of Holle's *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten* (1882) and Kern's commentary thereon (*Eene Bijdrage tot de Palaeographie van Nederlandsch Indië, Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4<sup>e</sup> Volgr., vi, p. 133 seq.) will suffice to convince anyone of the relationship of these scripts *inter se* and their common descent from an early South Indian form of alphabet.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THE DHVANIKĀRIKĀS ?

The learned editors of the *Kāvyamālā*, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durgāprasād and Mr. Kāshināth Pāndurang Parab, were the first to remark the distinction between the *Dhvanikāra* and the *Vṛttikāra* Ānandavardhana, which was not carefully noted or was even forgotten by writers like Jayaratha, the commentator on Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (p. 119, *Kāvyamālā* edition of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*). Mammāṭa and Abhinavagupta generally distinguish carefully between the two. Dr. Jacobi of Bonn

has also taken up this important question in his Introduction to the translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 14-18); but he has not come to any conclusion as to who composed the *Kārikās*, although he thinks he may place the author of these *Kārikās* about 820 A.D., or more than a full generation after Udbhata Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvyaālankāraśārasaṅgraha*, who in ch. vi, 17 of the same work pronounced *Rasa* to be the soul of poetry (कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम्). The writer of this note thinks that the author can be traced, as may be seen from the following considerations.

The *Dhvanyāloka* is otherwise called सहृदयालोकनामा काव्यालंकारः (MS. ग) and काव्यालोक (MS. क), as can be seen from the variants given in the footnotes of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 59, *Kāvyaṃālā*). Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* gives the additional title सहृदयहृदयालोक. Now we know that the titles of commentaries end in आलोक, प्रदीप, प्रकाश, दीपिका, etc., and they are explained as आलोक्यते अनेन इति आलोकः, प्रदीप्यते or प्रकाशयते अनेन (or अनया) इति प्रदीपः or प्रकाशः or दीपिका, etc. This is quite natural, since the commentaries are considered as mediums of help (or "Hilfsmittel" as the German scholars call these). Can we explain these titles similarly, then ?

The third line in the penult. verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* runs thus : काव्याख्येऽखिलसौख्यधानि विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्द्दर्शितः । which helps us to explain काव्यालोक and ध्वन्यालोक as काव्यं or ध्वनिः आलोक्यते अनेन इति । But how shall we explain सहृदयालोक ?

We find the last verse thus :—

सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्त-  
कल्पं मनःसु परिपक्वधिया यदासीत् ।  
तद्याकरोत्सहृदयोदयसामहेतो-  
रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥

The third line of this verse, too, may solve the riddle,

which we find it does. We find that Ānandavardhana expounds the truth about (or nature of) good poetry (सत्काव्यतत्त्व) in order to make सहृदय rise (from obscurity) (lit. "to obtain rise" (from obscurity) for Sahṛdaya). May not, then, सहृदयालोक mean "commentary which illumines the poet सहृदय" (i.e. his work, viz. the *Dhvanikārikās*, which Ānandavardhana reclaimed from death due to obscurity) ?

Further, we find that Abhinavagupta, the commentator on the *Dhvanyāloka*, is also not negligent in mentioning the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*. In his benedictory stanza—

अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां  
जगद्भावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।  
क्रमात्प्रख्योपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति तत्  
सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात् (म) ॥

Abhinavagupta in this beautiful verse, which defines poetry as Shakespeare does in his play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling," etc.), makes a bow to the poet सहृदय (कविसहृदय), who was the first to propagate, or publish, the novel (or marvellous) truth about poetry (अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रथयति). The concluding verse about the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoted above, shows that this truth flashed on the minds of those whose minds were ripe by consideration of poetry before the *Dhvanikāra*, but then it again disappeared (सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्तकलं मनःसु परिपक्वधिया यदासीत्).

The word सहृदय in the title, as given by the valuable MS. ग, is very important, as it occurs not only in the title of Abhinavagupta's commentary, which is called सहृदयालोकलोचन, but also occurs in the title of Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka's work *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, which Dr. Jacobi, on the authority of some MSS. perhaps, calls सहृदयदर्पण in his Introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 12). This work was shown to be a criticism on the *Dhvanyāloka*

in my paper on "What is the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*?" (JRAS., April, 1909). Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyaktiviveka* (ch. i, v. 4) refers to this work of Bhaṭṭanāyaka (सहृदयदर्पणा मम धीः स्वालंकारविकल्पप्रकल्पने वेत्ति कथमिवावयम्), i.e. he feels unable to criticize the *Dhvanyāloka* properly, since he has not seen the सहृदयदर्पण of Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

V. V. SOVANI.

### IBRAHIM B. ADHAM

In continuation of Mr. Beveridge's note (JRAS., 1909, p. 751) my recent studies enable me to say that the subject of Colonel Hanna's picture, which had been erroneously interpreted as being 'Angels ministering unto Christ', was quite a commonplace topic for the artists of the Indo-Persian or Mughal school, and was treated by them with considerable variation of detail.

I have noticed the following instances :—

*B.M. Add. 11,747, folio 30.*—Ibrāhīm b. Adham is approached by four angels on foot bearing vessels of food, but there are no flying angels, and the discontented darvish is lacking. The scenery is among hills. The picture dates from the eighteenth century, and belonged to Sir Elijah Impey. The label is *Taṣwīr Pādshāh Sulṭān Adham Nawāb Muzaffar Jung*.

*Johnson Collection, I.O., Bk. vi, No. 5.*—Here, too, the visiting angels are four in number. The darvish sits sulking at the mouth of a cave.

*Ibid., Bk. xiv, No. 1.*—Five angels standing, two flying, and the darvish in the right-hand corner.

*Collection of C. Hercules Read, Esq.*—Several variants, some with the saint's name appended.

In all cases the traditional likeness of Ibrāhīm is preserved, and any picture dealing with the legend can be instantly recognized, whether labelled or not.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

November 13, 1909.

VASUDEVA OF PANINI IV, iii, 98

In Part IV of JRAS. for 1909 (p. 1122) Dr. Grierson, referring to a previous note of Professor Kielhorn (Part II of JRAS. for 1908, pp. 502 ff.), states the Professor's view to be "that Patañjali therefore implies that here the word 'Vāsudēva' is merely an ordinary proper name, and is not the name of a god". This does not appear to me to be quite what Professor Kielhorn says. For his words are "the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being". Professor Kielhorn, here, does not deny its applicability to a divine being; but it must be confessed that the trend of his argument is towards making out Vāsudēva to be an ordinary individual. For he says (Vāsudēva) "is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudēva . . . In either case the word, 'tatrābhavataḥ,' by which 'saṃjñāishā' is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being". Neither does it, I assert, suggest that he was not a divine being; and this is plain from Dr. Kielhorn's own statement that the word is *equally* applicable to a human being. "Equally" with whom? It must be "equally" with divine beings. And certainly the word "tatrābhavataḥ" means "respected", "revered", "worshipful", and may be applied to men as well as gods. And in the very passage in Patañjali, with which Professor Kielhorn compares the Vāsudēva passage, "tatrābhavataḥ" is used of Prajāpati, who is called "Sarva", i.e. "all". Prajāpati can be "all" only in the sense that he is the material cause (उपादान) of all that exists. This sense is assigned to Patañjali's words "सर्वश्च प्रजापतिः" by Kaiyaṭa. Prajāpati therefore is the creator, and to him is applied the epithet "tatrābhavataḥ". Why not, then, may the same expression be understood to imply that Vāsudēva was a god or a divine being?

I do agree with Professor Kielhorn in thinking that the correct reading is "tatrabhavataḥ", and not "tatrabhagavataḥ", which I accepted on a former occasion on the evidence of the Benares edition. But "tatrabhavat" is applicable equally to gods and men, Patañjali himself having used it in the case of the god Prajāpati.

In all the passages, containing forms of the word "tatrabhavat" referred to by Professor Kielhorn, except three, the grammatical connexion gives the substantives which are qualified by the epithet "tatrabhavat". In two of these three, the wording of both of which is **संज्ञिषा तत्रभवतः**, the grammatical connexion does not bring out the substantive qualified by the epithet, and the sense is: "This is the name of the worshipful." Thus stated, the word "worshipful" indicates one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i.e. a god. In the passage under P. IV, ii, 25, Prajāpati is mentioned as equivalent to *ka*; but in connexion with another argument, and not with that which ends with "**संज्ञिषा तत्रभवतः**". And this mention enables us to determine in the manner indicated above who it is that is meant by the epithet "worshipful" not followed by any substantive. If the general epithet "worshipful" thus indicates a god in this passage, there is every reason for understanding that that expression indicates a god in the Vāsudēva passage (IV, iii, 98).

Vāsudēva is here associated with Arjuna, and in the whole literature in which they are so associated Vāsudēva is the name of a divine being. And the traditional interpretation of Patañjali's passage is that by "tatrabhavataḥ" is meant such a being. The instance from the Kāśikā, which I found out for myself when Professor Kielhorn's note first appeared, has already been given by Dr. Grierson. Kaiyaṭa's explanation is "**नित्यः परमात्मदेवताविशेष इह वासुदेवो गृह्यत इत्यर्थः**," i.e. the sense is, Vāsudēva is to be understood as a certain eternal deity which is the supreme soul. The "tatrabhavataḥ" occurring in the

third passage is taken by Professor Kielhorn as used in an ironical sense. But even here, since it is used without a substantive, "tatrābhavataḥ" is understood by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa in his explanation of Kaiyaṭa's comment on Patañjali's text as equivalent to Īśvara or God. Īśvara is supposed to have taken upon himself the rôle of an opponent of the Vedas to delude the Daityas, and to have uttered the verse quoted by Patañjali.<sup>1</sup> Thus in all the three passages in which "tatrābhavataḥ" is not followed by a substantive, i.e. is itself used substantively, the sense is "of God, or a God", on the evidence of Patañjali himself, Kaiyaṭa, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

Patañjali, for these reasons, and on his evidence Pāṇini also, may be safely taken to speak of Vāsudēva as a divine being. I understood them in this sense in an article I wrote formerly; and propose so to understand them in writing a work for the *Grundriss*, which I intend doing if my eyesight is restored.

R. G. BHANDARKAR.

### VASUDEVA OF PANINI

When taking part in the joint discussion, which ensued in connexion with the papers which Messrs. Grierson and Barnett read at Oxford (September, 1908), at the Congress of "History of Religions", I mentioned what Dr. Grierson has now published in the *JRAS.* (1909, p. 1122). I quoted then from memory the two Sūtras, one relating to Bun and the other relating to Buñ, and cited the following line from *Kāśikā Vṛitti*: Na cātra Bun-Buñorviśeṣo vidyate kimartham Vāsudeva grahaṇam, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Pat. (Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 3): प्रमत्तगीत एष तच्चभवतः । Kaiy. : प्रमत्तगीत इति । प्रमादेन विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन गीत इत्यर्थः । Nāg. : प्रमादेनेति । भावे क्लान्त इतिभावः । विप्रतिपन्नत्वेन वेदविषयविप्रतिपत्त्याश्रयत्वेन । तत्त्वं स्वस्मिन्नारोप्य दैवनाशाय पूज्यस्यापि भगवत ईश्वरस्य तथोक्तिरिति स न प्रमाणमितिभावः ।

Dr. Grierson was present at the aforesaid discussion. But I fear he soon forgot what I stated; and so it is that he has not mentioned in his note that I had pointed out that the Sūtra of Pāṇini referred to does not relate to Kṛṣṇa.

In the year 1905 (Āṣāṛh 1311 Beng. Era), I published an elaborate paper in the well-known Bengali Journal *Pravāsi* (pp. 111 et seq.) to establish the point that even in the middle of the second century B.C., Kṛṣṇa—a god of the Ābhiras—was not being worshipped as a deity by the high-class Aryans. The Sūtras referred to above have been fully discussed in that paper.

At the same time I must assert (as I did when I took part in the discussion I have spoken of at Oxford) that we can get enough material, even in the Vedas, to prove that “religion of love” has been in existence in India from the remotest antiquity. Besides the text I cited at Oxford from memory, I refer readers to those Riks of the *Rigveda*, where a god has been worshipped as a father, and has been stated to bear love towards the worshippers—the sons: e.g.—i, 1-9; i, 31-10; i, 31-14; i, 31-16; etc., etc.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

CALCUTTA.

November 10, 1909.

#### NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I regret that, when writing the note referred to by Mr. Mazumdar, I had no recollection of the remarks made by him at the Oxford Congress. Possibly this was due to my not immediately recognizing Pāṇini's suffixes under the forms *bun* and *buñ*. If I had remembered that he was referring to *vun* and *vuñ*, I should certainly have taken an early opportunity of drawing attention to his observations, for the matter is of considerable importance in fixing the dates of the religious history of India. I have not had an opportunity of reading the

article in the *Pravāsi* mentioned by him, and must therefore leave its discussion in other, and more competent, hands.

I quite agree with Mr. Mazumdar that in the *R̥g Veda* there are several hymns which contain sentiments that it is difficult to distinguish from *bhakti*. He will find this point discussed by me on p. 239 of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1908.

In conclusion, may I give voice to the satisfaction which will be felt by all students of the Bhāgavata religion at the news that Professor Bhandarkar looks forward to completing his long-promised contribution on the *Bhakti-mārga* to the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*. His paper read in 1886 at the Vienna Oriental Congress opened the way for all subsequent researches in the subject, and no one is so fitted to complete the edifice, of which the foundations were then so well and truly laid, as its learned and generous author.

GEORGE R. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 29, 1909.

## BURMA SOCIETY

This Society has been in existence for some four years, but its aim and work are still but little known in this country or in Burma. Its objects are—

1. To form all Burmans in England, and all interested in Burma, into one united body;
2. To provide a common meeting-place in London for members of the Society;
3. To assist, with information and advice, all Burmans who may be in England, or about to come to England;
4. To maintain a Magazine, to be called "The Journal of the Burma Society";
- 5. To further the interests of Burma generally.

Mainly through its instrumentality Pali has been substituted for Latin, for Burmese students, in the Previous Examination at Cambridge; and the Society has under its consideration at present the desirability of raising the question of the extension of University Local Examinations to Burma, as well as the establishment of a residential club for Burmese students arriving in England.

The first number of the Journal of the Society, dealing with educational and social movements, will be published shortly.

Information about the Society can be obtained from the President, Mr. E. J. Colston, I.C.S., 30 Clarendon Court, Maida Vale, W., or from the Treasurer, Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, Cecil House, Holborn Viaduct, E.C. All Burmese students, and English gentlemen on leave from Burma, or interested in Burma, are eligible as members of the Society.

NOTE. A communication from Professor Jacobi, in reply to his critics in the October Journal, was received too late for insertion. It will appear in the April Number.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

HISTORY OF INDIA FOR SENIOR CLASSES. Part I :  
THE HINDU PERIOD. By E. MARSDEN. pp. 331.  
Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Marsden's work claims respectful notice as a learned and most conscientious summary of modern knowledge concerning pre-Muhammadian India, in which a high standard of accuracy has been sought and attained. There are, of course, some slips, but no book of the kind ever can be immaculate, and the errors are remarkably few. Mr. Marsden avowedly writes "for schoolboys and not for scholars", being guided by the syllabus prescribed in slightly variant forms by the Indian Universities. He says that recently the standard has been raised considerably and the amount of detail required largely increased. His book seems, to me to err in giving far too much detail, an amount beyond the carrying capacity of even a young Hindu's memory. Hardly anything is passed over, and had I the misfortune to be an Indian schoolboy I should feel very sorry for myself if I were expected to remember particulars about Kākatiyas, Eastern Gangas, and innumerable other local dynasties. But, supposing such detail to be demanded by some of the University authorities, the student attempting to master it will find a safe guide in Mr. Marsden. My second general criticism is, that there is rather too much speculative ethnology, a subject ill adapted, I think, for schoolboys.

As always happens, vowel-marks are frequently misplaced, and other small errors in spelling occur. Passing over such matters, it may be well to notice certain passages which will require correction in a new edition.

It is, I believe, a serious error (p. 26) to follow Sir H. Risley in placing Dravidians in Northern India. The Asoka inscriptions are not written in Pāli (p. 85), in the sense usually attributed to that term. It is not quite correct to write "Taxila or Taksha-sila (now Rawalpindi)" (p. 114). Pāṭaliputra stood on the Son, not on the Ganges (p. 123). Pushya-gupta was not "the king's brother-in-law" (p. 124). Professor Kielhorn corrected that translation. The names of the Kanauj kings were Chakrāyudha and Indrāyudha, compounds of *āyudha*, "weapon," and not Chakra-yuddha and Indra-yuddha (pp. 227, 232). I am not aware of any reason for regarding the Andhras or Āndhras as "an Aryan tribe" (p. 243). Chandragupta *Mauṛya* (p. 244) is an obvious slip. There is no authority for the assertion that "Bānāvasi is mentioned by Asoka in his inscriptions" (p. 254). The reference to the Vatsas (p. 269) is erroneous; the king conquered was Vatsarāja Gurjara.

A book which presents no mistakes worse than those noted deserves the highest commendation for its laborious accuracy. Even if it should prove to be too elaborate for schoolboys it will have permanent value as a scholarly short history for independent students.

V. A. S.

October 5, 1909.

DICIONNAIRE DES FORMES CURSIVES DES CARACTÈRES CHINOIS. Par STANISLAS MILLOT, Lieutenant de Vaisseau. Paris : Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1909.

"LUBIN. Oui, je sais lire la lettre moulée, mais je n'ai su apprendre l'écriture."

The importance of an acquaintance with the cursive forms of the Chinese written character was recognized at a comparatively early period. Already in Dr. Morrison's great dictionary of the Chinese language, the publication of which was completed before 1825, we find an extensive

collection of these forms. In 1861 R. J. de St. Aulaire and W. P. Groeneveldt, pupils of the well-known pioneer in Japanese studies, Dr. Hoffmann, brought out at Amsterdam *A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, especially as it is used in Japan*. It was divided into two parts, the first containing "square characters" arranged according to the radicals, with the corresponding cursive forms: while in the second part were presented the cursive forms, arranged according to the shape of the first and last strokes, either of the whole character or of one of the elements, radical and phonetic, of which it is composed. In this way the characters dealt with were distributed under sixty-six classes. The scheme was not carried out quite consistently, because the author did not always know which was in reality the first stroke, and it must have been difficult to apply with certainty of a correct result. To the student in Europe who found himself in the presence of a text in cursive writing it may perhaps have proved useful, but to the learner who resided in China or Japan its utility was less marked, inasmuch as he would only have to refer to any ordinarily well-educated Chinese or Japanese in order to obtain immediately the answer to his question, what is the corresponding square character.

Cursive writing in China (and Japan) is usually called *hsing* or *ts'ao* (*giō* or *sō*) according as it departs more or less from the standard form usually employed in printed books. But in practice this distinction is not observed. A document may be written partly in the one and partly in the other, according to the caprice of the calligraphist. In a well-known Japanese dictionary, the *Shinsō Jibiki*, or *Dictionary of the True and Hasty Characters*, first engraved on blocks in 1707 and reissued in 1820, the greater part of the forms given are *hsing-shu* (*giō-sho*), and the compilers of the work just referred to followed the same practice. So that a help to the study of the Chinese

character, as used in both countries in ordinary correspondence, i.e. the *ts'ao shu*, was still wanting.

The work of M. Millot shows a remarkable advance on that of his predecessors, and is calculated to stimulate the study of these forms, which has been a good deal neglected by students of Chinese. He relates in his preface that in 1900, after the capture of the Taku forts on the 17th June, a letter was intercepted which was addressed to a Chinese admiral, then a prisoner on one of the foreign men-of-war. Not even the Japanese officers were able to decipher it, but the author was enabled, by the study which he had made of cursive writing, to furnish, though with some difficulty, the desired interpretation. His dictionary contains far more *ts'ao shu* than that already mentioned, and is arranged on a better system, since, instead of endeavouring to refer the characters to their first and last strokes, he classifies them by the form of their most prominent parts. It contains altogether 7259 cursive forms, some of them duplicate variations, considerably more than are in common use, which may safely be estimated at not more than 2000 in number. These characters, with their corresponding "square" forms, occupy the first 119 pages. They are succeeded by twenty tables, of which the first ten give characters classified in their entirety, as not being easily decomposed into two parts, the second ten supplying those of which the radical is at once distinguishable from the phonetic. A careful study of these tables ought to enable the student to find the corresponding square form of any cursive character he meets with. On p. 136 the author has thought it necessary to set forth the Japanese *kana*, analysed in the same fashion as the Chinese cursive characters. This seems rather superfluous, since the whole number, including variants of the *hiragana*, is not greater than can be learnt by heart in a fortnight. These are succeeded by various useful tables calculated to assist the decipherer, and at

## THE SHAHNAMA OF FIRDUSI

p. 197 will be found an instructive example of the method to be followed in using the dictionary.

It is impossible to withhold a tribute of hearty appreciation of the untiring labour devoted by the author to the compilation of this work, which cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance to students either of Chinese or Japanese who may wish to complete their knowledge of the written language of those tongues, though it is sincerely to be hoped they may never be confronted with a task similar to that which, as he has told us in his preface, he encountered on an occasion of the liveliest interest to the forces of civilization.

ERNEST SATOW.

THE SHĀHNĀMA OF FIRDŪSĪ, translated from the Persian  
by ALEXANDER ROGERS, M.R.A.S. London: Chapman  
and Hall, 1907.

I am afraid that the *Shāhnāma* never will be popular in the West. Firdūsī was a great genius, and some of his tales are as exciting and as well told as those rehearsed by Ulysses to the Phæacians, but for Western readers they lack the charm of association. For Persians and Orientals generally the work will always have a charm, and there are many lines in it which haunt their memories and are often quoted by them. Thus we find Bābar, on the eve of his battle with Rānā Sānga, quoting to his officers the couplet which says—

“If I die famous, 'tis well

A name I must have, for my body is Death's”;  
and Jahāngir, in his *Memoirs*, quotes, after Sa'dī, a couplet from Īraj's pathetic appeal to his brothers, and which has been thus rendered by Sir William Jones—

“Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,  
It lives with pleasure, and it dies with pain.”

Sa'dī invokes a blessing upon Firdūsī's tomb for this

couplet, and, indeed, it might well be a motto for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

But to Western readers the *Shāhnāma* must seem somewhat dull and tedious. As Turner-Macan justly says: "The principal defect of the poem, and that with which most others are connected, is its intolerable length." To my thinking the most living of all Firdūsi's verses is his satire on Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It has come straight from the heart of the indignant poet, and is as spirited as anything in Pope, or in Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. In the *Shāhnāma* itself the most interesting passages are those which contain Firdūsi's reflections on life, his allusions to himself, and his lament for his son. There is also a striking passage in which *Khusrau* assigns his reasons for refusing to give to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Constantinople, the sacred relic of the True Cross, which was said to be in his Treasury.

Mr. Rogers has made a gallant attempt to introduce Firdūsi to English readers. His translation is much closer to the original than Joseph Champion's, and it also covers much more ground. It seems, however, to be a mistake for anyone who is not a master of metre to try to combine literalness with an observance of the exigencies of rhyme. To borrow a phrase of Lord Derby's, the result commonly is to make a *botch*. The line by line and unrhymed version by Mr. S. Robinson of the episode of Zāl and Rūdābah is more dignified and gives a better idea of the original than Mr. Rogers' rhymed couplets. Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Rogers' book is the prose abstracts which fill up the gaps in his translation.

In some instances Mr. Rogers has, I think, mistaken the meaning of the original. For example, at p. 22, after wrongly styling Zohāk Bilvarāsp, instead of Bewarāsp, he has the lines—

“ And he two parts of ev’ry day would ride,  
And not for vengeance sake, but in pure pride.”

Is not the poet’s meaning rather that “day and night two squadrons (or, perhaps, two-thirds) (of Zohāk’s 10,000 Arab steeds) were kept in saddle, not for war, but for display”? The phrase *dū bahrah* seems to me to refer to cavalry, and not to the portions of day and night. If so, the lines are an Oriental parallel to those in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which, in describing the custom of Branksome Hall, say—

“Thirty steeds both fleet and wight  
Stood saddled in stable day and night.”

However, Mr. Rogers’ version has the support of Mohl, who translates, “Il était jour et nuit presque toujours à cheval pour acquérir du pouvoir, mais non pour faire du mal.” According to Nöldeke, Mohl was “kein strenger Philologe”, and made many lingual and metrical mistakes. Still, I hesitate to set up my view against two such authorities as Mohl and Rogers, and must leave the point in doubt. The passage will be found at p. 22 of Turner-Macan’s edition. [Here I may express my regret that Captain Turner-Macan’s name has no place in Buckland’s *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.]

In the prose abstract at p. 62 Mr. Rogers speaks of Minūchihir as being the son of Īraj, but according to Firdūsī (Macan, p. 70) he was Īraj’s grandson. His mother was Īraj’s posthumous daughter by Māh Āfrid, and was given in marriage by her grandfather, Faridūn, to Pashang, who was Faridūn’s brother’s son. Such also is the statement of D’Herbelot, s.v. Manougeher, though the Rauzatu-s-Safā says that Minūchihir was really the son of Īraj.

At p. 72 Rūdābah’s maids are represented as taunting her with having fallen in love with a man whom her own father had cast away. But for “thy” we ought to read “his”, the allusion being to Sām’s having exposed his

son Zāl on Mount Elburz (see Macan, p. 113). At p. 77 Mr. Rogers represents the falcon's remark about the eggs as unintelligible, but is it not explicable by the double meaning of the word for egg (*khāyah*), and is not this how Mohl understood it (see Macan, p. 116)? In the same page of Mr. Rogers' translation Zāl's Turkish boy is represented as saying, "The brave man looks for virtue in his wife," etc., but does he not rather mean that a wise man abstains from marriage lest his wife should have a daughter? He is chaffing the girls who try to make out that Rūdābah is superior to Zāl (see Macan, l.c.). The boy is joking, but he expresses a sentiment current in his time and country, for when Mehrāb hears from his wife about Rūdābah's having fallen in love with Zāl he laments that he did not cut his daughter's head off as soon as she was born, and says his present trouble is the result of his not having followed the custom of his ancestors! See Rogers, p. 91, and Macan, p. 132.

At p. 87 Mr. Rogers has the couplet—

"They come to him and with a smile disclose  
From his own fortune there have come two foes."

To this he adds the note: "This is a literal translation, but the passage is unintelligible." The meaning, however, seems to be plain enough. Sām, the father of Zāl, objects to the marriage of Zāl and Rūdābah on the ground that they are opposite elements or substances (*gohar*, which does not mean gems here), like fire and water, Zāl being a Persian and a servant of Minūchihr and Rūdābah being a daughter of Mehrāb, who is an Arab and a descendant of Zohāq. The astrologers, however, come to him smiling, and tell him that two foes have, by good fortune, been united with one another. The result will be glorious, for Rustam will be born of the marriage. Mehrāb made a similar objection to the marriage, when talking to his wife Sīndokht, to which she made the

## GAZETTEER OF THE HAZARA DISTRICT

sensible reply that Faridūn had chosen wives for his sons out of Arabia. The remark of the astrologers is to be found in Turner-Macan's edition, p. 127, but it is omitted in Mohl both in the text and the translation. At p. 183 Mr. Rogers says of Rustam—

“That if upon a stone he down would sit  
Both of his feet at once would sink in it.  
From that day,” etc.

But what Firdūsi says is that Rustam was so strong and ponderous that when he walked his feet pierced the stones. This strength (*zor*, not *roz*) was such an inconvenience to him that he prayed God to diminish it.

H. B.

GAZETTEER OF THE HAZARA DISTRICT (1907). By H. D. WATSON, Civil Service, Settlement Officer. London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.

Apparently this volume on Hazara is a private issue of the official gazetteer recently compiled by Mr. Watson, with the addition of some fifty-four illustrations.

The original series of district gazetteers, of which the compilation began about forty years ago, varied greatly in quality; not only when comparing those of one province with another, but one district volume with another belonging to the same province. We had the well-ordered, but dry, lucidity of Sir W. Hunter's Bengal series; the over-elaboration of Mr. Atkinson in one half, followed by perfunctory official task-work in the concluding half, of the (then) N.W.P. volumes; and the almost perfect work turned out for Bombay under the inspiration of the late Sir James Campbell. Out of all the provinces the gazetteers of the Panjab districts were beyond comparison the worst.

If what Mr. Watson has produced on Hazara is to be taken as an average specimen of the revised district

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

gazetteers for the new N.W. Frontier province and the Panjab itself, a welcome change has been effected. The several subjects have been well chosen, so as to cover the whole ground; while their treatment is well balanced, each subject obtaining a due allotment of space. We have a descriptive chapter, then chapters on the people, the economic condition, revenue and administration, and the history of the district. Separate chapters are allotted to several important aspects of that history, which differ very widely from each other: (1) The Hazara Frontier; (2) Feudal Tanwal and the Family of Amb; and (3) The Kagan Valley. Then follow the usual place directory, seven appendices, thirteen selected official tables of statistics, and a glossary of vernacular terms. Altogether we have a complete and satisfactory account of this interesting region.

The early history is given with fair fullness, though I daresay for that period more information could be added by patient expert research. But the Sikh period (1818-47) is admirably dealt with. Best of all is the account of our early occupation of the country, comprising the doings of James Abbott, who belongs to the heroic age of Anglo-Indian history. Such a man was perhaps bound to suffer the fate of heroes when times of quiet return. He was superseded in 1852 (partly by his own fault), and in 1896 passed away almost forgotten at the age of 89.

The tribal history, which is most important in a district like Hazara, is gone into with the requisite detail. There are many admirable photographs of tribal groups, Utmanzais, Awans, Mishwanis, Kagan Gujars, Hasanzais, Swāthis. But the most charming feature of the book is the many photographs of beautiful scenery. A man who has passed all his service in the ordinary districts of the Gangetic plain, grows envious of those happier mortals, who can lighten at least some years of their long exile by dwelling in what seems, from these pictures, to be a terrestrial paradise.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

## THE ADVENTURES OF JOHN SMITH IN MALAYA, 1600-5.

By A. HALE. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1909.

This book of seventeenth century adventures comes to us in very questionable shape. John Smith, who is not really John Smith, was the son of a notorious actress, name not given, by a clergyman of note, name equally suppressed. The supposed original MS., as is to be inferred from pp. 5, 6, was sent to his two half-brothers in Europe upon John Smith's death in Patani in the Malay Peninsula about the year 1626. If we are to deal with the book as a real contemporary record, we should at least be vouchsafed some information as to the history of the MS. since 1626, and be told the exact place where it is at present deposited.

But it is not in the least necessary to trouble our heads about such matters. The book is a pure romance of adventure, and, accepted as such, must be given very high rank indeed. The author is a master of the method in which the best of such books have always been written, and as regards the details of Malay history and character he seems to have added wide reading to considerable personal experience. The title-page bears the name "A. Hale", with no further indication of position or quality; perhaps we may assume him to be identical with the "Hale" named by Dr. M. Moszkowski as an authoritative writer on the races of the Malay Peninsula (this *Journal*, 1909, p. 705).

The story of what happened during the detention of the ships on the West Coast of Africa is most exciting, and as we read we are persuaded that all these things must have happened. We learn to know and like the race of dwarfs whom the sailors befriended, and follow eagerly the incidents of the successful campaign against the big savages, their oppressors (p. 21 to p. 122). In due time we reach Malay waters and the plot thickens; until at

last we arrive at Patani in the Peninsula (p. 167). From this point to the end the author is at his very best.

John Smith is left at Patani, a solitary white man, to look after the trading interests of the expedition. The old queen is kind to him ; he is provided with two lovely wives ; and is then promoted to be a sort of Minister for Foreign Affairs (p. 178). The old queen wants to marry the hero, but he prudently declines the honour. For what read as very insufficient reasons he resists conversion to Mahomedanism. In fact, Mr. Hale seems to think Mahomedanism is a faith far superior in most respects to Christianity. John Smith is next chosen for a mission into the interior, with orders to counteract the intrigues and encroachments of the neighbouring Perak king and his feudatories. The account of this mission, which was finally successful, gives occasion for charming pictures of Malay scenery, social life, and character, and as a contrast, an absorbing narrative of a vigorous raid into the enemy's country.

If only one or two rather warm passages were excised, this work could be issued as a book for boys, when it would certainly become an enormous success. What higher praise can I accord than this : that it reminds me throughout of Daniel Defoe and his *Adventures of Captain Singleton*?

WILLIAM IRVINE.

STORIA DO MOGOR, OR MOGUL INDIA, 1653-1708. By NICCOLAO MANUCCI. Translated by W. IRVINE. Indian Text Series, Vol. IV. pp. xiv, 605. London : John Murray. 12s. net.

The preceding volumes of this stately and important work have been reviewed in the pages of our Journal with so much authority and completeness—vols. i and ii over the respected initials "H. B." in 1907, and vol. iii

by Mr. Donald Ferguson in 1908—that the present writer feels himself incompetent to attempt more than a very brief and simple notice of this, the concluding volume of Mr. Irvine's meritorious and successful undertaking. It, of course, carries on the narrative of Manucci to its close; but it does much more than this. The final 200 pages contain a large number of "Additional Notes and Emendations", in which Mr. Irvine shows how carefully he has noted the various suggestions of his critics; then a very full bibliography of authors cited or referred to; and lastly an index of most satisfactory completeness to the whole four volumes. The first 400 pages carry on the chatty and gossipy journal of the shrewd old Venetian adventurer right up to the death of the aged Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707.

As to the matter of this volume, it falls, like that of the preceding ones, into two distinct parts, which are presented alternately in sections, apparently on no particular plan beyond that of varying the interest of the narrative and so maintaining the reader's attention. The two parts are, of course, the continuation of the history of the Mogul Empire, under the shadow of which Manucci lived so long, and the fortunes of the Christian missions in the South of India. The former part, as in preceding volumes, is a curious combination of historical matter and Court gossip, much being of a most amusing character. But in the present volume the part devoted to the Christian missions assumes very large proportions, and unfortunately is of anything but an edifying character. A great amount of it consists of a most minute and frequently tedious account of the deplorable quarrels between various parties of the Christian missionaries themselves and their converts. It is perhaps not easy at this distance of time to assign blame to one or the other side in these long-continued disputes between members of different religious orders and their friends. It can

scarcely be denied that Manucci writes with considerable bitterness, and, it is to be feared, not without prejudice, largely of a political or national character. He is all through extremely severe against the Jesuits and their partisans; his sympathies are no less strong in favour of the Capuchins. As a result, much of his curious narrative is distinctly disedifying. How far we can trust Manucci's accuracy or impartiality, we cannot undertake to discuss, nor have we at this time the materials to help us to a full judgment. Whatever can be done to elucidate his narrative, and especially the very considerable amount of argumentation concerning the canon law in which he indulges, has been done with singular patience and impartiality by Mr. William Irvine, who deserves our warmest congratulations on this successful completion of his difficult and laborious task.

If all the subsequent volumes of the well-conceived "Indian Texts Series" rise to the level of this first instalment, there can be no question of its value for the study of the history and civilization of the Indian Empire.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

NETSUKÉ VERSUCH EINER GESCHICHTE DER JAPANISCHEN  
SCHNITZKUNST. Von ALBERT BROCKHAUS. Mit 272  
schwarzen und 53 bunten Abbildungen. 2<sup>te</sup> Verbesserte  
Auflage. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1908.

In this splendid and beautifully illustrated work, a monument of German accuracy and literary conscientiousness, I find much more than a collector's record. The volume is, in fact, a complete treatise, absolutely unique in its comprehensive and scholarly dealing with its subject, upon that unapproachable wonder of Japanese art—the *netsuké*. Ivory and wood carvings are of course common enough all the world over, but beyond the borders of the Dragon-fly Land, one might almost say outside of

the limits somewhat widely understood of the three "fu", Tôkyo, Osaka, and Kyôto, no such work has ever been executed as that of the *netsuké-shi* of the Tokugawa period, to which their productions alone suffice to lend an artistic glory of the highest rank. But to appreciate *netsuké*, to understand them even, no little study is necessary, and in the present volume will be found as complete a guide to that most fascinating branch of artistic erudition as at the present day is possible. In view of the importance of the subject in the history of Asiatic civilization, I venture to occupy a page or two of this Journal with some account, necessarily inadequate, of Herr Brockhaus' superb work.

The word *netsuké* is usually written 根附, characters which taken literally mean "root-fastener" or "stud". But read rebus-wise, as many Japanese scripts are, they might mean "bone" ([*ho*]né) "button" or "disk". It is, however, possible that they were originally nothing but oddly or conveniently shaped natural knobs of hard wood or root, worn above the folds of the girdle or *obi* to prevent the slipping of the *himo*, the single or double cord rove through one hole or two holes in them, to the other end of which were attached the *koshisage* or trousseau the dweller in Old Japan commonly carried about with him—*tabako-ire*, tobacco pouch, *inro*, lacquered drug-case, *hi-uchi-bako*, tinder-box, *yatate*, inkhorn, etc., *kinchaku*, purse, etc.—one or more of these. The *himo* was usually further adapted to its purpose by a smaller *ojimé* or *odomé*, a one- or two-holed disk or ball which served to constrict the loop. It is not improbable, indeed, that the *netsuké* (another script for which was 墜子 or "pendant") was a development of the *ojimé*. The material used was a hard, close-grained wood, lacquered or plain, or ivory or walrus tusk, or bone, coral, tortoise-shell, agate, amber, *shibuichi* (an alloy of copper and silver), *shakudo* (silver-bronze, with a little gold to give it tone), *sentoku* (bronze

containing zinc and lead), or some pure metal, even soft iron. In character the *netsuké*, which might be rendered "disk", "stud", "knop", or "button", were *manju* or cake-shaped, a disk variously chased or carved in relief; *kagamibuta*, mirror-lidded, inset with a metal plate elaborately decorated with lines, scrolls, or figures; or it represented some natural object, or element or scene of the life and tradition of Japan or China. Of the last-mentioned class many are rather *okimono*, "figurines," or groups, than true *netsuké*, and are not adapted for wearing with the *koshisage*.

One has but to examine a single *netsuké* to understand the uniqueness of these most fascinating objects. Before, however, attempting some brief survey of their attractions a word or two may be said as to the history of this form of glyptic art. Roughly speaking, their production (in Old Japan) is contemporaneous with the rule of the Tokugawa Shôguns from 1603 to 1868. It is doubtful whether any pieces can be certainly ascribed to a period earlier than the seventeenth century, though the author gives to his first period the wide limits of 1450-1720. The glyptic work of much of this long tract of time was confined to Buddhist sculpture, the execution of bronze and wood statues of a colossal character, chiefly of Buddhas, and the carving of masks more or less artistically grotesque in Ruskin's sense. The second period is comprised between 1711 and 1817, and during it the best *netsuké* work was produced, especially after 1780. The artists now began to attach their names, often their place of residence, and, more rarely, the object or dedication of the piece. Of this intricate and difficult division of *netsuké* erudition, Herr Brockhaus has mastered the complicated secret, but it were vain to attempt here any account of so esoteric a portion of the subject of his book. Greater mastery over material, perfection and fluency of line, richness and variety of conception, above

all insight, observation, and the peculiar humour of the folk characterize the production of this period. The principal names are the various Shuzan, especially Yoshimura Shuzan (1764–81), Ogasawara Isai (1781–8), Miwa, still a name to conjure with among Japanese bric-à-brac dealers, and the several Minkô of Isé, with the *hôgen* (a title of honour) Shûgetsu, and members of the Okano family, these latter-named flourishing in the early years of the nineteenth century. The third and last period extends from 1818 to the date of that contact with the West which was the beginning of the end of true Japanese art. The art of the *netsuké-shi* scarcely advanced in quality during this period, but its production enormously increased: Herr Brockhaus' list comprises some 500 names belonging to these thirty odd years. Among the principal names are Ryûkei, Tomochika, Naga-i Raitan, Okatomo, and Gyûka. Some collectors prefer the ivory *netsuké* of this generation to those of any other period. I am myself inclined to think that the most elegant and decorative work of the Tokugawa dynasty was produced towards its close; the craftsmanship is then often most delicately and daintily fine and perfect; but few are the new flights of fancy or points of the peculiar humour of the Japanese glyptic artist to be found in nineteenth century examples—the range of subjects had by that time become exhausted, and even the modes of treatment were approaching a natural limit. The figurines—to quote an instance—of Shôki, the goblin-queller and his quelled goblin, a contrast of virtuous power with the real weakness of evil, show little novelty, and are largely replicas of a common idea.

To me much the most interesting *netsuké* are the figures or groups representing a scene of common life. One now before me shows two men amusing themselves with a trial of strength, palm against palm. It is the psychological moment—one will win, but it is impossible to say which;

both figures have quite different expressions and attitudes. The artist has caught the very moment *before* the contest is decided, when of course the interest would be over; a hundred times I have watched the struggle, as it were, always with the same interest, the same admiration of the artist's power. The author gives a coloured plate of a *netsuké* forming part of his own collection: a nearly naked man crouching over a trap in which he thinks he has caught a rat, who, however, has got on his back and mocks him. Here again, with infinite humour, the exact instant is seized when the man has found the trap empty but not yet perceived—he soon will—the escaped animal on his back. Such subjects appear, and of course are, trivial; it is their treatment that makes them works of art; just as, in a different way, is the case with many of Wordsworth's lyrics. Many examples of this peculiar and essentially Japanese humour are given in Herr Brockhaus' volume. The reader, after a little practice in close examination of the illustrations and a careful reference to the text, will not fail to be, one might almost say, startled into admiration, much more so had he the actual *netsuké* before him. He would turn them over and over, view them from every side, top and bottom; he would not find a single detail neglected, every point of the story told or suggested, a *multum in parvo* indeed, and every element of the *multum* perfectly rendered, a marvel of compression, fullness, vigour, and fluency, and so well worthy of ranking as an artistic achievement. Even in the figures of fruits or flowers, or animals not being quadrupeds, he will find the same dynamic quality of life united with complete, almost meticulous truth to nature, often a sly bit of humour indicative of the artist's quiet joy intermingled, as it were, with the composition. Perhaps, however, only the collector can really know this feeling to the full; it needs experienced observation and that

familiarity with the *netsuké* artist's environment, physical and moral, with his aim and method, which this volume so amply renders possible, to see the whole of what is visible to the eye bodily or mental. The hand of the true artist is equally seen in the gesture, attitude, and drapery of the figurines, be they of god or goblin; but the human face, the human form, the shapes of quadrupeds, the beauty of man or woman, are not well rendered either in Japanese glyptic or in Japanese pictorial art. It is in this respect that Japanese art so widely differs from the art of ancient Greece.

It remains briefly to describe the contents of Herr Brockhaus' volume. A general account of the *netsuké*, full of accurate learning, is followed by a history of its development, for which all available sources of information, Japanese and Western, have been consulted. Next we have brief biographies of the principal artists, with an elaborate explanation of the various methods, in which they hide rather than reveal in Chinese script their ever-varying personal and artistic names, thus giving the amplest guidance possible towards the date and authorship of particular examples, together with a list of many hundreds of names with their Chinese scripts and the needful indexes. Lastly comes a very full and valuable presentment of the various motives and subjects of the *netsuké-shi's* art, followed by a descriptive catalogue of Herr Brockhaus' own extensive collection of nearly 1800 pieces. There is also an exhaustive list of other collections, and a full bibliography, with interesting notices of prices realized at sales. The largest collection in existence probably is that of Mr. H. Seymour Trower, who says: "I find the charm . . . as fresh [as] and perhaps even keener than when I began." The estimation in which these exquisite productions are held is shown by the enormous prices often given for a single *netsuké*. At the Bing auction in Paris in 1906 prices ran from

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60 to over 5000 francs—many of the *netsuké* then sold might have been bought twenty years earlier for two or three dollars or even less. It should be added that the Japanese themselves do not attach a very great value to these or to other examples of *ukiyo* or living art.

The black and white illustrations in the text, after drawings and photographs, are excellent: the full-page coloured photogravures to my mind are not always quite so good. Some of the latter might have been better had the electric light been used more efficiently. The type is in roman, comfortable for English eyes, and the text is absolutely free from the ponderosity that sometimes spoils German prose. I do not quite like the hot-pressed shiny paper, which is not pleasant to the eye, and somewhat injures the “japanesy” character of the illustrations, but probably its use is unavoidable. I should add that a very good general account is given of Japanese art and interesting comparisons drawn with Greek and mediaeval art, and lastly that this fine quarto volume affords throughout most profitable reading to the student, artistic or not, of Eastern life.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

BOUDDHISME, OPINIONS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA DOGMATIQUE.

Par L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Paris: Beauchesne, 1909. 4s.

This is a reprint of lectures delivered before the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, last year, by the well-known Ghent professor. The lectures themselves are one of a series of lectures on the history of religions delivered in that institution. Monseigneur Roy, Bishop of Alinda, has dealt with the religious beliefs of modern savages, and the Baron Carra de Vaux with Islam; and others are to follow. M. Poussin (p. 10) considers the study of the history of religions as chimerical, and the Hibbert

Lectures in particular as presumptuous in their aims. It is all the more remarkable as a sign of the times to find that his own Church is moving in this direction, and he himself taking part in so chimerical and presumptuous a branch of historical inquiry.

After an introductory lecture the author discusses in Lecture II (called chapter 1) the original teaching of the Buddha. His main point is that Pali scholars are wrong in supposing that the doctrine of the Three Signs (or more especially the last of the three, the doctrine of *anatta*) involves any denial of the soul. He, on the other hand, supposes the Buddha's own teaching on the question of the soul theory to have been agnostic—neither affirming nor denying the existence within the body of a separate and eternal entity called the soul, but simply saying that that was a question not worth discussing. The difference does not seem to be very great.

There is one passage which the author quotes as favouring his view—the well-known Sutta on the Burden-bearer, which was discussed in this Journal for 1901, pp. 308 and 573, by the late Professor E. Hardy and the author of these lectures. The former there pointed out that the passage is entirely in accordance with the *anatta* view put forward in so many others. Every human is a burden-bearer. True. But it does not at all follow, which is the very point in dispute, that he has, in the view of the early Buddhists, inside of him a minute creature, the size of a thumb, called an *attā* or soul, which will escape from the body at death through an aperture in the suture of the skull. Quite the contrary. The *puggala*, or person, is distinctly stated, in this very passage, to consist solely of the five *khandhas*, or mutually supporting groups, of material and mental qualities. It is strange that, through the whole of the chapter, the discussion in this Journal is quietly ignored; and it is throughout taken for granted that the Sutta

referred to (S. iii, 25) maintains the existence of the soul or mannikin.

The next lecture gives a clear and popular account of some of the main tenets of various later schools, so far as that is possible considering the very small number of texts that are as yet published. The following lecture discusses the whole evolution of the ideas concerning the Buddha, and the Buddhas, from the fifth century B.C. down to the time of the rise of the Amitābha theory, which is dated, very problematically, about the first century A.D. On both these subjects there are interesting remarks which lead to the regret that the lecturer's time and space were so very limited.

Another lecture deals with the future Buddha, and more especially with the conception, so fully worked out in mediæval Buddhism, that everyone should endeavour to become a Buddha in the future, should enter upon the career, not of Arahant, but of Bodhisattva. And, finally, we have a sketch of the rise and meaning of the Tantra beliefs and practices so far as they were Buddhist.

In the Preface, we are glad to see, the author announces his intention of publishing a larger work, in which the many interesting historical problems here touched upon in the author's genial phrases shall be considered at greater length, and with the addition of references from other works. There is probably no one living who has studied the later literature of the Indian Buddhists with greater care and completeness than the writer of these lectures, and such a work would be a most welcome addition to our imperfect knowledge. The field is so vast that no one student can cover the whole of the ground. To add anything of positive value to the history is already difficult enough, involving as it does a sober judgment in matters also of philology and philosophy. And it is all the more difficult as no one has yet made any adequate attempt to trace the development of

Buddhist thought from the time of Kanishka onwards. But we shall never understand the history of thought in India until this is done. Let me assure M. Poussin that we of the Pali side of our common research will receive, with real gratitude, whatever he tells us of his side of the subject.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CONVERSATIONS EN LANGUE MALAISE (composées dans l'idiome usuel de la péninsule malaise) écrites en caractères arabes, transcrites en caractères latins et traduites en français. Par ALBERT MERSIER. Paris: Imprimerie R. Monod, Poirré, & Cie., 1905.

To write a good phrase-book of conversational Malay is not as easy as it looks. The person who essays to do it has to steer a course like that which lies between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand he must avoid the pedantries and peculiarities of the written language. Nothing would be easier than to compile a collection of extracts from Malay literature; it has been done times without number, and of course such collections are very useful to students of Malay literature. But they are not colloquial Malay, any more than Johnsonese is colloquial English. On the other hand, the phrase-book maker must not fall into the depths of bazaar jargon. There have been many little Malay phrase-books that erred on this side: they embodied a sort of "kitchen Kaffir" talk bearing the same relation to Malay that pidgin-English does to the talk of the average Englishman conversing with his family or friends. Most of the existing phrase-books are more or less on these lines. It would be invidious to mention names: their name is legion, and they are much alike in this respect.

The reason is simple enough. The average Malay, so long as he is talking to other Malays, speaks his language as it should be spoken, using (quite naturally and without

thinking about it) the many peculiar idioms with which Malay abounds. But the moment he has to speak to a foreigner, whether Chinese, Indian, or European, he begins (perhaps with the polite desire of making things easy for him) to "talk down" to the stranger's level. He then uses a sort of simplified Malay, avoiding all the characteristic idioms of the language, and even in some cases modifying the syntax, so as to make it more like what the other is accustomed to. In fact, he begins to talk pidgin-Malay, just as the Englishman in Hong-Kong talks pidgin-English to his Chinese servants, and for much the same reason. Then some enterprising European comes along, whose ambition it is to compile a book of Malay phrases taken down at first hand from the very lips of a pure Malay, and carefully writes down this stuff and publishes it, with the results that are apparent in most of the existing phrase-books.

To do M. Mersier justice, I must say that he has on the whole succeeded pretty well in avoiding these pitfalls. His sentences, if not always ideally pure Malay (which is hard to come by colloquially nowadays) are at any rate fair specimens of the vernacular, being neither a patchwork of bookish language nor yet too much disfigured with bazaar jargon. But there are exceptions. *Apa angkao boykah dirumah ini* (p. xxvi) is not the "idiome usuel de la péninsule malaise": the *apa* is a rather objectionable Javanism, never (so far as I remember) heard in the Peninsula. I do not like the expression *datang kasini* (ibid.): *datang ka-mari* would be more usual and correct. Sometimes the French version is inadequate: for instance, "un cheval pie (tacheté)" does not fully translate *satu kuda belang yang bagus*. The Malay phrases are given in the Arabic character as well, but this has not been done in a very good style of handwriting (it is reproduced by lithography, apparently), nor is the spelling always that which is usually considered

correct. No doubt Malay spelling in the Arabic character is still in such a fluid state that a good deal of variation is permissible. But there are limits, and I cannot say that I approve of *بالتى* for *بلى*.

The book will be of service as an introduction to the study of the spoken language. For this reason I rather regret that a system of spelling in the Roman character has been adopted, which (though suited to the primary purpose of the book, viz. the instruction of Frenchmen) is sufficiently different from the ordinary orthography of Romanized Malay to be rather confusing to people of other nationalities. The standard orthography now in use in the Peninsula is so simple, and so adequate for everyday purposes, that it seems a pity to depart from it when, with the help of some four or five rules of pronunciation as regards particular letters, it would have served M. Mersier's purpose just as well as the system he has adopted. In this respect I think the book might have been improved. The Dutch spelling of Malay, ungainly as it is to our eyes, has at any rate such prestige as ancient and widespread usage can confer; yet in their linguistic writings Dutch scholars frequently use an orthography which (being nearer to an international standard) approximates very closely to that of English Romanized Malay. There seems to be no point, at this time of day, in inventing a new French spelling for Malay in a work that is intended for students.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

CINQUANTE HISTOIRES D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT, mises en français d'après les textes malais, annotées et précédées d'un coup d'œil sur la Malaisie. Par ALBERT MERSIER. Paris : Société Générale d'Impression, 1908.

This little book contains a series of extracts from Malay works (principally those of Abdullah bin Abdulkadir) done into French. They are very readable, and will do

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doubt be useful to a good number of people who cannot read them in the original. The translation appears to have been well done, and the notes are generally informing. Sometimes, however, they are not as accurate as could be desired. For instance, in Abdullah's curious list of demons and devilries (p. 89) the word "Katagoran" (= *kētēguran*) is not, I think, the name of a ghost, but denotes the fact of being accosted by one and the calamitous consequences which are supposed to result from such an encounter. Again, *Djembalang, terkena obat gouna* does not mean "an earth-spirit struck by a magic drug". The two things are unconnected. *Jēmbalang* is no doubt an earth-spirit, but the "being affected by a magic drug" is not his portion, but that of some luckless wight whose enemies have put a spell upon him to do him harm. The fact is that Abdullah in his list mixes up the various logical and grammatical categories in fine confusion: some of his words are the names of devils and ghosts, others of enchantments and other magic devices and processes.

Of the Introduction which precedes the extracts I need not say more than that it gives a rather fascinating picture of this corner of the East, with special reference to Java and the Malay Peninsula. If not very profound it is bright and sympathetic: the work of an intelligent and appreciative visitor, not of a permanent resident, who sees more of the seamy side and has become a trifle dulled to the charm of this region. It is none the worse, perhaps, for that; and if it stimulates a few more Frenchmen to travel and visit these countries (as it urgently invites them to do), I have no doubt that they will not regret the experience, though possibly they may not find them the "earthly Paradise" that M. Mersier's idealizing fancy has beheld in them.

The book unfortunately contains a considerable number of misprints, and would have been the better for more careful proof-reading.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

PAUL OLTRAMARE. LA FORMULE BOUDDHIQUE DES DOUZE CAUSES ; SON SENS ORIGINEL ET SON INTERPRÉTATION THÉOLOGIQUE. pp. 53. Genève, 1909. (One of the monographs published for the Jubilee of the University of Geneva.)

I feel more than satisfied with this new contribution to the history of Buddhist dogma. I am not sure, and I think Professor P. Oltramare is not sure, that he has succeeded in deciphering the original meaning of the cumbrous list of the twelve causes ; but he has worked out a lot of very interesting observations, and he may be right on the whole, *après tout*. As concerns the analysis he gives of the sources, the so-called genuine Pāli texts, and the elucidation of the numerous and divergent Canonic, Southern and Northern scholastic views, clearness and erudition have conspired to make his short article by far the best on the subject. European theories are summarized and criticized in the happiest way: the history of Buddhist philology is not a very cheering one.

To chiefly concern ourselves with the primary meaning of the *paticeasannuppāda*, Professor Oltramare first maintains that the redactors did not aim at explaining "existence", but rather "how existence is what it is, suffering". That may be right. I willingly admit that neither Gautama nor his true disciples, heirs of his practical wisdom, did care much for metaphysics. But there is a preliminary problem, more hard to unravel than to cut off: "Is the *pratityasamutpāda* pre-canonic—I mean, really authentic?" If it is not pre-canonic, it may have been, from the very outset, scholastic at the bottom, or, as Professor Oltramare would say, a theological masterpiece: we are justified in believing that it is the result of many-sided and heterogeneous contaminations. On the contrary, if it be really genuine, how is it to be understood? "In the simplest possible way," must be the answer. That is: "My life is miserable and will come

to a miserable end with old age and death, because I am born. I am born because I am in the world of becoming. I 'become' because I am continually nourishing my existence. I nourish it by the very fact that I have appetites. I have appetites because I feel. I feel because I have contact with things, because my organs are active. My organs are active because I am contrasted, as far as I am an individual, with the 'non-moi'. I am an individual because my conscience is pervaded with the idea of personality. My conscience has been made what it is by previous experiences; and these experiences have infected my conscience, because 'I did not know'" (pp. 28-9).

To say the truth, the only "members" of the chain that are really clear are *ṣaḍāyatana*—*tr̥ṣṇā*, *jāti*—*marāṇa*, etc. I fear that it is impossible to "ascertain" the original meaning of *bhava* and *upādāna*; serious doubts arise concerning the real import of *saṃskāras*, *viññāna*, *nāmarūpa*.

One will most probably acknowledge that *bhava* cannot have been understood originally—as it was later—as a ζεύγμα: (1) *karmabhava*, act-producing, (2) *upapattibhava*, existence at the arising state, conceptional or pre-conceptional existence. Professor Oltramare's translation, "I am born (*jāti*) because I was to be reborn, because I am in the World of Desire (*kāmadhātu*), because I exist (*bhava*)," has much on its side. It is not altogether a new one, but there is "manière de dire". And it would be unfair to disbelieve it because it is simple and witty. That Buddhist phrases do not always involve profound ideas, is so far evident. And the most uncompromising translation of *bhava* is perhaps the best.—As Professor Oltramare observes, very keenly indeed, the number "twelve" was a pre-Buddhistic datum, and to fill the twelve sections synonymous phrases were of use.

\**Upādāna* would be the "taking up", the assimilation

by a living and conscious being of the elements of being, i.e., the *skandhas*, both material (bodily), *rūpa*, and psychic, *vedanā* and so on. It is certain that *upādāna* is the fuel, the alimentary principle of fire; that the "exterior" element, *rūpa* (matter), is said to be "taken up", *upātta*, when it is assimilated to the body, when it becomes "interior" (*ādhyātmika*, Northern Sūtras); that elements like "feeling" (*vedanā*), individualized as they are (since each *vedanā* is produced by such and such "contact"), can be looked upon as polygeneous elements to be fragmentarily "taken up": such is certainly the case for the "intellectual element" (*viññāna*), which is styled later a *dhātu*, like earth, water, etc. (and to the *viññānadhātu* finally converge all the psychological states or phenomena, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, etc.). It is also certain that, like *upādāna*, the four "aliments" (*āhāras*) are produced by "thirst" (*trṣṇā*) (see *Majjh.* i, 47, 261 = *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Soc. As., fol. 250 a 8), and that the "taking up" of the several "elements" (*skandhas*) is described at length in *Majjh.* i, 511. We have there a bundle, a *kalāpa* of proofs, which cannot be easily disposed of, and assures a high value to the conjecture of Professor Oltramare. On the other hand, scholastic interpretations of *upādāna* are manifold; the so-called four *upādānas* (*kāma*, *drṣṭi*, *śīlavrata*, *ātmavāda*) look very fanciful, and the original notion must have been different from the scholastic ones. Nevertheless, I cannot say that I am absolutely "converted". Before reading Professor Oltramare's observations and perusing his authorities, I had been struck by a canonic gloss, to which Professor Kern has called attention: *yā vedanāsu nandī tad upādānam* (*Majjh.* i, 266 = *Manual*, p. 47, note). An old (*ābhidhārmik*) definition of *upādāna* is *kāmādiṣu chandarāgaḥ* (*Abhidharmakośa*, 236 d), alias *bhogānāṃ prāptaye kleśa-samudācārāvasthā*, alias *caturvidhaḥ kleśaḥ* — later *karmākṣepakāraṇam*, "efficient cause of the projection of

act" (*Madhyamakavṛtti*, xxvi, 6). All these texts point to the quasi-identification of *upādāna* and *trṣṇā*. "Thirst," too, is *nandī*, *kleśa*, and cause of act. And the idea is near at hand that *upādāna* is a more active form of desire, its *paryutthāna*, not only desire, but, as Professor Kern says, "clinging, effort." That would be "self-complacency", "consent", contrasted with "temptation". *Majjh.* i, 266, supports this view, and I believe it highly probable that it can and must be mingled with Professor Oltramare's opinion, also a canonic one, to realize the imprecision and the resources of the ancient Buddhist ideology and terminology.

Our author has clearly stated, for the first time, that the *pratītyasamutpāda* has to be understood "en fonction" of the theory of the *skandhas* (matter and psychological elements of the human being). And although he under-values or disapproves (following M. A. Barth) M. E. Senart's opinion that *upādāna* = *upādānaskandhas*, he himself shows the happiest way of understanding this equivalence. *Upādāna* (let us say hyper-*trṣṇā*) is clinging to the exterior objects of desire (*kāmarāga*) and to the existence of the self (scholastically, to heresies relative to the self and to his welfare), and therefore to the very elements in absence of which no existence or self whatever can be thought of. Or, if the translation "hyper-*trṣṇā*" is wrong, *upādāna*, in any case, is *trṣṇā*, as far as *trṣṇā* is generative of further existence, here or hereafter (*bhava*), by the very fact that it nourishes the self. (*nāmurūpa*). The *upātta skandhas* into which, according to the stereotyped phrase of the Sanskrit sūtras, ripens the fruit of action,<sup>1</sup> are *upātta* because there is a power of *upādāna* in the act produced by desire. And it seems hardly possible to doubt that the phrase *upādānaskandha* (*upādāya rūpa*, *upādānarūpa*) is a contamination of the *upādāna*

<sup>1</sup> . . . na bhikṣavaḥ karmāṇi . . . bāhye prthivīdhātau vipacyante,  
 . . . api tūpātteṣu skandhadhātūrāyataneṣu.

of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* with the *skandhas* of an independent psycho-physiological theory, the origin of which is presumably pre-Buddhistic.

Let us now see how, according to Professor Oltramare, *nāmarūpa* is produced from *viññāna*. "In the Brahmin schools, *nāmarūpa* points out a being as characterized by its visible characters (*rūpa*) and as marked for thought by its name (*nāma*)."<sup>1</sup> This phrase obtains almost the same meaning in Buddhism: *nāmarūpa* is "the individual with all its contingencies", and the individual is a being of desire, of becoming, of suffering, because he is intelligent and conscious. "Therefore *nāmarūpa* is caused by *viññāna*, i.e. the knowledge that distinguishes subject and object,<sup>1</sup> and lays subject into the dependence of object. When *viññāna* disappears all the elements of *nāmarūpa* disappear too." Although *nāmarūpa* is used only in reference to *sattvas* (intelligent, human, animated beings), material beings too have a "name" as well as a "form". Human (or animated) *nāmarūpa* is characterized by *viññāna*; therefore *viññāna* is its seed. And the real import of the causal connexion is as follows: From *viññāna*, *nāmarūpa* coupled with *viññāna* (cf. p. 13 ff.).

"*Viññāna* transmits to the individual all the tendencies that are to overrule his relations with objects. These tendencies are called the 'predispositions' or the 'formations' (*samskāras*) . . . and are rightly so called, being as it were the mould into which life is being cast. Sometimes *samskāras* are identified with Will, and rightly too: other elements, sensations, concepts, etc., are furnished to the individual by the successive phenomena amongst which his life is going on; on the contrary, Will, or mental attitude, is, for a Hindu, the consequence of former experiences." Such and such *samskāras* are the formative cause of such and such *viññāna*, which again

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure that this definition would hold in every case.

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*causes samskāras* ; and there is no actual *viññāna* where previous *samskāras* are wanting.<sup>1</sup>

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

R. R. SEN. THE TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI, from the Bengali of H. P. SHASTRI, M.A. Chittagong, 1909.

Mahāmahôpādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śāstri's prose poem, the *Vālmīkir Jaya*, originally appeared, about thirty years ago, in the celebrated Bengali magazine the *Baṅga Darśana*, and was subsequently published by the author as an independent work, but much altered and enlarged. It was received with acclamation, and the Indian reviewers exhausted their vocabularies in praise of its merits. The commendation was sometimes so extravagant in its language that it repelled more sober-minded English readers from what was in fact a highly poetical composition and well worthy of perusal. The author took the old familiar stories of Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, and Vālmiki as his basis, and over these he wove a web of luxurious Oriental imagination. Each of these three heroes attempts to bring about the universal brotherhood of mankind. Vaśiṣṭha tries priestcraft and worldly policy, but fails. Viśvāmitra tries physical force, but fails. Vālmiki preaches a gospel of love, and succeeds. This is briefly

<sup>1</sup> I venture to differ from Professor Oltramare on some points of little importance. p. 10: As well said, *kāma* is sexual desire ; there is "desire" in the *rūpadhātu*, as far as I know. p. 27, note: I think that the *Śālistambasūtra* has the canonic phraseology. p. 28: But there is a *jīvitendriya*, at least in the latter scholastic. p. 41: I do not see how *avidyā* acquired a new value (and a cosmic one) from the fact that it came to be looked upon as the ignorance of the *nairātmya*. p. 41, note: Lefmann follows Rājendralāl, but the Tibetan translation has *pratyayebhiḥ ca* (=co), and confirms Professor Oltramare's scepticism. p. 46: Is not Buddhaghosa to be understood according to *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 227, 11?—As concerns Pāli references, it seems that the true light came recently from Cambridge (Mass.): to give up the notation by *sūtras*, *vaggas*, *samyuttas*, sub-*vaggas*, etc., would be helpful to the reader and very agreeable to our excellent friend Professor Lanman.

the plot of the story, which may be described better as a rhapsody than by any other title.

Mr. R. R. Sen's English translation of the Bengali original is a good piece of work, evidently carried out *con amore*. I have compared much of it with the original, and can vouch for its fidelity, but it is not a too literal translation. To convey to English readers Hara Prasād's rhapsodies without falling into one of the two pitfalls of turgidity and bathos was by no means an easy task, but Mr. Sen, who exhibits a mastery of idiomatic English rare amongst those whose language it is not, has successfully accomplished it. In the story's Western dress I can safely recommend *The Triumph of Valmiki* to those who are not familiar with Bengali and who desire to become acquainted with a modern Eastern poetical work esteemed by the compatriots of its author as a masterpiece of imagination.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 12, 1909.

CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS  
OF THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY OF BANKIPORE:  
PERSIAN POETS: FIRDAWSÍ TO HÁFIZ. Prepared for  
the Government of Bengal, under the supervision of  
E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D., by MAWLAWÍ 'ABDU'L -  
MUQTADIR. pp. x+274. Calcutta, 1908.

Not the least of the services rendered to Orientalism by Dr. E. Denison Ross is the pains which he has taken to inspire his Indian pupils with a genuine enthusiasm for Arabic and Persian literature, to acquaint them with the methods employed and the results attained by European Orientalists, and to train them in the scientific cataloguing of the many fine libraries whereof the contents have hitherto been little known or even quite unknown.

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Amongst these libraries is that founded at Bankipore by the learned and public-spirited Mawlawí Muḥammad-Bakhsh Khán, who died in July, 1876. This library was opened to the public in 1891, and then contained nearly 4000 MSS., which number has been since increased by one-half by the exertions of the founder's son, Mawlawí Khudá-Bakhsh Khán, for an account of whose life (published at Calcutta in 1909) we are indebted to his son, Ṣalāḥu'd-Dín Khudá-Bakhsh, who has inherited alike the generosity and the love of learning of his father and grandfather. Of his generosity he afforded a signal proof in placing at the disposal of the writer a valuable MS. of that rare old work on Persian Prosody, the *Mu'jam fi Ma'áyrí Ash'ár'il-'Ajam* of Shams-i-Qays, of which the text, based on the British Museum MS., collated with the Constantinople and Bankipore MSS. (the only others known to exist), has just been published by the Gibb Memorial Fund.

The present volume of the *Catalogue* which forms the subject of this notice deals with the MSS. representing the Persian poets from Firdawsí to Ḥáfiz, or, roughly speaking, those who flourished between A.D. 1000 and 1400, and it is expected (Preface, p. vii) that the works of the later poets will fill two similar volumes, of which the appearance will be eagerly awaited by Persian scholars. Of the 161 MSS. described in this volume two only are noticed in the Preface as unique, viz. a MS. of the Quatrains of Sayfu'd-Dín Bákhrazí (d. A.D. 1259) and a MS. of the *Diwán* of Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣá'in (d. A.D. 1362), but many other rare MSS., besides others notable for their antiquity or their fine calligraphy, are included in the collection.

The *Catalogue* in its construction follows the best traditions of scholarship, and its execution leaves little, or nothing to be desired. It reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its production, and it is earnestly to

be hoped that the work may be pushed forward with energy, so that the riches of this great library may be made known to all the world.

E. G. BROWNE.

THE SIKH RELIGION: ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS, AND AUTHORS. By MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. 6 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This is a voluminous work, which has been compiled by Mr. Macauliffe during years of labour and study, with the support and advice of the best scholars and patrons among the Sikhs. In order to estimate its value, it is essential to note the aims and objects which he set before himself throughout, and these he has explained very definitely.

He has not endeavoured to produce a scholarly work on the Granth and the Sikh religion for European scholars, but his intention has been to set out that religion and its sacred book according to the orthodox views of its teachers for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves, with due regard to a promise that he made them to write nothing prejudicial to their religion. The translation of the Granth made by Dr. Trumpp was unsatisfactory—to scholars because it was wanting in accuracy, and to the Sikhs because it offended them by its tone and comments. Mr. Macauliffe seeks in this work to make them reparation, and also trusts that it may be of political advantage to them and enhance the regard entertained for them; that it may be useful to the large number of Sikhs, who cannot study the originals but understand English; and that it may rescue their scriptures from misunderstanding and oblivion, since the vernacular has been departing widely from the language used in the Granth, since the old gyanis or professional

interpreters are dying out, and since the local legends are likely to disappear soon.

Mr. Macauliffe's work is thus intended mainly for the benefit of the Sikhs themselves and of the general public which may be interested in the history and teaching of their gurus. Scholars will naturally be disappointed; yet his position is explained on the grounds, first, that he himself is manifestly attached to the Sikhs and their religion by a genuine personal affection and not by a scholar's critical interest; and secondly, that the support, which he received in India and without which he could not have carried out this undertaking, was only rendered to him for the purpose of preparing a full, clear, and sympathetic exposition of their scriptures and of inaugurating for the Sikhs a new era in the study and observance of their religion. Regarded in that special aspect, his work deserves high praise.

He resigned the Civil Service some fifteen years ago, and spent his time in first making a translation of the Granth, and in revising it thoroughly, with the aid of Sikh scholars and others, until it met with the satisfaction of the leading gyanis. He did not, however, produce his version in that shape, because he considered that an account of the Sikh gurus, saints, and authors was at least as important as a correct translation of their writings. Further years were then spent in compiling biographies which should not be inconsistent with the sacred writings. He followed therein the advice of the most learned Sikhs as to what should be included, and has hardly exercised his own critical faculty, except in sifting to a certain extent the Sikh accounts. Subordinating himself to the aims and objects explained above, he has not only abstained from expressing any opinion of his own, but has included various miracles, though it does not appear that the gurus themselves claimed any superhuman power. The work therefore,

as it appears now, is a biographical history of the gurus and saints, compiled, according to the opinions of the best Sikh scholars, in the form in which they wished it to be presented. The Granth has been broken up. The hymns are introduced in the narrative when the particular incidents occur during which they are said to have been uttered, while all those which cannot apparently be assigned to any special occasion are appended, for each guru, at the end of his biography.

This arrangement no doubt serves the purpose which Mr. Macauliffe had in view ; yet it would have been quite as good, if not better, to reverse the plan, namely, to make the translation of the Granth the main object, and supplement it with notes explaining the circumstances in which each hymn was composed ; because the Granth is a collection of genuine hymns, whereas the accounts of the gurus and saints (as he acknowledges) cannot pretend to be contemporaneous and have been amplified with later stories and marvels. The way in which the hymns are now dispersed throughout the narrative renders the translations of little use for purposes of reference, even for the Sikhs themselves. The defect might have been remedied if a table had been added, showing where each hymn is to be found ; yet this has not been done, and it is impossible to find out any particular hymn except by searching through the volumes.

Portraits, so-called, of the various gurus are inserted, but it is doubtful if they have any more authenticity than conjecture on the part of the present-day artist. At the end of the fifth volume are given some interesting specimens of the rags, or musical measures, to which the hymns were composed. In the sixth volume Mr. Macauliffe has collected accounts of many religious teachers who were Nanak's precursors in breaking away from popular Hinduism and striving after a simple and purer faith.

This work, then, has been compiled for the Sikhs and

in their interests. It is not intended for European scholars, though they obtain the great benefit of having accurate translations of the hymns. Mr. Macauliffe has indeed gone so far in his avoidance of scholarly "form" as to make no distinction between the cerebral and dental letters, sibilants, etc., and often to leave long vowels unmarked. Indian words and proper names are given as popularly written and pronounced now, however corrupt they may be; and in the notes the popular versions of ancient stories are preferred to their earlier forms in Sanskrit books.

Mr. Macauliffe regards the Sikh doctrines with a warm appreciation, which they undoubtedly merit. His translations of the hymns are far superior to Dr. Trumpp's, and are no doubt as accurate as it is possible to make them. The language which he employs is simple yet reverent, and fitly displays the bhakti, or fervent piety, of the authors. In reading these volumes many questions suggest themselves—religious, political, economic, literary—which one wishes that he had noticed and discussed, even consistently with the scope of his work. One opinion he does put forward, that the Sikh religion is totally unaffected by Semitic or Christian influences; but even his own account of the founder Nanak hardly supports his opinion, and it is one that very few, if any, students of Indian religious movements would assent to.

As a popular and reverent account of the Sikh gurus and religion, compiled by a sincere admirer in the interests of the Sikhs, the work will no doubt exercise a wide influence, especially in India, and is likely to serve the purposes for which it was undertaken. It is not intended for scholars, yet even they gain a substantial benefit, in that they have at last translations of the hymns made as carefully and accurately as the resources of the present day permit.

F. E. P.

BUDDHA'S GEBURT UND DIE LEHRE VON DEN SEELEN-  
WANDERUNG. By ERNST WINDISCH. Leipzig, 1908.

In this work Dr. Windisch has chosen the traditions as to the birth of the Buddha for critical examination with special regard to the provenance of the various ideas of which those traditions are composed. Much interest attaches to the process by which the simple fact of the birth of the Buddha as son of a Kṣatriya, Śuddhodana, gradually is transferred into the miraculous birth of a divine entity from a virgin mother; and to Dr. Windisch we owe by far the most satisfactory exposition of that development in its various phases, and in particular the elaborate and able discussion of the doctrine of birth as it appears in the Veda, in Buddhism, in the medical Saṃhitās, and in the Vedānta and Sāṃkhya systems. It is impossible to summarize here the discussion, but attention should certainly be called to the passage<sup>1</sup> in which the exact sense of the *gandhabba* of the Assalāyanasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* is elucidated, in a manner which at once confirms and renders more precise the views of Pischel<sup>2</sup> and Oldenberg.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Windisch rightly emphasizes the fact that while we will find the roots of much of the mythology of Buddhism in Brāhmanism, none the less Buddhism has a mythology of its own, and is not to be considered as merely receptive.

Of most general interest, perhaps, is the last chapter<sup>4</sup> of the book, in which the author examines the question of how far external influences manifest themselves in the Buddhist accounts of the birth of the Buddha. We are glad to find in him a strong supporter of the theory of parallel developments of religious belief. It is true, he

<sup>1</sup> pp. 12-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Vedische Studien*, i, 78 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG., xlix, 178. See also de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, pp. 68 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 195 seqq.

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points out, that both the Christian Church and the Buddhist Church developed doctrines of the virginity of the mother of the founder of their religion, but such views were in either case, as he shows, natural developments of existing tendencies, while there is no historical evidence for early borrowing on either side. Moreover, he insists, the discrepancies between Christianity and Buddhism are simply enormous: the Buddha and the Christ stand for totally different ideals of life and conceptions of existence. The so-called parallels adduced by Seydel von Eysinga and Edmunds he dismisses, much as does Hopkins in his valuable essay in *India, Old and New*, which Dr. Windisch apparently does not know, as quite inconclusive,<sup>1</sup> and as due either to the natural development of the religions or to ordinary considerations of mental growth. It is therefore somewhat surprising that he should accept as probable the derivation of the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration from the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis, as the likeliness of a parallel development in that case is at least as strong as in the cases with which he deals.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Windisch is reserved in his attitude towards comparative mythology. The elephant — with six tusks (*chaddanta*) as a sign of its superiority to ordinary elephants<sup>3</sup> — which appears in the legend to Māyā Devī before the Buddha's birth, he<sup>4</sup> admits to be connected with Airāvata, Indra's elephant, but only in so far as the elephant is in India a token of royalty, and so belongs to Indra as it belongs to a mortal king. He even declines<sup>5</sup> to accept the view, held by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, that the death of Māyā Devī on the seventh day after her son's death is a myth of the dawn slain by the sun, and

<sup>1</sup> p. 58, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 569 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> At p. 179 Windisch refutes Speyer's view (ZDMG., lvii, 108) that *chaddanta* means "having the five senses and the mind restrained (*dānta*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 175, 176.

<sup>5</sup> p. 139, n. 1. Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 39, n. 1.

prefers to believe that, in point of fact, the mother of the Buddha did die on the seventh day after his birth. In this view he may be correct, but it must be admitted that the legend occurs late, and that it already bears in the fictitious name of the mother—for Māyā cannot be a genuine name—signs of its unoriginal character. On the other hand, we are heartily at one with him in rejecting Jensen's wonderful theories of the Epic of Gilgames, which certainly represent the most signal recent example of comparative mythology run mad.

Following Boyer, Dr. Windisch<sup>1</sup> is inclined to find in the *Rgveda* and the Brāhmaṇas traces of the doctrine of transmigration. But the evidence for the theory—held also in different forms by Pišchel, Geldner, and Böhtlingk<sup>2</sup>—is singularly unsatisfactory. In RV., x, 14, 1, he takes the words *sá no deréṣv ā yamad dīrghām āyuhḥ prá jivāse* as meaning "may he take us to the gods to live there a long time", implying that, after a long life, return to earth is possible; but the sense is not the natural meaning of the words, which refer<sup>3</sup> to the continued life on earth of the survivors. As a matter of fact, even the Brāhmaṇas do not contain the doctrine, though the conception of repeated death after death tends towards it. Macdonell, Lévi, Bloomfield, Hopkins, and Oldenberg,<sup>4</sup> among others, are all inclined to accept the view that for transmigration we must go to the Upaniṣads or Āraṇyakas, and this view appears to us certainly correct.

It may also be doubted whether Dr. Windisch<sup>5</sup> is right in finding in the Upaniṣads the doctrine that a man can

<sup>1</sup> pp. 58 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> See also JRAS., 1909, pp. 574 seqq. Cf. also de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. RV., x, 14, 12, and x, 18, 3 seqq., where the idea is repeatedly set out. Vedic Indians do not pray for death conceived as life in heaven. The "parallel" passage, ix, 44, 5, cited by Boyer is not really parallel at all, as it has no clause to complete it.

<sup>4</sup> See JRAS., 1909, p. 575.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 62, 63. Cf. JRAS., 1909, p. 606.

recollect his previous births. Neither the *Āitareya Upaniṣad*, 2, nor the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, i, 4, 10, can certainly be said to refer to this power, though they are so taken by Śaṅkara in his commentaries, which, however, notoriously are not to be relied on for the exact sense of the Upaniṣads. But Dr. Windisch sheds a great deal of light on the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* by his examination of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* parallel to its description of birth.<sup>1</sup>

Other points of interest must be mentioned more briefly. Dr. Windisch<sup>2</sup> raises the question of the age of the personal Brahman who, as he points out, occurs in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*. The answer is obscure; several of the relevant passages are discussed by us elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> *Paraśvān* in the same Upaniṣad he takes<sup>4</sup> as "snake", but with doubt; Bühler<sup>5</sup> has suggested a possible connexion with the Pāli *palāsāda*. Again, the relations of Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II are hardly correctly stated;<sup>6</sup> more accurate information will be found in Dr. Hoernle's *Osteology*.<sup>7</sup> In his estimate of the age of the Buddhist Canon<sup>8</sup> Dr. Windisch evidently adheres to the older school of ideas, whose views are now seriously questioned—in our opinion with justice—by such writers as Franke and de la Vallée Poussin.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, too, his book

<sup>1</sup> pp. 62, 63; and see his note in *Sācha. Ber.*, 1907, pp. 111 seqq.; Oertel, *JAOS.*, xix, 111; my *Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> p. 33, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 304, n. 23; 367.

<sup>4</sup> p. 71, n. 2. *Dandaśūka*, which occurs also in *Nirukta*, *Parīṣiṣṭa*, ii, 9, is given by the commentary as the equivalent.

<sup>5</sup> *ZDMG.*, xlviii, 63. *Paraśvān* is found in *RV.*, x, 86, 18; *AV.*, vi, 72, 2; *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, iii, 13, 10. Cf. *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 377, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 48 seqq. For the latest view of Dr. Hoernle on the question of Caraka's date, see *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 886, 887, and compare my note, *ZDMG.*, lxii, 136.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 882.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pp. 10 seqq.

<sup>9</sup> *Bouddhisme*, pp. 33 seqq. Cf. my note, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 577, n. 1.

appeared too soon to enable him to discuss the doctrines of the ego and of the chain of causality in the light of the new researches of de la Vallée Poussin<sup>1</sup> and P. Oltramare.<sup>2</sup>

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DIE ARISCHEN GÖTTERGESTALTEN. By KARL SCHIRMEISEN.  
Brünn, 1909.

This work is an interesting example of the application of a priori methods to the study of religious phenomena ; and, if one can hardly admire the results of the attempt, yet it would be unfair to deny Dr. Schirmeisen credit for the boldness with which he has attacked his theme. Dr. Schirmeisen is impressed with the truth of two principles : namely, that the gods of a race closely reflect the standard of culture attained by that race ; and that the individuality of gods is strongly affected by racial mixing, so that, while the name remains unaltered, quite new functions may be assigned to a god. Founding on these principles—the truth of which within limits is undeniable—he proceeds to deduce the characteristics of the earliest religions from the social conditions of life in the three periods of the Stone Age and the two of the age of metal, while he applies a corrective to the results thus obtained by examining the early ethnography of the world. He then feels himself in a position to determine different strata in the *Rgveda*, and to show the original character of the various gods of the Indo-Iranian pantheon.

We cannot undertake to follow the author in his reconstruction of primitive religion : it must suffice to say that he postulates for the Palæolithic Age a monotheistic worship of fire, conceived often in snake form.<sup>3</sup> Whatever be the origins of religion, we may feel sure that they were not so simple as this ; or, at any rate, that he who

<sup>1</sup> *Bouddhisme*, pp. 54 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *La formule bouddhique des douze causes*, Geneva, 1909. . . . <sup>3</sup> p. 9

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would prove such a thesis as that here presented must be prepared with much stronger arguments than Dr. Schirmeisen can offer. Nor do we think that the state of ethnological studies at the present day will permit the acceptance of the reduction of the human species to the black and the yellow, the white being the result of the mixture of these.<sup>1</sup> Nothing but confusion can result from such short cuts to knowledge.

Nor do the results of the author's researches encourage us to accept his premises. He<sup>2</sup> assumes the third millennium B.C. as the time of the composition of at least part of the *Rgveda*, an assumption which has recently been defended by Jacobi,<sup>3</sup> but which has been completely refuted by Oldenberg.<sup>4</sup> He<sup>5</sup> finds in the *Rgveda* the work of three peoples—the Iranians, whose influence is seen in the second, fifth, and seventh books; a mixed

<sup>1</sup> pp. 24, 25, following Schaaffhausen.

<sup>2</sup> p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See JRAS., 1909, pp. 721 seqq. Mr. Kennedy, *ibid.*, p. 1114, revives Brunnhofer's famous "discovery" of an allusion in the *Rgveda* to the siege of Babylon. Without commenting on the other parts of Mr. Kennedy's article, it may at least be safely said that no competent Vedic scholar accepts this view, and that therefore it should not be quoted as evidence of a conquest of Babylon by the Aryans.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS., 1909, pp. 1095 seqq., and see also my note, *ibid.*, pp. 1100 seqq., and p. 472, and cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 12. Note should perhaps be taken of Shamasastri's attempt in his *Garām Ayana* to rehabilitate the antiquity of the Vedic writings by finding in them evidence of an elaborate cycle (cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 423 seqq.). It must suffice to say that the passages relied on by the author are in no case, so far as I can see, naturally interpreted in the light of his view, and in every case can be explained much more simply in other ways, while the attribution of any really elaborate knowledge of astronomy to the early Indians runs counter to all the available evidence as to the achievements in the field of the Vedic Indians (see Thibaut's article with its reference to Whitney cited in JRAS., 1909, p. 1102, n. 1). It is true that the *Jyotiṣa* does present us with a basis for a date, but unhappily that basis, in consequence of the inaccuracy of the datum and the vagueness of the point fixed, only gives a result which may vary hundreds of years on either side of the twelfth century B.C., and therefore we cannot build on it any secure structure.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 43-7.

people, with the characteristics of herdsmen and steppe-dwellers, who are represented by books iii, vi, and viii, in which the desire for children, cattle, and horses is especially prominent; and the true Germans, to whom book iv belongs. As a matter of fact, however, the author recognizes<sup>1</sup> that it is impossible to deny some reciprocity of influence, and he decides that books ii and iii were first composed by the Iranians and the mixed people, then books iv to vi by the united Aryan race, while books vii and viii (first half) were composed by those tribes which had advanced furthest east.

It must suffice to indicate briefly on how little support the theory rests. Brunnhofer's<sup>2</sup> theory that the dog is Iranian is accepted as proving that Grtsamada Śaunaka, and therefore the second book of the *Rgveda*, are Iranian. But, as Brunnhofer's hypothesis rests on no foundation,<sup>3</sup> the theory is untenable. Again, the German origin of book iv is proved by the fact that the Gotamas are Angirases, and the Angirases are traditionally ignorant of the sacrifice,<sup>4</sup> and are therefore not Iranian—an argument which cannot be considered as substantial.

As the basis of the author's theory is insecure, little of profit can be derived from his detailed results, although he shows a good knowledge of the recent literature on Vedic mythology. Following, but going beyond, Hillebrandt,<sup>5</sup> he finds in the Indra-Vṛtra myth a legend of the melting of the glaciers at the end of the Glacial Period, and he<sup>6</sup> applies this theory to the explanation of the famous hymn of Indra's birth.<sup>7</sup> The eating of dog's flesh there<sup>8</sup> mentioned is a reference to the Mesolithic Period, in which

<sup>1</sup> pp. 47-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Iran und Turan*, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> See Hopkins, *AJP.*, xv, 154 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, ii, 156 seqq. Cf. Hopkins, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xv, 64 seqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, iii, 162 seq. On this cf. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 180 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> *RV.*, iv, 18.

<sup>8</sup> *RV.*, iv, 18, 13.

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the first domestic animal, the dog, was tamed and often also eaten. Moreover, from the mention of Vṛtra's mother in another hymn,<sup>1</sup> he deduces the conclusion that, according to the views of the *R̥gveda*, the sunless Glacial Period was brought about by the arising of a permanent thick mist.<sup>2</sup> After that we need not be surprised to find that the victory of the Aśvins with asses in a race is a recollection of the fact that the ass was tamed before the horse,<sup>3</sup> or to learn that the meaning of the story of Dadhyañc and the mead is that an exchange once took place of the mead of the Germans for a horse of the neighbouring mixed peoples.<sup>4</sup> So also the myth of the R̥bhus and the cow turns out to contain a reference to the manuring of fields by the true Germans in Neolithic times;<sup>5</sup> Sarasvatī becomes no longer a river, but the goddess of Spring;<sup>6</sup> Viṣṇu is conceived in stork form,<sup>7</sup> and so forth.

It would be idle to discuss in detail these theories, for not one of them rests on any substantial basis, and a new theory in Vedic mythology has no right to existence unless very solid arguments can be advanced in its favour. It is, of course, easy to speculate, but such speculations as these only add to the confusion attending a subject in itself very difficult.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

**PRAKRITARUPAVATARA**: a Prakrit grammar based on the Valmikisutra, by Simharaja son of Samudrabandhayajvan. Edited by E. HULTZSCH. 8vo. London, 1909. (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland: Prize Publication Fund, No. 1.)

The opening words of the editor's preface to this interesting little volume awake a sorrowful memory. Dr. Hultzsch reminds us that it was the lamented Professor Pischel who, in his dissertation *De Grammaticis*

<sup>1</sup> RV., i, 32, 9.

<sup>2</sup> p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> p. 94, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> p. 233.

*Prācriticis*, and again in his *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, pointed to the importance of Siṃharāja's treatise. *Ελπεί τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τὸν μόρον.* To Pischel, moreover, Dr. Hultsch acknowledges a debt for the generous loan of much important critical material. The present publication is therefore largely inspired by his influence, and in a sense may be regarded as a memorial of him. Certainly no fitter hands could be found to raise this memorial than those of Dr. Hultsch. His sound scholarship has enabled him to constitute a correct text, which he has furnished with ample references, especially to Siṃharāja himself and to Pāṇini's grammar, that greatly lighten the labour of study. Misprints, we may add, are very few, and so slight (for example the omission of the *virāma* in *jassasbhyām* on p. 17, l. 8, and *ha* for *he* on p. 19, l. 2) that the student corrects them almost unconsciously as he reads.

The date of Siṃharāja is somewhat uncertain. His quotation of Kshirasvāmi's commentary on the *Amarakośa* proves him to have lived later than the eleventh century; and as he also cites Nāgoji's *Paribhāshendusekhara*, he would seem to be not more than two centuries old, unless indeed — a somewhat improbable supposition — he and Nāgoji both drew from a common source. But, as Kālidāsa has reminded us, modernity should not discredit an author. "For the knowledge of declension and conjugation," wrote Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 39), "the Prākṛitarūpavatāra is not without importance, chiefly as Siṃharāja often gives more forms than Hemachandra and Trivikrama. Many of these forms no doubt are theoretically inferred, but they are constructed in strict accordance with the rules, and hence are not without interest." How far this merit of Siṃharāja is due to his own ingenuity, and how much he has borrowed from predecessors, we cannot say with certainty. Pischel's statement that he based his work upon Trivikrama-deva's grammar (*Grammatik*, § 39)

is somewhat misleading, as the same scholar points out that all which they have in common is the Vālmiki-sūtra, on which both based their works, and neither of them can be proved to have used the other's book (*De Gramm. Prācr.*, p. 40).

The character and the defects of the Hindu grammarians are well known. The same circumstances that gradually produced Sūtras in the liturgical, theological, and philosophic schools led to similar epitomes of grammar, algebraically concise and often provokingly obscure. Sūtra-worship became the bane of science. As each school was convinced that all possible knowledge was contained in its sacrosanct aphorisms, it spent its energies in the task of finding authority in them for everything, and hence never made any material advance beyond them. Attempts were indeed made to rearrange them according to some more systematic method, as in Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhānta-kauṃudī*; but although these works made the study easier, they failed to raise grammar to the level of a science. As pure theorists indeed the Hindus are unequalled; no Western ingenuity could rival that of the Indian grammarian who invented a Prakrit of his own for lyrical composition. But a scientific basis of grammar they have never possessed, *aśāstrayonitvāt*, because it was not in the Sūtras; and this weakness is glaringly exhibited in Siṃharāja's work, in which, for example, phonetic laws of consonantal change are dovetailed between rules of accident when the particular paradigms chosen for the latter display the former (cf. v, 1), and *khambo* is actually derived from *stambhaḥ* (xii, 95), because, forsooth, the Sūtra says *stambhe*. Like Hemachandra, he makes no attempt to discriminate between the various dialects, until he comes to the eighteenth chapter, where he begins a series of short sections upon the chief characteristics of the *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhī*, *Paiśāchī*, *Chūlikāpaiśāchī*, and *Apabhraṃśa*. Making due allowance for these defects

(as they appear to Western judgment), Siṃharāja's book is an excellent piece of work according to Hindu methods, and the native schools should be grateful to Dr. Hultzsch and the Asiatic Society for supplying them with a good handbook.

An interesting point is raised by Dr. Hultzsch in his Preface, when dealing with the Aphorisms which form the nucleus around which Siṃharāja built up his grammar. These are the *Vālmiki-sūtra* ascribed to the legendary Vālmiki, which was used also by Trivikrama, who lived between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Pischel suggested that this Sūtra may have been composed by either Trivikrama or somebody else on the basis of Hemachandra's Prakrit grammar. Dr. Hultzsch argues with great probability against the authorship of Trivikrama; but when he says that, "as both the printed text of the Vālmiki-sūtra and the author of the *Shāḍbhāṣāchandrikā* ascribe the composition of the Sūtra to an ancient Rishi, the possibility of its having been drawn up in the interval between Hemachandra and Trivikrama seems to be excluded," we cannot follow him. There was plenty of time between Hemachandra and Trivikrama—probably two or three centuries—for the Sūtra to be written; and when it was once written, there was still more time for it to gain authority as the work of Vālmiki, and finally to be acknowledged as such in a modern work like Lakshmidhara's *Shāḍbhāṣāchandrikā*. A similar instance may be found in the *Sāṃkhya-sūtra*, which probably was composed between 1380 and 1450,<sup>1</sup> and yet was acknowledged as the work of Kapila by Aniruddha in a commentary written about 1500. Apart from this small matter of opinion, we have only to record our admiration for the skill with which Dr. Hultzsch has fulfilled his task and enriched Indian literature.

L. D. BARNETT.

<sup>1</sup> See Garbe's *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 8.

RGVEDA : TEXTKRITISCHE UND EXEGETISCHE NOTEN.  
Erstes bis sechstes Buch. By H. OLDENBERG.  
Berlin, 1909.

A most hearty welcome must be extended to the notes on the first six books of the *Rgveda*, which Professor Oldenberg has now published, supplying us with the first complete commentary on these books since the issue of Ludwig's edition. Since the appearance of the classical *Prolegomena* the author has, in a series of articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, elucidated many other problems relative to the constitution of the text of the *Samhita*; and in his new work he applies the principles thus adopted to the critical establishment of the more original form of the text, before its characteristics had been obscured by its reduction into the shape in which it now lies before us. At the same time Professor Oldenberg has added exegetic notes, for which no apology or explanation need have been offered. It is of the first importance, in the critical study of the *Rgveda*, that we should know what passages require correction; and Professor Oldenberg's latest work is no less valuable for its explanations of difficult passages than for the masterly suggestions which he makes for the restoration of corruptions in the tradition. It is impossible to overpraise either the range of the author's knowledge of Vedic texts or his judgment in the selection of interpretations. The work is also a marvel of condensation, without any substantial sacrifice of clearness of expression or of fullness of discussion of real difficulties. The author has wisely refused to deal at length with the various attempts to solve the problem of such hymns as i, 164: it is clear that in a general commentary on the *Rgveda* it is impossible to treat at length matters in which not even a reasonable degree of probability can be attained.

\* It is satisfactory to note that Professor Oldenberg sees

no reason to change his opinion<sup>1</sup> that the other Vedic texts shed little illumination on the text of the *Rgveda*. That conclusion is securely based on the variants now available in even excessive fullness in Bloomfield's *Concordance*. No doubt there are occasional exceptions to this rule, but they are very rare, and Professor Oldenberg effectively disposes of the alleged better readings seen by Schieftelowitz<sup>2</sup> in the Kāśmir MS. of the *Rgveda*, a MS. which for the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* also yields nothing new of value, as I have sought elsewhere to show.<sup>3</sup> Of course this does not show that the *Rgveda* text is in itself correct, which is certainly not the case, but it indicates that the tradition of the *Rgveda* is decidedly superior to that of the other *Samhitās*.

In interpretation Professor Oldenberg follows the sane and sober principles which he has elsewhere defended. As a matter of fact there is in principle little difference of opinion amongst recent interpreters of the *Rgveda*, much less than would appear from the language now and then used. All in effect treat the *Rgveda* as a book to be interpreted in the light of subsequent literature, and of the knowledge which we have of the development of Indian civilization; and the real point of dispute is merely the question of how far we are to find in the *Rgveda* details of later Indian life. In this regard Professor Oldenberg shows himself—we think wisely—more conservative than Pischel and Geldner, of whose views he constantly takes account. It is easy to exaggerate the part played by hetairæ and lust of gold in the *Samhita*; and to explain difficult passages by theories of sporting and erotic slang is often more ingenious than plausible, however much it may relieve the monotony of the task of Vedic interpretation. Similarly the author differs from the writers of

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, pp. 271 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, and VOJ., xxi, 85 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 3, 4.

the *Vedische Studien* in his treatment of linguistic usages. It is of course possible to solve nearly every crux in the *Rgveda* by the assumption of irregular forms and of unusual syntax, and the possibility is rendered attractive by the fact that, in some cases, such irregularities appear certainly to be found, but it is wiser to try to attain a satisfactory result within the ordinary bounds of Vedic grammar. A good example of this may be seen in the case of *Rgveda*, vi, 66, 11, where Benfey and von Bradke take *girāyo ná āpah* as "Bergwasser". But such a hendiadys is, as Professor Oldenberg points out, not really possible and not paralleled by cases like i, 80, 1: *sōma in mādē*; and we must either assume that the comparison is with both the hills and the streams, or else that the comparison is, as so often, curtailed, and *āpah* is an accusative, "as hills send forth streams." Or again in i, 52, 1, he shows that it is unnecessary to accept Pischel's theory<sup>1</sup> that in *atyō ná vājam* there is a case of attraction, and that the rendering "Wie das Ross zum Siegespreise" is quite adequate. In v, 59, 8, he combats successfully Geldner's<sup>2</sup> version of the difficult text as containing *ṛsch* (gen.) "zu Gunsten des Rsi", a sense of the genitive which is certainly rather far-fetched. Similarly he appears correctly in i, 34, 5, to reject the explanation of *sūre duhitā* either as a case of prehistoric Sandhi or Pischel's<sup>3</sup> view of *sūre* as a locative of origin, though he leaves open—as seems inevitable—the exact meaning of the passage. Excellent also are the notes on the strange *rujānāh* and *māno rūhanāh* of i, 32, 6 and 8.

In some cases Professor Oldenberg is inclined to admit the use of the participle in place of a finite verb, a usage recognized by Delbruck,<sup>4</sup> but which, except in the case of the past participle passive, I have elsewhere<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vedische Studien*, i, 105; cf. my note JRAS., 1909, p. 432

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, i, 283, n. 1

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, iii, 192

<sup>4</sup> *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 393, 590.

<sup>5</sup> ZDMG., xlii, 346 seqq.

questioned. It is not possible to pronounce definitely in a matter of this kind, but it may be said that the evidence is somewhat slight on which to base a theory of a recognized usage. In i, 88, 5, *pásyad* is an easy correction for *pásyan*; in i, 69, 3, several renderings are possible, and *dádhati* need not be a participle at all. In iii, 32, 6, as Professor Oldenberg himself says, *yád Vrtrám jaghanván* is simply a contamination of *Vrtrám jaghanván* and *yád Vrtrám jaghántha*; the occurrence of such anomalies is not sufficient to establish a grammatical usage. In iv, 17, 19, *stutáh* need not be finite, and no doubt is not; but in any case it is of course certain that the past participle passive is used—as in Latin—as equivalent to a finite verb, but this proves nothing for other participles. In vi, 22, 3, the sense and construction are alike very uncertain, and in v, 15, 4, the participle is almost certainly not finite.

It must suffice to refer briefly to some of the other valuable notes on Syntax. The alleged use of *me* and *te* as accusatives is exhaustively discussed<sup>1</sup> and shown to be improbable. The genitive of time is effectively defended<sup>2</sup> against Bartholomae, and the comparative ablative after a positive is correctly seen in i, 46, 8. There is also a good note<sup>3</sup> on the use of *á* after a dative to strengthen the force of the case.

In addition to his contributions to grammar, Professor Oldenberg has offered valuable suggestions for the interpretation of the vocabulary of the *Rgveda*. He rejects<sup>4</sup> Collitz's rendering of *návedas* as "recipient of praise", and prefers the view that it represents *návaveda*, "having knowledge anew." In an interesting excursus<sup>5</sup> he defends the rendering of *vyathis* as "wanken" against

<sup>1</sup> pp. 25 seqq. I hope to discuss these and the alleged Epic cases more fully elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 79, 80.

<sup>4</sup> On RV. i, 79, 1.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 15, 16.

<sup>5</sup> On RV. i, 117, 15.

Geldner's<sup>1</sup> view of it as "falsehood" and the attempt to render it as "way". *Krivi* he interprets<sup>2</sup> as denoting "horse" in several places, while in others it is admittedly a tribal name, an explanation which shows clearly that the word has more than one sense and which removes the difficulty as to Sāyana's version of the word in *Rgveda*, ii, 17, 6, referred to by Dr. Grierson.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting, in view of recent discoveries,<sup>4</sup> that Professor Oldenberg<sup>5</sup> is not prepared to deny the possibility of a reference to Aruṇa in the *Rgveda*. In v. 47, 6, he sees a stem *upaprakṣá*: this is somewhat uncertain, and the accent in *Aitareya Āranyaka*, v, 2, 2, cannot in any way be relied on against the *úpa prakṣé* of *Sāmaveda*, i, 444. Of special interest is the note on vi, 25, 2, regarding *Khila* and *Khilya*. Oldenberg adheres to the view that these expressions refer to the boundaries between cultivated fields, one of the few clear hints in the *Rgveda* of the existence of separate property in land. This view he shows to be decidedly superior to that of Pischel,<sup>6</sup> who prefers to find in these words references to the grazing land on which the flocks and herds of the community fed, an interpretation which diminishes the value of the passages in question as evidence of separate ownership. For the use of *túj*<sup>7</sup> may be cited the occurrence of *tújah* in the *Aitareya Āranyaka*, v, 2, 1.

As was to be expected, Professor Oldenberg devotes much attention to metrical considerations as bearing on the constitution of the text, a matter in which perhaps greater progress has been made—though not without a certain risk of over-formalism—than in any other department of Vedic study. Of special interest is a brief

<sup>1</sup> *Vedische Studien*, ii, 29 seq. Cf. my *Aitareya Āranyaka*, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> On *RV.* i, 166, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS*, 1908, p. 1143.

<sup>4</sup> See *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 1104, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> On *RV.* i, 130, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Vedische Studien*, ii, 204.

<sup>7</sup> See on *RV.* i, 151, 5.

excursus<sup>1</sup> on the apparent reduction of two syllables to one, on which Max Müller<sup>2</sup> was inclined to lay as great stress as had been laid on it in some theories of Plautine prosody. Within the limits to which it is confined by the author little objection can be taken to its application.

The value and convenience of the notes is greatly increased by the addition of elaborate indices, which give, with special fullness, references to grammatical and syntactical points.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ANNALI DELL' ISLAM, compilati da LEONE CAETANI,  
Principe di Teano. Vol. II. Fol., pp. lxxviii, 1567.  
Milano, 1907.

The second instalment of Prince Teano's great work has grown into two bulky parts, which chronicle the events of the years 7 to 12 of the Hegira. The scientific care and thoroughness which characterize the first volume are still more in evidence in the second. No similar work exists in which all available sources as well as studies bearing directly and indirectly on the early Moslem history are taken into consideration with equal fullness and circumspection.

The year 6 H. had not been a very prosperous one for Mohammed. Not only had Aïsha's disagreeable adventure threatened to involve Mohammed's own family circle in disaffection and hostility, but it revealed much latent ill-feeling, which was only thinly hidden by common interest of worldly character. Moreover, Mohammed's greatest wish—to enter Mecca at the head of a strong army—had been frustrated. Instead of defying the still unconverted Meccans in their own city, he was forced to conclude a not very honourable treaty, which put off his "pilgrimage" to the Ka'ba for at least another year. The

<sup>1</sup> pp. 53, 54.

<sup>2</sup> SBE., xxxii, pp. cxii seqq.

prestige of Islām had suffered, chiefly because it did not pay as well as many had expected. A victory with spoil in its train was needed, and to secure this nothing was safer than another raid against the effete Jews. After their extinction in the vicinity of Medina, only one more remnant was left at Khaibar, a few days north of the capital. Being peaceful peasants and traders, and having two years previously received written assurances of safety from Mohammed, they were all the less apprehensive of an attack. The raid was, of course, successful from a Moslem point of view, although in itself it was of small account. The undue importance given to it by the Arab authors, who grow more prolific the later their date, shows the real state of affairs better than anything else. Prince Teano rightly casts doubt on the assertion of even older authorities, such as Al Wāqidi, that the defending forces numbered ten thousand warriors. It probably amounted to not more than one-tenth of that number. Altogether Prince Teano's very detailed account of this affair is replete with sound criticism. In his excellent survey of the last five years of Mohammed's career (pp. 372 seqq.), he shows how every victory or defeat of the Moslem arms was followed by a raid on some Jewish tribe. He sees clearly that Mohammed's motives were not merely religious, but also political. A not less important motive was the booty which he required, not so much for his own benefit, as to fill the war chest and to secure the services of followers. However insignificant the conquest of Khaibar was from a military point of view, it had not only a great effect in Medina, but it assisted in the conversion of many waverers. The inflated reports of Arab authors afford a highly characteristic illustration of the spirit and expansion of Moslem tradition, and prove how much caution is necessary in eliciting the truth even in smaller matters.

• The same lack of reliability appears again in the

accounts of the disaster at Mûta which was the result of an expedition rashly entered upon against the Greek troops stationed in Syria and their Arab allies. Intoxicated by the easy success of Khaibar, Mohammed undertook the ill-advised march without considering that the enemy this time consisted of disciplined soldiers. Now here, as Prince Teano justly points out, the Arab records are as meagre, and the authorities as unsatisfactory, as possible. The lack of history is made up by poems, fiction takes the place of facts. This is an important matter. Prince Teano is not, of course, the first to call attention to this, but no previous author has given such minute details. May this serve as an example to authors, who write books on Mohammed and Islām in which criticism of the sources is conspicuous by its absence, and which, therefore, give the reader a quite erroneous and misleading picture of its origin and early development.

The treaty of Hudeibiya, alluded to above, must have been still more unfavourable for Mohammed than is admitted by the sources. Many of the details are quite unhistorical. In the document of the treaty he was compelled to use his own name, instead of "Messenger of Allāh". His name was not, at that time, "Mohammed," as he only assumed this appellation two or three years later. The document, as we possess it, is based on tradition, which substituted the name "Mohammed" for the one he actually used in the original draft. Anyway, among other things, it was stipulated that no war should be waged for ten years, and that he should be allowed to visit Mecca next year as a pilgrim. This latter clause Mohammed fulfilled literally, but he never dreamt of adhering to the former. A pretext was easily found that some minor paragraph in the treaty had been violated, and the year after he set out, at the head of a large army, to enter his native city by force. The real motive was to retrieve the defeat of Mûta. The town was

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taken, albeit without bloodshed, and Mohammed was thus practically master of Arabia. The victory received, in due course, the divine sanction in the form of a revelation (Qor. xlviii, 1-15).

We must agree with Prince Teano that the forbearance with which Mohammed, in the hour of victory, treated those old opponents, who are said to have embittered his life in the early years of his mission, was due to political wisdom rather than to spontaneous generosity. Our knowledge of these persecutions has come down to us through traditional reports, largely based on Mohammed's own descriptions. It is, therefore, open to question whether they were so relentless as tradition would have us believe. Apart from this, any massacre of prominent Meccan citizens, many of whom were near relatives of his most faithful friends, would have been a deadly offence to the latter. Only a few persons of no account, among them two women, were executed. Mohammed cared more for the conversion of his enemies than their death, and many of them were, thus, ready to fulfil his wish.

One must not, however, judge Mohammed too hastily for having allowed political considerations to influence his actions. They form the human element in his career. As a purely spiritual reformer he would have achieved very little. Shrewd policy is recognizable in the very beginning of his messengership, and his greatest failing was that, as soon as they promised to be useful, political motives were unscrupulously given out as demands of the faith. The consequence was that large numbers of people embraced Islām without conviction or understanding. The masses were kept together as long as Mohammed was alive, but he had scarcely passed away when the great reaction, known as the *Ridda*, set in. This was the widespread renegade movement which seized many tribes, especially those in the remoter parts of the peninsula. The result was a civil war of a very sanguinary character ;

but it speaks for the great force underlying the idea of Islām that it was victorious everywhere. The motives during this period were on the whole purer than before. Unfortunately reliable sources of the history of this period are likewise scarce. In the chapter dealing with this matter Prince Teano not only discusses the value of these sources, but also gives a comprehensive compilation of them, as well as a chronology of events. His consideration of earlier studies of the conquests of Palēstine and Syria reveals a deep insight into the real facts. Inserted in these researches is a chapter on the compilation of the Qorān, a subject fraught with difficulties, and incidentally on the development of writing in Arabia. The author's studies on this question were necessarily somewhat inconclusive, as some very important material was not available when he wrote this chapter. The following detail may throw some little light on the matter. In January, 1903, I published, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the Khutba of a Jewish apostate to Islām who styles himself "a man who has detached himself from the sons of Hunai b. Akhtab". This name occurs in the fragment (which is written in Hebrew characters) twice in the spelling חֲנִי and אֲחִנִי. The same person is known from the earliest Mohammedan sources as *Huyayy*. We therefore see that the name, when transcribed in Arabic characters, without diacritical points, was misunderstood by the transcriber, who did not know the original name. At all events we may gather that the stage of Arabic writing prior to Neski must have been that of characters similar to Nabataean or Hebrew square. This origin can still be traced back in nearly every Neski character. The question whether Mohammed had learned to write or not is by no means devoid of importance, as it has a certain bearing on Qorān criticism.

It is impossible in a brief review to touch upon all the questions discussed in the book. Its great importance

lies not only in the fullness of the material, never before collected with so much comprehensiveness, but in the criticism which cuts deep into the historical aspect in general. The story of the conquest of Persia is preceded by a lengthy discussion of the relations between the Arabs and the empire of the Sassanides, and the causes of the decline of the latter. Prior to this, in a chapter devoted to the general aspect of Arab conquest, the author finds an opportunity of enlarging on the question of the primitive habitations of the Semitic race, a question which within the last fifty years has engaged the attention of a number of prominent scholars. Prince Teano, like Sprenger and Schrader, finds the cradle of the Semites in Arabia. The difficulties which obstruct this view he endeavours to remove by the theory that the birth of the Semitic stock took place at a time when the climate of Arabia was considerably colder than at present. This theory is, in his opinion, the outcome of the change of the geological and meteorological conditions of the peninsula. The gradual drying up of the interior caused the migrations of Arab tribes from south to north. These wanderings are an undoubted fact, although the direct reports we possess about them are to a large extent legendary.

The volume is accompanied by elaborate maps, chronological tables, excellent photogravures, and an alphabetical index of great fullness. It is not saying too much that many a chapter of the early history of Islām will have to be rewritten in consequence of Prince Teano's researches.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THREE YEARS IN TIBET. By the Shramana EKAI KAWAGUCHI, of Japan. 8vo; pp. xv, 719. Theosophical Publishing Society, Benares and London, 1909.

We are accustomed through the work of Nanjio, Takakusu, and others to associate Japanese writers on Buddhist subjects with such a high standard of scholarship that we

### THREE YEARS IN TIBET

expect much that is fresh and interesting in a new book on Tibet, "offered to the English-knowing public" by a Japanese Buddhist priest who, we are told, acted for a time as physician to the Grand Lama, and enjoyed thus unique advantages for seeing Tibetan life, monastic and lay, from the inside. A perusal of Mr. Kawaguchi's volume, however, is decidedly disappointing. It is devoid of scholarship, and displays little special knowledge of Tibet that is either new or interesting. It is a shallow, rambling, whimsical narrative, from the standpoint of an emotional Oriental monk, upon his wanderings on a pilgrimage from shrine to shrine, in a land which he knew little about, and over ground already described in detail by European writers.

The object of the author's visit to Tibet was, he tells us, to search for Sanskrit Buddhist books, a search in which he proved wholly unsuccessful. Nor does he add in any material way to our knowledge of the language, literature, or religion of the country. Yet on the strength of being, as he asserts, "*Three years in Tibet*," he modestly claims for himself the position of being a greater authority on Tibetan literature than Csoma or Jaeschke! as if, indeed, scholarship or literary research could be measured merely by one's length of residence in a country. It is evident, however, from his uninformed remarks at p. 403, etc., that Csoma and Jaeschke are mere names to him, and that he is ignorant of their researches, so that his gratuitous claims are not to be taken very seriously.

Facts are not strong points with him. Even his very first word in the book, "*Three years in Tibet*," on which he bases such superior knowledge, is on his own showing a fiction. On p. 76 he tells us that he crossed the Tibetan frontier for the first time on July 4, 1900; and on pp. 622 and 650 that he finally recrossed it on emerging from Chumbi on June 14, 1902. This gives the duration of his entire stay in Tibet as only *one year and 345 days*, instead of the

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*three* years to which he lays claim. And this sort of thing is not untypical of his matter throughout.

But if his results are trivial, his own personality is somewhat romantic in itself, and interesting as that of an educated modern Buddhist priest on a pilgrimage. On starting from Japan for Tibet, Mr. Kawaguchi, with truly Buddhistic zeal, extracted from his friends as farewell "gifts" their pledges to abstain from stimulants or tobacco-smoking, or from the "brutal business" of catching fish. "About forty persons willingly granted this [my] appeal." Some of these scenes were dramatic. One of these fishermen "returned with some fishing-nets, which he forthwith handed over to me, saying those were the weapons of murder with which he had caused the death of innumerable denizens of the brine, and that I might do with them as I liked. . . . I thereupon consigned the nets to the flames in the presence of all. . . . As the nets went up in smoke Mr. O., a sportsman with both gun and nets, rose and said, 'Let me too wish that you fare well in Tibet, by making to you the gift of a pledge: I pledge myself that I will never take the lives of the creatures for amusement; should I prove false to these words let Fudo Myo-oh visit me with death.' "

His visionary temperament, fired by a generous credulity, led him to hear the voice of a supernatural being calling to him at Sna and again at Sera, and he elsewhere tells us, "I was still in an extatic [*sic*] mood," which mood perhaps accounts for a good deal in his book.

He is frequently breaking out into a rhapsody or *uta*, though at times he regretfully tells us that "I wished to embody my sentiments in a few verses, but the inspiration would not come". On a cold night, "so much so that I could not sleep at all, the following is an *uta* that occurred to me in the midst of shivering:—

'On these high plateaus here no sound is heard

Of man or beast, no crickets sing their tunes,

\* The moon above, and I her friend below.'

The sight of the Tsang-po River "gave me an *uta*—

'The river in its pride majestic seems  
The waving standard of the Buddha named  
Vairochana, all Nature's Brilliant Lord.' "

A flight of cranes leads him to fire off the following :—

"Like feathers white the snows fall down and lie  
There on the mountain-river's sandy banks ;  
*Ko-kow, Ko-wow !* sounds strange, a melody  
I hear—I search around for this strange cry;  
In majesty these mountain cranes  
I find are proudly strutting—singing thus."

On the flank of Mount Kailas, to fill in the time one night, he informs us, "I went into the meditation exercise sitting upon a piece of sheep's hide and wrapped up in the *tuk-tuk*. . . . I was gradually entering into the state of spiritual conquest over bodily ailment, and composed the following :—

'On grass among those lofty plains on earth  
I enter meditation deep and wide,  
I choose, nor such secluded mountain-trees,  
Nor passing crowds of men and damsels fair.'

I was almost in an extatic state when another *uta* rose to my mind—

'O Mind ! by Dharma's genial light and warmth  
The pain-inflicting snows are melted fast,  
And flow in rushing streams that sweep away  
Delusive Ego and Non-Ego both.'

Thus in meditation," he adds, "I sat out the night." But, after all, he was not so very far from "men and damsels fair", for after walking 5 miles next morning he came to a tent in the door of which stood a beautiful damsel, whereupon our traveller, returning to mundane ways, says, "and, smiling, I asked the beauty of the wilderness for a night's lodging," and he devotes a whole chapter to "A Beautiful Rescuer". Indeed, throughout his travels, it was chiefly through the women-folk that he won his way out of difficulties, though with some

petulant ingratitude he condemns his co-religionists, the Tibetans generally, female and male, as being always "ready for any crime or enormity".

Western writers on Buddhism, who have had little or no experience of the living religion, yet are fond of asserting that the Buddhists do not offer actual worship to Buddha nor look upon him as a god, would do well to listen to what this Buddhist monk says incidentally on this subject. For, whatever his defects in Tibetan learning may be he is undoubtedly an orthodox Buddhist monk, and possessed of more than the average education in that religion. When he arrived before the great image of Śākya Muni, at Lhasa, he says (p. 288): "I could not help shedding tears over the goodness of Buddha<sup>1</sup> which enabled me to see His image at this temple . . . I do not mean that I do not respect other Buddhist deities; still Buddha claims the greatest *worship* from me." Again, in his despair when he was submerged in crossing a river, he prays for help to Śākya Muni and the Buddhas as living and presiding deities (p. 120), and is rewarded by a miracle: "'O ye! All the Buddhas of the ten quarters, as well as the highest Teacher of this world, Buddha Shākya Muni! I am not able to accomplish my desires and to return the kindness of my parents, friends, followers, and specially the favours of all the Buddhas in this life; but I desire that I may be born again in order to requite the favours which I have already received from all.' At that moment with a thrill I felt that the end of one of my staves had touched something hard, and on trying to stand up I found that the water was only up to my breast."

Again, when he lost his watch and money, he consoled himself with the reflection that "it was most likely that the Lord Buddha in His wisdom and mercy had caused me to be rid of them". At Mount Kailas he writes:

<sup>1</sup> The diacritical marks are the author's.

"I addressed myself to this sacred pillar of nature, confessed my sins, and performed to it the obeisance of one hundred and eight bows . . . I then considered myself the luckiest of men to have thus been enabled to worship such a holy emblem of Buddha's power." Finally, on emerging from Tibet into British territory, he exclaimed: "My safe arrival in this country is entirely owing to the protecting power of the Lord Buddha, and I worshipped Him with zeal and earnestness."

In Tibet our author travelled in the guise of a Chinese Buddhist priest, and posing also as a physician he acquired such great fame by his "cures" that he was brought thereby to the favourable notice of the Grand Lama. "I came to be regarded as a God of medicine," he says; though he naïvely confesses, in excuse for his charlatanism, that not having had any regular medical training, "*I know I made a very dangerous doctor, but I was obliged to go on as a pedant domineering over a society of ignoramuses.*" This is quaintly delicious and worthy of being preserved! Fortunately for Mr. Kawaguchi, the Dalai Lama himself became one of these ignoramuses and conferred on the "doctor" his intimacy and confidence. But the author is strangely silent as to the subjects of those interesting conversations.

Living in constant terror of having his disguise penetrated and of being robbed, our pious priest was perpetually inventing falsehoods to deceive his interlocutors and "to lay false scents" as he terms it. Ultimately, the secret of his disguise having leaked out, he made a bolt from Lhasa to India, assisted by an "ex-minister and his nun-wife [*sic*]". As there was no pursuit, however, his excitement on the way was perhaps somewhat more imaginary than warranted.

Certainly we cannot say that he has brought back to us any information which is very new or important.

L. A. W.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1905-6, pp. 208; 54 plates, and numerous text-illustrations. Royal 4to. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India: 1909.

This volume was received in August, but could not conveniently be noticed in our October number. Like its three predecessors, of which it is in every respect a worthy continuation, it consists of three parts, devoted to conservation, exploration and research, and epigraphy. We ~~can~~ for the most part do little more than indicate its contents: but the list of them will show that it presents much matter of interest, in various lines, which would well repay perusal in detail.

In the division dealing with conservation (pp. 1-56, with 22 plates) we have first an article by Dr. Vogel on the ancient monuments of Kāngrā, with special reference to the deplorable damage done to them by the great earthquake which occurred on 4 April, 1905. In the course of this, Dr. Vogel has observed (p. 19) that an examination of the original stones bearing the two inscriptions known as the Baijnāth Prasastis has satisfied him that the Śaka date given in one of them is expressed by four figures, and that the year is in fact, not 726 (in A.D. 804) as read by Professor Bühler, but 1126: (in A.D. 1204) as Professor Kielhorn conjectured, for various reasons, might be found to be the case. This rectification has an important bearing, not only on the date of the building to which the two records belong, but also (as we may hope to explain at some other time) on the history of the Śaka era, and of the Lōkakāla or centennial reckoning by "omitted hundreds" in which the other Prasasti is dated.

Other articles in this division are by Mr. W. H. Nicholls, on conservation at Sikandarah, Delhi, and Ajmere; by Mr. Marshall, on the restoration of two elephant-statues at the Fort of Delhi about which there has been much

controversy (see references given in the article, and some remarks by Mr. Beveridge in this Journal, 1909. 743 ff.); by Mr. Cousens, on the restoration of the Jain tower at Chitōrgaḍh; and by Mr. Rea on the general progress of conservation in Madras.

The division of exploration and research (pp. 57-164, with 32 plates) commences with an account by Dr. Vogel of further excavations at Kasiā, including the discovery of the seals bearing legends which mention the community of friars at the monastery of the Mahāparinirvāṇa (compare this Journal, 1907. 365) and the community of monks at the monastery of Viṣṇudvīpa, Vethadīpa (compare *ibid.*, 994, 1050).

This is followed by an article on Rājagṛīha and its remains by Mr. Marshall, giving an account of operations conducted not only by himself but also by Dr. Th. Bloch, whose unexpected and untimely death at Calcutta on 20 October last has deprived us of a valued worker in several lines of Indian research. The article is accompanied by a map (plate 29), which entirely supersedes previous sketches of the locality, and throws much light on points which have hitherto been obscure. It includes a new identification (p. 100) of the site shown to Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang as the site of the Sattapaṇṇa or Sattapaṇṇi hall in which the First Buddhist Council was held. There is no objection to accepting, for so short a distance, the estimate that 5 or 6 *li* represent a little more than one mile (p. 100): though, as has been said in this Journal, 1906. 1013, the expression 100 *li* denoted an ordinary day's journey of 12·12 miles; at which rate 6 *li*, taken literally, would mean 1280 yards. And thus the identification seems sound, on the view taken by Mr. Marshall that what was shown to the Chinese pilgrims was a structural building. But, as the hall is invariably mentioned in the Pāli books as a *guhā*, 'a cave', we may well

doubt, as he appears to do, whether the Council was really held on the site that used to be pointed out.

The next article is by Mr. Cousens, on the Dhamnār caves and the monolithic temple of Dharmanātha. This is followed by three contributions by Mr. Rea, on excavations at Amarāvati, on some buried Jain remains at Dānavulapād, and on the ancient village site at Peddamudiyam. We have then a paper by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, on excavations at Pagan, and two contributions by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on two sculptures at Mandōr (for another note on this place, see this Journal, 1909-1068), and on Jain iconography. And this part of the volume ends with an account by Dr. D. B. Spooner of a new find of punch-marked coins at Peshāwar,—a class of money which is generally accepted as the most ancient known Indian coinage, and the surroundings of which are still somewhat obscure.

In the epigraphic division of the volume (pp. 165-84) Dr. Konow, who in the year dealt with and until recently was holding the office of Government Epigraphist, gives us a statement of general progress for the year, in both the collection and the publication of materials. Specially interesting discoveries were (1) some inscribed slabs at Amarāvati bearing Brāhmī characters referable to the second or third century B.C., which show that a Stūpa existed there at a much earlier time than has hitherto been supposed, and (2) some fragmentary records of the Western Kshatrapa king Rudradāman, dated in the year 52, = A.D. 130-31. These remain to be edited.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Konow has mentioned the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela (p. 166), and has observed, as an *obiter dictum*, that "it is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era". We may take this opportunity of saying that, though that has been the general belief for a long time past, it is a mistake, and

has no basis except in Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's treatment of a passage in line 16 of the record. The Pandit found there certain words which, as turned into Sanskrit and interpreted by him, purport to say that king Khāravēla "did such-and-such acts in the 165th year of the time of the Maurya kings after 164 years had passed away". And on the strength of that, without other evidence of any kind in support of it, there has been set up a Maurya era, dating in his opinion from the time when Aśōka conquered the Kalinga countries, but according to another view from the coronation of Chandragupta. We may concede the point that the text very possibly does contain the expression *rāja-Muriya-kālē* or *°kālā*. But the words which the Pandit evolved, with the meaning stated above, are altogether inadmissible. And even if *vichchhinna*, 'cut, torn, interrupted, ended, ceased', could be used, as applied by him, in the sense of a year being ended (which we very much doubt), the fact remains that that word, used by the Pandit, is not the word which the original text has. The text, even as shown in the Pandit's lithograph and in the Prākṛit reading from which he made his Sanskrit version of it, has *vochine* or *vochhinne*, for *vochchhinne* = *vyavachchhinnāni*. This is a well-known Jain technical term, applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off, interrupted', or in other terms have been neglected and lost sight of: and, even apart from other considerations, the use of this term quite prohibits the existence of a date. The record is primarily devoted to acts done by Khāravēla to promote the Jain faith. And, while we are not prepared to say just now what may be the exact meaning of the words in which the Pandit found "in the 165th year", we can say that the whole passage does not present any date, but tells us that Khāravēla restored some texts (still to be identified in the words supposed to give the above meaning) and the sixty-fourth

chapter or other division of the collection of seven *Angas*, which had been neglected since (?) the time of the *Maurya* king or kings. The text, in completed orthography, is:—  
 . . . . [rā]ja-[Muri]-ya-kālā(?lē) voehchhiñne chōyatṭhañ  
*aṃgasattik-añtariyañ* ch = *uppādayati*. In what preceded we may perhaps find *paññattari*, 'seventy-five', but certainly not anything meaning 'sixty-five'.

From p. 170 we learn that estampages were prepared of 468 out of 739 inscriptions formerly collected by king *Bodawpaya* at Pagan. It appears that these inscriptions do not go back to older times than the eleventh century. Still, even that is a very fair start in the collection of epigraphic materials in Burma: and these records should surely yield many details throwing a light on the historical chronology of the country. In connexion with any of them, or any other Burmese records, which contain dates presenting details that can be verified, we may mention, for the guidance of students of them, that a book by Mr. A. M. B. Irwin, entitled "The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars", published last year, meets a long-felt want by giving a full explanation of the calendar, and furnishing the means of accurately calculating any dates back to A.D. 638 from Burma and those parts.

The remainder of the volume is occupied by the *Grāmam* inscription of the *Chōla* king *Parāntaka* I, edited and translated, with an introduction on the *Chōla* history, by the present Government Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya. Some special interest attaches to this record for two reasons. In the first place, it is fully dated in such a manner that Professor Kielhorn was able to locate it exactly on Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 943; and to reduce the limits for the commencement of the reign of *Parāntaka* I to the time from 15 January to 25 July, A.D. 907. In the second place the date is recorded in the *Kaliyuga* era; and this inscription gives us one of the earliest amongst a limited number of epigraphic instances of the

use of that reckoning for civil purposes The initial day of the Kaliyuga age and era is Friday, 18 February, B.C. 3102. Notwithstanding some theories recently broached in India to the contrary, the era is not of historical origin, commencing with an event occurring on that day (or at any other ancient time), and actually running in use from its beginning Traditional history was subsequently fitted to it. But it is by origin an invented reckoning, devised by the Hindū astronomers for their technical purposes some thirty-five centuries after that time, and referred back to it. With the Vikrama and Śaka eras, it is presented in probably every Indian almanac. But it is not now in practical use, as they are. And as regards the custom of former times, as far as we can judge it from the use of this era in the epigraphic records, which furnish a very good guide, the position is as follows: from Southern India we have one such instance of A.D. 634, one of A.D. 770, three of the tenth century (including the Grāman date), and then, from the twelfth century onwards, but more particularly from the fourteenth, a certain number of instances, not exactly very small in itself, but extremely so in comparison with the number of cases of the use of the Vikrama and Śaka eras and other reckonings: from Northern India the earliest known instance is of A.D. 1169 or 1170 (I am indebted for this to Dr. Vogel, who has kindly shown me the introduction to his forthcoming volume on the inscriptions of the Chambā State), and the later ones number only three, —one of A.D. 1428, one of A.D. 1520 (I have these from the same source), and one of A.D. 1797 (from an inscription at Jaisalmēr, Professor S. R. Bhandarkar's Second Report on Sanskrit MSS, pp. 67, 98). If any of our readers can extend the previous use of the era, otherwise than for astronomical purposes, from either inscriptional or literary sources, we shall be thankful to them for the additional information so supplied.

J. F. FLEET. •

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**THE AMHERST TABLETS**, being an account of the Babylonian Inscriptions in the collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D. Part I: Texts of the period extending to and including the reign of Bûr-Sin (about 2500 B.C.). With numerous illustrations and five collotype plates. London: Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, W., 1908.

Dr. Pinches is doing a great service to Assyriology by publishing the Babylonian Tablets contained in the collection of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney. These tablets cover a period of "rather more than four millenniums" (p. i), and must naturally be of great importance for the Babylonian studies in all their ramifications. In the first part of the planned series which lies now before us Dr. Pinches gives us the earlier portion of the collection, the inscriptions of which date from about 4500 B.C. to about 2500 B.C. The number of the texts reproduced in this volume is 122. The reproduction is as minute and as perfect as can be expected from such a master copyist as Dr. Pinches is. The documents mostly contain lists of offerings, receipts of grain, accounts of cattle, etc. The language of the documents is Sumerian.

In a very interesting and instructive Preface (pp. i-viii), Dr. Pinches speaks "upon the position of the different sections of the Amherst Collection in the historical scheme" (p. i), and draws therein the attention of the reader to many important points which are to be gathered from the tablets. In the Introduction (pp. ix-xxii) Dr. Pinches discusses (1) some general questions connected with the texts (pp. ix-xiii), (2) chronological data (pp. xiii-xix), and (3) the calendar. On p. xxiii he gives "The Months and their probable equivalents", and "Weights and Measures". On p. xxiv there are "Some Notes and corrections". On pp. 1-200 the texts, transliterations, translations, and notes are given.

## THE AMHERST TABLETS

Although the texts mostly consist of lists of offerings, receipts of grain, etc., almost every text has some point of special interest. So, for instance, the first tablet shows how very many kinds of fish they had in Babylonia. In text 5 a "bird-catcher" is mentioned. Text 8 contains the Semitic word for garlic (*šū-me*), which shows that Semites lived then in Babylonia. Text 11 mentions "wine for the king". In text 20 we find four times the *nu-qid* (the Semitic word for "herdsman"), which would tend to show that it was mainly the Semites who occupied themselves with cattle-rearing in Babylonia. Text 32 (account of the produce of fields) is very interesting for the productiveness of the soil of Mesopotamia. In the words of Dr. Pinches (p. 59): "In this inscription we have an interesting classification, indicating the comparative productiveness of certain tracts of cultivated land in Babylonia under the system in use during the third millennium before Christ. As is stated by Herodotus, it was—and probably is—an exceedingly fruitful country, such as might become one of the world's great granaries, of which there will be great need, when the population of the earth has increased, as it will do, to an even greater extent than is the case at the present time." I wonder whether Sir William Willcocks knew of this inscription when he recently gave his glowing account of Mesopotamia's possibilities after a renewal of the old canalization system. Text 37 mentions *È-id-a-edina*, "the temple of the river of the water of Edina." Cf. **וְנָהַר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֶן** (Gen. ii, 10). Text 44, again, shows us that the owners of sheep and cattle in Babylonia were then Semites, the name of the owner of the sheep in this text being *Šarrum-ili*. Very interesting texts, from the point of view of farming and cattle-rearing, are also No. 50 and No. 52. Worthy of note is the distinction made in text 50 between "butter" (*zal-nuna*), col. ii, lines 2, 20, and col. iv, line 4, and "fresh butter" (*zal-nuna dug-ga*), col. ii, line 19,

and col. iv, line 8. *Tout comme chez nous.* A few Semitic names which occur in these inscriptions are also interesting, as they testify to the presence of the Semites in Babylonia several centuries before Hammurabi (see also above). These names are *Šarrum-ili* (text 44), *Ahi-milum* (text 77), *Ahuni* (text 97), *Nuhalum* (text 105), *Tābūm*, *Addubani*, *Matini* [or *Matili*, see p. ii, note 3] (text 108), and *Abs(z)alum*<sup>1</sup> (text 111). Out of these eight Semitic persons the first was an owner of cattle, the second, the fifth, and the seventh were messengers, the third was a courier, the fourth and the eighth were soldiers. This shows that then the Sumerians were still the dominating race. A few centuries later the Semites ruled Babylonia.

Of great importance are the seals on some of these tablets, which should now be studied together with the seals in the collection of Mr Pierpont Morgan, published now by Dr. Ward under the title of "Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals", and with those in the collection of Colonel Allotte de la Fuye, published in his *Documents Présargoniques*, pt. i. These ancient seals throw much light on many archæological questions and raise many new questions. Many a scene on those seals has an important bearing on some Biblical passages.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Dr. Pinches has carried out his task splendidly in every respect. If some renderings may have to undergo some modifications in the future, it is because Sumerian is not sufficiently known yet, and no one is more aware of this than Dr. Pinches himself (see p. xii).

The plates and the map of "Western Asia from the Cuneiform Inscriptions" enhance the value of this great work. The external doing up of this volume is the same as that of the "Amherst Papyri", edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.

In conclusion I should like to draw attention to the

<sup>1</sup> *Abs(z)alum* is no doubt = אבשלום.

## THE AMHERST TABLETS

last paragraph of Dr. Pinches' Preface (p. viii), the last sentence of which I may be permitted to quote here: "What other countries are doing so lavishly and systematically ought also to be possible for us, and would serve in a slight measure to compensate for the meagre encouragement meted out to the study of Assyro-Babylonian in this country, which, in former years, held therein the foremost place." May these words, uttered by one of the most prominent Assyriologists of our age, not have been written in vain.

SAMUEL DAICHES.



# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October, November, December, 1909.)

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Simon (M.). Zum arabischen Galen.  
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### II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XIV, No. i.

- Chavannes (E.). Quatre Inscriptions du Yun-nan.  
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### V. NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE. 1909. Pt. iii.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

DEATH has been busy of late among the past members of our Council. Within the past year Mr. E. L. Brandreth and Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid have passed away, and their deaths have now been followed by the decease, on October 28, of Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Honorary Vice-President, for seven-and-twenty years our Honorary Secretary, a frequent contributor to our Journal, and deserving the special thanks of Orientalists as the originator and promoter of the great Survey, now in progress, of all the languages of India.

After a most useful and distinguished career in India, as Political Officer, Administrator, Judge, Legislator, and frequent writer on subjects of the day, for well-nigh a quarter of a century, he was constrained by domestic affliction to give up his high position and prospects a few months before he had earned his full retiring pension.

Having means of his own, he declined to accept further service under Government, but devoted the remaining years of his long life to independent research, study, travels, active work as Magistrate and on the Committees of a multitude of Societies for literary, scientific, religious, and charitable objects; and to giving others the benefit of his labours by a continuous stream of published writings, some ephemeral, some permanent in character—his motto being: “*Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*”; and all this he did, not for gain or self-advancement, but as a duty owed to his Creator for the health and strength and opportunities vouchsafed to him.

As to the incidents and work of his singularly busy life there is, fortunately, no lack of information, for, with characteristic forethought and thoroughness, he has left behind him a *Life Memoir* of 313 closely printed pages of extremely interesting matter, with elaborate appendices; and a *Brief Autobiography*, of thirty-two pages, for those not desirous of details.

From these sources I propose to give a short account of our friend's career—dealing more particularly with the work he did for this Society—and conclude with a few personal reminiscences.

Dr. Cust was born at Cockayne Hatley (his father's place in Bedfordshire) in 1821. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Cockayne Cust, brother of the Earl Brownlow, and of Lady Anna Maria Needham, sister of the Earl of Kilmorey. He was educated at Eton and intended for the Bar, but ultimately accepted a nomination for the Indian Civil Service. At Haileybury College he greatly distinguished himself, and acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hindūstāni. He arrived in Calcutta in 1843, and completed his studies in the College of Fort William, receiving Medals and a Degree of Honour, and acquiring a knowledge of the Bengālī language.

His first appointment in the public service was that of Assistant to the Magistrate of Ambāla (then headquarters of the Political Administration of Northern India); here he learned the ordinary duties of a young civilian. He was then selected for the post of Personal Assistant to a distinguished Political Officer, Major George Broadfoot, newly appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the then North-Western Frontier.

In this capacity he was marching through the domains of the Cis-Satlaj Protected Chiefs when news arrived of the Sikh invasion of our territory; he and his chief at once proceeded to the front and took part in the great battles on the Satlaj in 1845—at Mūdki, Ferozshahr, and

Sobrão (of which he has left a graphic account in his *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*), and his services were mentioned in the Governor-General's dispatch.

At Ferozshahr his superior officer, Major Broadfoot ("the foremost man in India"<sup>1</sup>), was unfortunately killed in action, and Cust, albeit a very junior officer, carried on for a time the duties of Governor-General's Agent. Then, in acknowledgment of his services, he was appointed by Lord Hardinge to the charge of a district in the newly formed province of the Punjab, the district of Hoshiārpur. Here, after some years of incessant labour, with little experience to guide him, but under the inspiration of his new chief, the great John Lawrence, he organized the district in a "masterly fashion" on a "non-regulation system"—a system of firmness and kindness, "the iron hand and the velvet glove," no red tape, no technical formalities, no lawyers; rough and ready justice, and words of sympathy and good-fellowship; living alone amongst the people—without soldiers or policemen—the Court held under the green mango-trees in the presence of hundreds. "The experience of half a century," he remarks, "has given the stamp of approval to our strong but benevolent, rigorous but sympathetic, system." It was here that he developed that intense love for India and its people, and profound acquaintance with their customs and feelings, which formed a marked feature of his character.

At length, to his sorrow, he was moved from Hoshiārpur to his old district of Ambāla, and took its administration vigorously in hand.

Then came the second Sikh war, which ended in the decisive victory of Gujrāt and the annexation of the Punjab; and Cust thought the time a good one for paying a brief visit to his father (now advanced in years) in England, but, before starting, he was required

<sup>1</sup> So styled in the inscription on his tomb in the Cemetery of Ferozpora.

## OBITUARY NOTICES

by the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, to visit all the districts of the new territory and report on their condition and requirements—an important and most laborious task.

On its completion in 1851 he proceeded to England on a brief furlough. Returning to India he was appointed Joint Magistrate of Benāres, and afterwards to the important charge of Magistrate and Collector of Banda in Bundelkund, and in three years put the district, which was in a most unsatisfactory condition, into perfect order. In recognition of his service he was offered the more important post of Magistrate and Collector of Dehli, but, fortunately for himself, declined it and proceeded to England on furlough in 1855. I say “fortunately for himself”, for the officer who accepted the post which he declined was among the victims of the Dehli massacre.

In England Cust was married to his first wife—daughter of the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Dean of Windsor, brother of the Earl of Buckinghamshire—and was called to the English Bar.

He was in England at the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, but, returning to India in February, 1858, was immediately appointed at the special request of Sir John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner, to be Commissioner of the Lahore Division of the Punjab, and when that Division, found to be too large for the effective supervision of one man, was subdivided into two he chose the moiety forming the new division of Amritsar. For a time he held office as Financial Commissioner of the province, and made his mark as a reorganizer; then (in 1861) became Judicial Commissioner, but early in 1864, while busily engaged in overhauling the Department of Justice, he had the misfortune to lose his wife. He at once proceeded to England with his children, but returned to India in October to take up the office of Member of the Legislative Council, and to act temporarily as Home Secretary to the

Supreme Government. Returning to England at the end of the legislative session, he was again sent for to fill the important post of Member of the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces. Meanwhile he married his second wife, daughter of the Rev. E. Carlyon, a lady of considerable literary attainments, and with her proceeded to India. Her death at Allahabad after childbirth, in August, 1867, was a severe blow and determined Cust to retire from India for ever—just nine months before completing his service for full pension.

For a year after his retirement in 1867 he felt, he says, "like a man who had been crushed," but at length roused himself, distracted his thoughts by the study of Hebrew and completing the draft of a Code of Revenue Law for Northern India<sup>1</sup>; was united in marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of E. Mathews, Esq. (his devoted companion to the end), and by 1869 found himself restored to his old energy and powers; and from that time he found in England, as we have seen, a new career of usefulness.

He aided for a time in the preparation of Murray's great Dictionary of the English Language, and between 1870 and 1909 published more than fifty volumes. The list includes a clear and accurate account of the Religion and Languages of India, a scholarly description of the Modern Languages of Africa (described by a French savant as "un livre du premier ordre"), the Modern Languages of Occania, of the Caucasian group of the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic family, seven volumes of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, besides a multitude of smaller works, translations into French, Italian, and Greek, and two volumes of poetry; while, by his annual visits to foreign cities, he drew to himself correspondents

<sup>1</sup> The draft was finished, and printed by the Government in 1870 and circulated; but, like Sir J. Stephen's draft Penal Code for England, was not destined to become law: it remains a monument of the drafter's skill and profound knowledge of his subject.

in all the great languages of Europe, and had a friend in every centre of intellectual movement in Europe or North America. He served on the Council or Committee of some thirty Societies or Boards—including the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Philological Society, the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., the C.M.S., the Charity Organization Society; was a J.P. for Middlesex and Surrey, a Visiting Justice for Wormwood Scrubs Prison, a member of the Chelsea Board of Guardians, etc. He was a good publicist, lecturer, and platform speaker; and, without being a profound scholar, he had, he tells us, knowledge for practical purposes for reading, speaking, and writing, of *sixteen languages*—

European : Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese.

Asiatic : Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Ūrdū or Hindūstāni, Panjābi, Bengālī.

His religious feelings were profound, but without a trace of bigotry. Religion and missionary enterprise form the subject of several of his published volumes.

As for Dr. Cust's relations with the Royal Asiatic Society, he originally joined it in 1851, withdrew for a time on his return to India, but, on his final retirement, rejoined it; in 1872 was appointed Member of Council and Honorary Librarian, and in 1878 Honorary Secretary, a post he filled admirably for many years, being an excellent man of business, possessing, as we have seen, an extensive knowledge of languages and a wide acquaintance with foreign scholars. Besides his ordinary work as Honorary Secretary he contributed to the Journal a large number of well-written Obituary Notices, Reviews of Books, and other articles. He attended and ably represented the Society at the Oriental Congresses of London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, and, without attending, contributed papers to those of

## ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST

Geneva, Paris, and Rome. He frequently took the chair at meetings of the Society in the absence of the President and Director; and, when present, took an effective part in discussions following the reading of papers.

In 1904 a cataract appeared in each eye and he began to lose his sight—a terrible deprivation, which the sufferer bore with the greatest patience, and with the help of a reader and amanuensis he continued to take a keen interest in affairs generally, and especially in his old subjects, and so late as February, 1909, he issued a pamphlet containing selections from his writings and dedicated to his children. But the failure of his strength, which commenced in 1905, steadily increased, until on October 28 he passed peacefully away.

Yes, he has passed away, full of years and the happiness resulting from a *mens conscia recti*; undecorated indeed—for the degree of LL.D. granted him late in life by the University of Edinburgh is the only title he received—but none the less honoured. He will be remembered by multitudes of friends in England, in India, in France, in Germany, in America; and his presence will be missed at the gatherings of the many Committees in which he took an active interest. Meanwhile he remains—and will long remain—an example to us all of a strenuous life well spent: a life in which he faithfully carried out, so far as he was able, the old Latin distribution of the hours of the day (which he often quoted)—

“Seven to the world; to prayer and slumber Seven;  
Ten hours to work bestow, and all for Heaven.”

\* \* \* \* \*

With regard to personal reminiscences the writer was Dr. Cust's subordinate and fellow-worker in India for several years, and enjoyed his friendship to the last.

In India his abilities and power of work were most remarkable. Some thought him too severely logical for

## OBITUARY NOTICES

ordinary mortals, and somewhat of a social recluse ; but he loved India, and to all his friends, whether Indian or English, was most kind and sympathetic.

He was of a highly-strung nervous temperament, and possibly unfitted for periods of stress, and he had not the magnetic power of Lawrence or Nicholson or Edwardes ; but as an organizer, investigator, and administrator dealing with complicated issues he was masterly. He was an indefatigable worker and writer, with a style particularly clear ; a vigorous disputant, but always kept his temper ; was intensely methodical and abhorred waste of time, but kept impatience well under control. Though he rowed in the "ten-oar" at Eton, in after-life he cared neither for games nor sport, but was fond of travel for an object, and in society was full of geniality and humour. Let me add that he was no time-server or party-man, but thought out questions for himself : "nullius addictus," as he often used to say, "jurare in verba magistri." At the same time he was always ready to listen carefully to argument.

VALE.

He leaves a widow and four children, one son and two daughters by his first wife and one daughter by his last wife. All his children have shown literary power.

T. H. THORNTON.

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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published in  
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.



# I.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABET

अ . . . . . a	ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . t	व . . . . .
आ . . . . . ā	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . th	भ . . . . . b
इ . . . . . i	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . ḍ	न . . . . . n
ई . . . . . ī	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . ḍh	च . . . . . c
उ . . . . . u	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
ऊ . . . . . ū	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . .
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . .
ऌ . . . . . ṝ	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . .
ॡ . . . . . ṝ̄	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . .
ए . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ऐ . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . .

˙ (Anusvāra) . . . m	ˆ (Avagraha) . . . ˆ
˘ (Anunāsika) . . ṁ	Udātta . . . . . ˆ
ː (Visarga) . . . ḥ	Svarita . . . . . ˘
× (Jihvamūliya) . . ḥ	Anudātta . . . . . ˘
⌘ (Upadhmaniya) . . ḥ	

## II.

### ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك . . . . k	آ . . . . ā
elsewhere . . . . <u>or</u> <u>o</u>	ل . . . . l	إ . . . . ī
ب . . . . b	س . . . . s	م . . . . m
ت . . . . t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	و . . . . ū
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . . s or z	و . . u or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	ه . . . . h
ح . . . . h	ط . . . . t	ي . . . . y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ . . . . z	و . . . . au
د . . . . d	ع . . . . ʿ	wasla . . . . ʾ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS. hamza <u>or</u> <u>o</u>
ر . . . . r	ف . . . . f	ـ . . . . a
ز . . . . z	ق . . . . q	ـ . . . . i
		ـ . . . . u

#### DIPHTHONGS.

أ . . . . ai

ؤ . . . . au

wasla . . . . ʾ

hamza or o

silent t . . . . h

letter not pro-

nounced

#### ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ . . . . p	ک when pro-	ت or پ . t	خ . . . . ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>	nounced as	ڈ or ڍ . . d	ج . . . . g
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>	g . . . . k	ز or ڙ . . . . r	ڼ . . . . n
گ . . . . g	گ . . . . ħ		ځ . . . . kh

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1910

VII

GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON

(*Continued from the January Number, p. 109.*)

VII. THE FORTY-TWO BELOVED OF THE LORD.

The ninth verse of Nābhā's text, and the fifth in *chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

*Chappai.*

9. (5). I pray to all the beloved of the LORD,—for in the dust of their feet do I put my hope. To (1) Kamalā, to (2) Garuḍa, to (3-18) Sunanda and the other fifteen Archangels devoted to the Master's feet; to (19) Hanumat, to (20) Jāmbavat, to (21) Sugrīva, to (22) Vibhīṣana, to (23) the Savarī, to (24) Jatāyu, the lord of birds, to (25) Dhruva, to (26) Uddhava, to (27) Ambarīṣa, to (28) Vidura, to (29) Akṛūra, to (30) Sudāman, to (31) Candrahāsa, to (32) Citrakētu, to (33) the Crocodile, to (34) the Elephant, to (35-9) the five Pāṇḍavas, to (40) (Maitrēya) the son of Kuṣāru, to (41) Kuntī, and to (42) Kuntī's daughter-in-law, Draupadī, whose modesty He saved when (Duṣṣāsana) dragged away her garments.

The poet now offers reverence to the forty-two *Hari-vallabhas*, who were specially dear to the LORD. In the text I have numbered these for convenience of reference.

On these P. makes the following general remarks : Very precious in the world are the beloved of the LORD, and therefore do I place my hope of life in the dust of their feet. No need have I of ascetics, devotees, or anchorites, for the love, and trust, and religious practice (*prīti-pratīti-rīti*) of these have taken my soul into captivity. The sweet-flavoured tales of Kamalā, Garuḍa, Jāmbavat, Sugrīva, and the others are recorded in the scriptures, in the which hath the Master with truth and love spread His glory o'er the universe. Delightful are they to my soul, for full are they of blissful flavour.

1. *Kamalā*. This is Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, and his *śakti*, or energetic power. P. is silent about her. Other commentators explain that she and the ADORABLE are not different individuals, though they are different personalities. They are as much one as are a word and its meaning, or water and a wave. They are, in fact, One in Two and Two in One, "neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance." In worshipping one the other is worshipped, and vice versa. The ADORABLE in the form of Lakṣmī creates and protects the world, teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*, and brings souls to dwell for ever near the Master. The particular *bhakti* church founded by Rāmānuja is called, after her, the *Śrī-saṃpradāya*. She taught the doctrines to the Archangels (*Pārśadas*, see preceding verse). Their leader Viṣvaksēna taught Saṭha-kōpa, who taught Vōpadēva, who taught Śrinātha, who taught Puṇḍarikākṣa, who taught Rāma-miśra, who taught Parāṅkuśa, who taught Yamunācārya, who taught Pūrṇācārya, who taught Rāmānuja.<sup>1</sup> The commentators add that there are no special stories about Lakṣmī, because, she and the ADORABLE being identical, everything that she

<sup>1</sup> This is the northern tradition. The southern tradition puts twelve *Azhwārs*, or saints, after Viṣvaksēna, the sixth of whom, and the first in the *Kali Yuga*, was Saṭha-kōpa. After them comes Nātha-muni, instead of Śrinātha, who was followed by Puṇḍarikākṣa, etc., as above, omitting Parāṅkuśa.

did was part of his actions. Southern Bhāgavatas lay more stress upon the worship of Lakṣmī than is done in the north. To them she is the All-Mother, just as the ADORABLE is the All-Father, and she is looked upon as protecting the pious with a mother's tender care.

She belongs to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*.

2. *Garuḍa*. He is the celebrated bird, the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā, and Vehicle of Viṣṇu. P. is silent concerning him. He belongs to the 4th, or *Śravaṇa*, *niṣṭhā*, because he heard the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. When Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, had in the battle before Laṅkā imprisoned Rāma in the "Serpent noose", Garuḍa came and released him.<sup>1</sup> Tulasī-dāsa (VII, lviii ff.) tells that Garuḍa could not understand how Rāma, if he were really the Omnipotent Supreme, could have allowed Indrajit to entangle him. He asked Nārada to explain, who sent him to Brahmā, who sent him to Śiva, who sent him to the crow Bhuṣuṇḍi. It was on this occasion that the latter recited the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Garuḍa, whose illusion (*mōha*) then passed away.

3-18. The *Archangels* (*Pārsada*). These have been already dealt with in the notes to verse 8.

19. *Hanumat*. The well-known monkey-hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He belongs to the 17th, or *Bhagavat-sēvā*, *niṣṭhā*. He was an incarnation of Śiva, who took human form in order to have an opportunity of serving Rāma-candra. His father was the Wind, and his mother's name was Añjanā.

P. says: Rāvaṇa had wrung from the sea a number of jewels of value inestimable, and had kept them with delight in his treasury. When Rāma had conquered Laṅkā and had returned to Ayōdhyā, Vibhiṣaṇa, with much love and affection, made a necklace of these jewels and offered them to his Lord.

The assembled nobles present in the court were filled

<sup>1</sup> Vālmiki, *Rām.*, VI, 1; Tulasī-dāsa, VI, lxxiv.

with longing for the necklace. This covetousness was an enemy to faith, and hence, that he might do away with it, Rāma threw it round the neck of Hanumat. Hanumat, who was the only person in the assembly not thinking of the necklace, and who had been instead looking adoringly at Rāma, turned his eyes upon the ornament and saw that, though beautiful, on it there was not written the name of Rāma. With mind distraught he said, "Without the name of Rāma, of what value is it!" Then, thinking that perchance the name might be found inside them, he split each jewel open; but as each was opened the name of Rāma was not visible therein, and so he cast it aside as a thing of naught. Thus was it that he seized the thoughts of the other courtiers.

The commentators give the rest of the story. The courtiers were shocked at the way in which he treated the precious gift of Rāma, and Vibhiṣaṇa interfered, complaining that his actions were only mischievous monkey tricks. Hanumat explained that the jewels were of no value, as not one of them contained the name of Rāma. Vibhiṣaṇa retorted that he could not see Rāma's name upon his (Hanumat's) body, and that therefore it, too, was of no value, and why did he keep it? On hearing this Hanumat with his own nails tore open the skin of his bosom, and the people saw that on every pore of his body the name of Rāma was written in minute, but brilliant letters.

Hanumat's other exploits are narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They are well known and need not be repeated.

20. *Jāmbavat*, king of the bears. He was Sugriva's minister and a helper of Rāma. He was an incarnation of Brahmā. His father was named Pitāmaha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of instances of his wisdom and of his bravery. In *Bhṛg. P.*, X, lvii, he is connected with the story of the jewel Syamantaka. Prasēna was slain by a lion when wearing it. Jāmbavat slew the lion and

carried away the jewel. Kṛṣṇa conquered Jāmbavat. Then Jāmbavat gave him not only the jewel, but his daughter Jāmbavatī in marriage, by whom (lxi, 11) he had ten sons. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, xiii. For the further history of the Syamantaka, see Akrūra (No. 29) below.

21. *Sugrīva*. The famous monkey king and ally of Rāma. He was a son of the Sun. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is full of his exploits.

22. *Vibhīṣaṇa*. The well-known brother of Rāvaṇa. He was a devoted *bhakta*, and so long as he remained in Lankā affairs prospered there. He counselled Rāvaṇa to make peace with Rāma, but he refused, and expelled Vibhīṣaṇa with contumely. Vibhīṣaṇa took refuge with Rāma, who at once consecrated him king of Lankā, and after Rāvaṇa had been conquered put him on the throne. From that time the inhabitants of Lankā, instead of being vicious as before, became pious, although still Rākṣasas. See Vālmiki, *Rām.*, VI, ix-xix.

P. adds "a new story" to show his devotion to Rama, as follows: --

A merchant's ship went aground on its voyage, nor could all the efforts of the seamen move it. The merchant considered and said, "Some God of the sea hath stopped us," and so they cast unto the waves a man with his limbs cut off as an offering to appease the deity.<sup>1</sup> By Rāma's mercy he was thrown ashore on the island of Lankā, and the Rākṣasas took him up in their arms and, full of joy, brought him to their king, Vibhīṣaṇa. At that time Vibhīṣaṇa was meditating lovingly on his Master Rāma, and when he saw the man he leaped from his throne, his eyes filled with tears, crying out, "He is my master, Rāma, in visible form."<sup>2</sup> Happy am I to see his face."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story of Jonah.

<sup>2</sup> He was a stranger and he took him in, looking upon service done unto such as done unto Rāma. Cf. Matt. xxv, 35 ff.

Without delay he seated him in honour on the throne, and distributed presents to the Rākṣasas in token of the happy hour. With tears dropping from his eyes he grasped a wand of office, and stood before him as his servitor, gazing with rapture on the lotus-face. Yet though he received this homage, the man's countenance became not debonair, and from moment to moment did its brightness become dim ; for it came into his mind that these honours were but preparations for his sacrifice.

Then Vibhīṣaṇa besought him saying : " In thy graciousness tell me what thou needest, for very anxious is my heart for thee, when I see thee thus distraught." He answered, " But carry me beyond the sea. So much is all the happiness I desire." So Vibhīṣaṇa bestowed upon him many jewels, and brought him, as he had come, to the ocean-shore.

Then did Vibhīṣaṇa write the Holy Name of " Rāma " and tie it upon his forehead, and he said : " By this NAME do souls cross over the ocean of existence, and therefore, if thou hast faith, will it carry thee across this water that lieth before us." Thereon the man received full faith, and as on dry land did he go upon the ocean.<sup>1</sup> He sat down to rest, and, behold his form was changed and comely, and thither came upon its voyage home the very ship from which he had been cast. When the sailors saw him they knew him, and asked him how he fared. He told them all, so that their hearts were filled with joy, and they took him again into their ship and prayed for his forgiveness. He leaped from the ship into the sea, and they saw with wondering hearts that, through his faith in the name of Rāma, one drop of water did not wet his feet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the interpretation of all the commentators. The text simply says that he sat there, and the ship came by. Cf. Peter walking on the water, and his sinking for want of faith (Matt. xiv, 28-31).

<sup>2</sup> According to Bh. one legend says that the reason of his leaping from the ship was that the captain coveted the jewels which Vibhīṣaṇa had given him, and wished to rob him.

23. The *Savarī*. This was the woman mentioned by Vālmiki in *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, lxxv. In later *bhakti* literature she plays a much more important part, as in Tulasī-dāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, xxxvii ff. Here she is the poor Bhīl woman dwelling in the forest—lower than the lowest of the low, *adhama jāti mē . . . adhama-tē adhama*—who in faith received Rāma in his search for Sītā, and directed him to Sugrīva. *Bhakta* writers are never weary of dwelling on this episode, on the ADORABLE'S graciousness to so humble a person, and in saying to her *mānaū ēka bhagatī kara nātā, jāti pāti kula dharma baḍāī, dhana balu pariḥāna gunu caturāī*, "I know no kinship save that of faith—not caste, tribe, or religion not rank, wealth, power, or connexions; not virtue or ability." These words are the charter of the Bhāgavata religion.

She is counted as belonging to the 24th, or *Prēmā niṣṭhā*.

She was born in the low tribe of the Śavaras (Bhils), but from her youth up her habits and her mind were different from those of her fellows. When the time came for her marriage her parents collected many animals wherewith to prepare a feast for the brotherhood. She could not bear the thought of so many living creatures being slaughtered on her account, and rising at night she released them all, and fleeing from her home hid herself by the Pampā lake. There she dwelt, living upon wild roots and fruits.

P. here takes up her story:—

In the forest did she dwell, and all men called her "the Śavarī". She longed to serve the saints who dwelt by the lake, but did not dare to approach them, for she knew the meanness of her caste. So each night, before it was dawn, would she steal into the hermitage of the holy men (*ṛṣi*), and lay down therein bundles of wood. So also would she each night sweep the path by which

the holy men did descend to bathe, and pick up and throw aside the hard pebbles and the stones. Then would she quickly arise and hasten to her hut, that none might see her. When in the morn the holy men (saints were they, devoted to Rāma) arose, they would see the service she had done, and would wonder in their hearts, saying: "Who is it that hath swept the path? How kindly must he be!"

The greatest of these saints, free from all worldly desires, and filled with the flavour of the name of Rāma, was Matanga. When he saw the bundles of wood thus laid down, cried he out: "What thief of our weariness hath come here? He cometh and ever stealeth it away? Ah! seize hold of him some day, for even though I have not seen him, through love for him hath inquietude filled my soul." So in the night-time did his disciples carefully keep watch. She came. They seized her. She trembled, and fell before their feet. Even as Matanga saw her a stream of tears flowed forth from his eyes. So filled with rapture was he that, when he would have spoken, the words could not issue from his lips.

In her humility she dared not raise her eyes to him, for she remembered the baseness of her tribe. The saint saw that she was sinking in a flood of sorrow, and pondered within himself how could he pull her forth therefrom, for well did he know the might of faith. So said he to his disciples: "Of a truth, she is of lineage low, but millions many of Brāhmanhoods can indeed be humbly laid as offerings before her Faith." So he allowed her to dwell in the hermitage, and in her ear whispered he the mystic spell<sup>1</sup> of Rāma. When the other saints heard of this they became angered, and separated him from their communion, but this he heeded not, and he abode alone in the hermitage, with the Śavari to do

<sup>1</sup> The initiatory *mantra*, or secret syllables, whispered by the preceptor into the ear of a disciple.

him service. When the time for his death approached, he called her unto him and said, "The Master hath given me command that hence I depart unto the other world, but here do thou remain. One day the Lord Rāma will come hither, and thou shalt be vouchsafed the blessing of His sight."

Separated from her teacher did she suffer piteous grief. She wished no more to live, but the hope of seeing Rāma forbade her death. So each night she swept the path to the saints' bathing-place as had been her wont. One night she was delayed, and it was morn before she had finished. One of those who had put Mataṅga out of communion for her sake, came down to bathe e'er she had gone. Startled, she fled, but the forest path was narrow and, as she passed the holy man, by chance she touched him. Angered was he at the defilement, and harsh words did he cast at her. When he was pacified he went on along the path to bathe, and she fled to her hut of leaves. But when he came to the border of the lake, lo! its water had been turned to blood and filled was it with worms and maggots. This was a new cause of wrathful sorrow unto him; yet did he not understand that the miracle had been wrought because of his cruel speech unto the Śavarī. Nay, he rather thought he that the clear water of the lake had been turned to blood by her defiling touch. Wretched was he, and without Faith.

So the Śavarī remained waiting and longing for Rāma. She would go into the forest and gather the jujubes and other wild fruits. As she plucked them she would taste them, and those that were sweet she laid by in store for His coming.<sup>1</sup> She would go on to the road to the forest, and stand gazing down it with longing eyes, wondering

<sup>1</sup> *Bhaktas* whose faith cannot rise to imagining Rāma eating fruit that had been tasted by the Śavarī, say that she tasted the fruit merely to find out what trees bore sweet fruit and what not, and that she collected the fruit only of the former.

when the Lord of Raghu's line would come, and when her eyes should taste the nectar of His form.<sup>1</sup>

So watching the way did she pass many weary hours, till suddenly one day she saw Him coming in the distance, and all the sorrow of her heart was wiped away. But then came to her the memory of the baseness of her lineage, and she hid herself.

But the LORD came, and stood there, as He asked the forest people: "Where dwelleth the Śavari?"

Asking, asking the way, He came to where was the Śavari's hut. "Where is that noble lady?" cried He. "Let Me see her, for Mine eyes are all athirst." When she heard these loving words she came forth from her hut, and knew that the two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, had come into the hermitage. Halting far from them, where her eyes could see them, she threw herself upon the ground before them.

Tenderly did He raise her and take her to Himself. Far from her body fled the anguish of her soul, and now new torrents poured from her eyes, for she was caught and entangled in the net of love.

The brethren sat down and received from her hands the fruit that she had stored. The LORD then ate and praised them for their sweetness,<sup>2</sup> as He said, "How can I thank thee? This day is all the weariness of the road destroyed."

All this time the holy men had been sitting in their hermitages, grieved that the water of the lake had become corrupt, and wondering how they could purify it. The news came to them that the Lord of Raghu's line would

<sup>1</sup> So Tulasī-dāsa, *Gītārāṇī*, III, xvii, *chhana bhavana, chhana bāhira, bilōkata pantha bhū para pāni kai*. At one time in her house, another time outside, would she stand shading her eyebrows with her hand as she gazed along the road.

<sup>2</sup> Here Rāma's graciousness was manifest. The jujube fruit at its best is but bitter-sweet. Nevertheless, in His compassion for the lowly Śavari, who had offered Him the best that she had, He praised its sweetness.

come thither by the forest paths. They said amongst themselves, "Let us go unto Him. Let us ask Him what shall we do." While they were speaking they heard that it was the impure Śavari's hut that He had honoured by His presence. Away went their spiritual pride. "Come," said they, "let us bend low before Him and humbly grasp His feet." They came, and angrily did they complain to Him that the water of their lake had been turned to blood. Then answered the Master, "'Twas because of the insult ye offered to the Śavari. Grasp ye the feet of this poor Bhil woman, and yourselves implore her pardon: then will ye bathe and drink in happiness."

This is the end of P.'s account. The commentators tell how, in fact, the water of the lake was restored to its pristine clearness. When Rāma departed the Śavari dedicated her life to his memory, gave up the ghost, and departed to eternal bliss. Rāma himself performed her funeral obsequies.

24. *Jatāyu*. The Vulture King of the birds, a son of Garuḍa. He attempted to save Sītā when she was carried off by Rāvaṇa. He was mortally wounded by the demon, but lived long enough to tell Rāma what had happened (Vālmiki, *Rām.*, III, 1, li, lxviii, lxix). He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāyati*, *niṣṭhā*.

P. says: When Rāvaṇa, in order to bring about his own death by Rāma's arrow, carried off Sītā, the king of the birds heard her cry, and hastened to her help. Mighty was the battle that he waged with Rāvaṇa, and when both his wings had been cut off, he dedicated his life to Rama. But he retained his breath till he had the joy of seeing his Master's countenance. Rāma came and Himself placed his head upon his lap. Instead of water He sprinkled him with tears from His eyes. Then gave He him memory and knowledge of the truth, and put him on the way of Salvation. The Lord Himself put him on the pyre and lighted it Himself, even as he had performed the funeral.

rites of Daśaratha His father. Great was the honour, and in his own form as a vulture did Jaṭāyu reach the abode of the blessed.

So P. The point is that Jaṭāyu, the vulture, an eater of carrion, was too vile to be looked upon by a high-caste Brāhmaṇa, and yet Rāma took Him to his bosom, and not only gave him salvation, but allowed him to retain his own vulture form for ever near Him in heaven.

Ās Tulasī-dāsa (*Ram.*, III, xxxvi, 2) says :—

*gāḍha adhama khagu āmikhā-bhogī |*  
*gatī dīnhi jō jācata jōgī ||*

He bestowed upon the vulture, the vile carrion-eating bird, a place such as even ascetics desire.

25. *Dhruva*. Already shortly dealt with under verse 5 (19). P. here passes by him with a mere reference. He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāgati*, *nīsthā*. His story will be found in *Bhg. P.*, IV, viii ff.

When he desired to sit in his father's lap, his step-mother, Suruci, forbade him, saying that only *her* sons were fit for that honour. Stung by the taunt, he determined to lead a religious life, and with the permission of his own mother, Sunīti, left his home for that purpose. On the way he met Nārada, who taught him the *mantra* “*ōm namō bhāgavatē Vāsudēvāya*”, and converted him to the Bhāgavata religion. Dhruva then went to Mathurā, where his devotion pleased the LORD, who appeared to him, and gave him the boon of perfect faith. He also promised that Dhruva should reign in his father's place for sixty-three thousand years, and thereafter rule in the *Aṭala-lōka*, or region of immovability. Dhruva returned home. His father made over the kingdom to him and himself became an ascetic. During his long reign he spread the Bhāgavata religion over the whole earth. After the conclusion of the sixty-three thousand years he became the pole-star, and will remain so till the next dissolution of the universe, when he will go to the ADORABLE's heaven.

26. *Uddhava*. The friend and minister of Kṛṣṇa. See *Bhg. P.*, X, lxvi ff. He belongs to the 15th, or *Jñānadhyāna-mahimā, niṣṭhā*. He was very wise and learned in the Yōga philosophy. Kṛṣṇa sent him from Mathurā to Vraja to comfort the herdmaidens who were pining during his absence. He tried to console them by teaching them Yōga, and the existence of the universal impersonal Brāhma, but they refused to accept the idea, and adhered to their personal devotion to Kṛṣṇa as God. Struck by their fervent personal devotion, he himself became converted to the *bhakti* faith. Being now convinced of the worthlessness of his learning and of his Yōga philosophy, he returned to Mathurā.

When Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā, and went to Dvārakā, Uddhava accompanied him. When the Yādavas were cursed, Kṛṣṇa taught him the true knowledge, gave him the boon of perfect faith (*bhakti*) and sent him to Badarikā (*Bhg. P.*, XI, xxix), where, in due course, he attained salvation.

Uddhava may be called the St. John of the Bhāgavata religion. He was the disciple whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and (*Bhg. P.*, III, iv) it was to him and Maitrēya that Kṛṣṇa, immediately before his departure from the earth, confided the inner mysteries of the Bhāgavata religion.

See also the story of Maitrēya below (No. 40).

27. *Ambarīsa*. A celebrated king of Ayōdhyā, the son of Nābhāga. He belongs to the 11th, or *Vrata-upāsa, niṣṭhā*. His queen belongs to the 24th, or *Prēma, niṣṭhā*. His story is to be found in *Bhg. P.*, IX, iv ff.

P.'s account is as follows:—

If any man desire to have faith like unto Ambarīsa's, vain is the thought; for it cannot even be by any means described. Durvāsas, the saint of cruel wrath, had never even heard the teaching of the pious, and imagined a fault when there was none.

[He once came when Ambarīsa was engaged on the fast,

of the twelfth lunar day of the half-month. Ambariṣa welcomed him and invited him to take food. The saint said he would first go and bathe, and then return to eat. While he was gone the twelfth lunar day approached its end, and as it is a sin to defer breaking the fast to the thirteenth lunar day, the king, who could not eat before his guest did, was put into a difficulty. The Brāhmaṇas told him that a sip of water would be sufficient to break the fast, and, accordingly, having no other resource, he drank a little before Durvāsa's return. When the irascible saint came back from his bath he perceived that Ambariṣa had taken a drink, and was enraged at the thought that his host had taken food before giving it to his guest, which is a grave breach of the rule of hospitality.]

Enraged, he tore out his matted locks and cast them on the ground. He changed them into the dreadful fire hight *Kāla-kṛtya*, or the incantation of death. "Consume this king to ashes," he cried, while Ambariṣa stood steadfastly before him desiring naught but to fulfil the commands of the saint. But, to save His servant, the ADORABLE sent *Sudarśana*, His discus, to protect him. With its mighty power did this discus turn that fire itself to ashes, and then did it rush against the Brāhmaṇa. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is witness borne to this.

Then fled Durvāsa hither and thither from that dreadful flaming discus. To every world did he flee, and to the gods of the north and south, of the east and west. To Kubēra, to Yama, to Indra, and to Varuṇa, did he cry in vain for refuge; but the discus flamed behind him with ever-growing fierceness, and burnt him as fire burneth stone to lime. To Brahṇā and to Śiva did he go, but they said: "An evil trick was this that thou hast done, in that thou didst not recognize the secret of the liegemen of the ADORABLE, and how, as it hath been written in the Vēda, He is ever near them to protect

them. Thee cannot we protect." Then at last did Nārada advise him and he went to Vaikuṇṭha, the abode of the ADORABLE. Distraught he told his woe. "Alas, alas!" cried he, "Lord, save Thou me; the fierce fire of Thy discus consumeth me. I am Thy humble slave. Three virtues hast Thou: Thou art (1) the protector of them who come to Thee for safety, and I have come to Thee for safety; (2) Thou art the destroyer of agony, and I am suffering from agony; and (3) Thou art the Deity of Brāhmaṇa-hood, and I am a Brāhmaṇa." Then said the ADORABLE, "No longer do I heed these three, for all these virtues hath the virtue of affection for My Faithful Ones wiped away.

"Very dear to Me are the Holy, for their belief in Me is deep, yea unfathomable; one of them hast thou offended, and how can I endure it, for they have abandoned home and wealth, wife, son, body, life itself, to come to Me,<sup>1</sup> and night and day their only converse is with Me. Truly do I say that My only possession is the holy Faithful Ones, naught else do I possess. Go thou to him whom thou hast injured, that this calamity that pursueth thee may cease its course. Very merciful is he, and ever a protector of the meek; ne'er doth he have room for despite within his heart, for it and every limb is full of faith in Me."

Bereft of hope and pride the saint approached King Ambariṣa, and seizing his feet with due humility he craved forgiveness. Then did the king become filled with shame, and with gentle words did homage to him. With clasped hands thus did he address the discus: "The Faithful are without desire, nor e'er do they wish for aught; yet one thing do I desire. This Brāhmaṇa hath suffered pain from thee; therefore remove thou that pain." Then did the discus, that giver of happiness to the holy,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mark x, 29.

when he saw that the Faithful Ambarīṣa was distraught, become appeased, and hid his fiery might.<sup>1</sup>

P. follows this up with—

*The Story of Ambarīṣa's Queen.*

A certain king's daughter heard of Ambarīṣa's great Faith, and her heart was filled with the desire that her husband might be such as he. Putting all her modesty aside, to her father did she say, "Ambarīṣa alone do I look upon as my spouse. I beseech thee, speedily write thou unto him a letter." The king wrote the letter and gave it to a Brāhmaṇa. Very quickly did the Brāhmaṇa hasten to the city of Ayōdhya, and gave it to Ambarīṣa. The king made reply: "Fully do I understand this new petition, but how can I take another wife? A hundred queens are even now sitting in my palace, and yet it pleaseth me not to hold converse with them, for my mind is set upon naught but the service of my Master."

The Brāhmaṇa came back to the king's daughter, and said, "What effort can I make? Swift as the wind did I thither go, yet was the harvest not one tiny seed." Again did she send him; for distraught she said: "Very happy did I become when I learnt how great is his devotion, and that he hath no desire for womankind. It was his faith in the ADORABLE that pleased my soul, and therefore do I look upon him even now as my honoured spouse. On the face of no other beloved can I henceforth look. Go thou again to him and without fear give thou him this message, 'If thou make me not thy slave-girl, then take thou the guilt of slaying me; for without thee can I no longer live.'"

The Brāhmaṇa took the message to the king; and he,

<sup>1</sup> This story is interesting for many reasons. Not the least is the remarkable statement of the ADORABLE that He is now no longer specially the protector of Brāhmaṇas, but that His whole care is to guard from harm those who are Faithful to Him. It is an historical fact that the Bhāgavata religion took its rise, not amongst the Brāhmaṇas, but amongst the Kṣatriya caste, of which Ambarīṣa was a member.

when he heard it, was filled with love. He gave the Brāhmaṇa his sword and said, "With this do thou lead her round the marriage altar."<sup>1</sup> So was the marriage made, and the bride's heart could not contain her joy. With pomp and circumstance did she enter Ayōdhyā city, and when she saw the beauty of Ambariṣa she became drowned in love for the ADORABLE. The king gave the order that the new palace should be swept and garnished and given as a dwelling for the queen, with every comfort and every delectation; for he thought within himself that she must have been the sweet odour of his Faith in some former life, and that therefore was he again joined unto her. Considering thus did he consent to be her spouse.

So dwelt she apart from her husband, and one night, just before daybreak, filled with heavenly love, she approached the temple in which he worshipped. Gladly did she make the outer service of the holy place, arranging the vessels and the tables, and unseen by any return to her abode. Thus, who could tell that it was she who had done this? When at dawn the king arrived and saw that his outer service had already been performed, he was like one distraught, and cried: "What thief has come and stolen my service?"<sup>2</sup> Three days running did this occur, and the wise king hid himself. He saw his queen full of faith perform these menial offices. To her he said, "If this be thy desire, why dost thou not worship in thine own abode, and take the joy of service upon thine own head?"

She accepted his words, as the mystic spell whispered by a teacher (*guru*) in a disciple's ear,<sup>3</sup> and at the first

<sup>1</sup> He consented to the marriage, but could not leave his worship. So, in the Kṣatriya way, he sent his sword as a proxy.

<sup>2</sup> The merit acquired by doing good works was stolen by some one else doing them. The same idea occurs in the story of the Śavari, *ante* (No. 23).

<sup>3</sup> She took the king's words as an initiatory *mantra* formally admitting her into the congregation of the Faithful. Hitherto she had been only a "Proselyte at the gate". Now she was authorized to carry on worship herself.

dawn did service well and duly. She adorned the Deity's image and sat gazing upon it, nor, as tears of love flowed from her eyes, could she reach the far limit of the ocean of the beauty of the Lord of Śrī. Magnificently did she carry out the worship, with music and with rapture, till the report of the manner of her faith became spread abroad throughout the city, and the king himself felt longing to see it. So great was his eagerness, that there and then he came.

Gently, gently, did he set down his feet, and hushingly did he forbid the doorkeepers to tell the queen. Full of eagerness was he and longingly saying to himself, "When shall I see this holy lady?" When he reached the temple he saw the fair damsel, all unconscious of herself and of her body, soaked in the flavour of love, a flood of tears pouring from her eyes. Lute in hand she crooned soft canticles to the BELOVED. Then was King Ambarīṣa's heart filled with rapture, and "blessed be this hour", he cried. No longer could he stand in the doorway. Eagerly he went near her, and as she recognized him, who was at once her husband and teacher, she rose and stood before him.

Cried he, "Cease this reverence, and again take thou in thy hand thy lute. Sing thou with thy tender voice a new song in the Master's praise, for without it is my spirit lost." The passionate devotion of the queen was more than I can tell, yet tell it must I, for how can I hide the comfort of love that it giveth to the eyes of the mind.<sup>1</sup> After holding sweet converse, the queen again took up a strain, from the which there uprose a meditation on the beauty of the BELOVED, and therein their hearts were drowned. Thus in faith full of the five flavours, passed the whole night. Ah! great was that love and devotion, and even sleep was forgotten.

Then heard the other queens, "The king hath taken

<sup>1</sup> i.e. to the eyes of the mind dazzled by the glare of earthly things.

up a new custom. This new queen hath become the crown upon his head. Now none of us can equal her. Let us, too, worship the ADORABLE, and thus bring our Lord to love us too." Then began they continually to meditate in Him, and to put aside all thoughts that turned to worldly things. So heard their Lord Ambariṣa that they also felt the Great Longing, and with them also did he worship and adore. In this way did Faith spread throughout the city from house to house. From day to day did holy longing wax. Behold, such was the might of the faith of one queen that all people of the city changed their nature and were filled with the perfect joy.

28. *Vidura*. One of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, he belongs to the 3rd, or *Sādhu-sēva* and *sat-saṅga*, *niṣṭhā*. When, as described in *MBh.*, V, xc ff., Kṛṣṇa went to the Kauravas as an ambassador of peace before the war, Duryōdhana refused to heed him. Kṛṣṇa accordingly refused to eat in his house, and went to Vidura's dwelling for that purpose. Here P. takes up the story as follows:—

Vidura's wife, Vidurāṇī, was washing the courtyard, and at the same time, unclothed, was bathing herself. Kṛṣṇa came to the doorway and called to her. When she heard that sweet voice, full of love for his faithful ones, she lost all circumspection. Running, transported by love and naked as she was, she opened the door, and gazed upon him. Kṛṣṇa, seeing her thus naked and enraptured, at once took off his own yellow garment and threw it over her. She drew it round her waist, and then, recalled to herself, overcome with shame, she hastily arranged her dress. Kṛṣṇa then asked for food, and she brought plantains<sup>1</sup> for him. She sat near to him, and peeled them that he might eat. But in the ferment of her transport, she kept giving him only the skins to eat,

<sup>1</sup> Or bananas, as they are called in England.

while she threw the inside fruit away. Kṛṣṇa, who recognized her love, ate the skins, nor made complaint. In came her husband, and when he saw what she was doing, loudly did he rate her. Then, as she recognized what the transport of her love had made her do, she was filled with grief. Judge ye now how the LORD loveth the love of His Faithful! Vidura began himself to feed the Master with the inner fruit, and he was filled with joy, while his wife, sorrowing, stood by. Then said the dark-hued one<sup>1</sup> to him: "A good deed, and a kind one, hast thou done, in that thou gavest Me the inner fruit to eat; but natheless doth it seem to me that this is not so sweet as were the skins I ate at first."

Now Vidurāṇī was distraught with shame and cried: "Alas! let me cut off my hands, that have so failed to give the BELOVED food. How can the plantain skins seem sweet to him?"

Behold, that which Vidura and Vidurāṇī did was done by both in love, and love is an ocean which hath no further shore. Only he can comprehend somewhat of its extent who loveth Him as a little child.<sup>2</sup> This is the burden of my song.

Cf. also *Maitrēya*, No. 40 below, for Vidura's subsequent adventures.

29. *Akrūra*. He belongs to the 21st, or *Śaraṇāguti*, *niṣṭhā*. P. is silent about him here, but deals with him in the commentary to verse 14. He was a Sātvata, son of Śvaphalka and Gāndinī. He is traditionally said to have been a complete master of *yōga*. He lived at the court of Kamsa, but was a devout worshipper of the ADORABLE. Kamsa sent him to Vraja to bring Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā. He recognized Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of the ADORABLE, and on the way to Mathurā was granted a vision of His divine form. After Kṛṣṇa

<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mark x, 15.

had slain Kāṁsa, He visited Akrūra's house, and gave him the boon of Perfect Faith (*Bhg. P.*, xxxvi-xli).

Akrūra is also intimately connected with the curious legend of the Syamantaka jewel, the *hajarū'l-maṭar* of Arab folk-lore, and already referred to when dealing with Jāmbavat (No. 20). It was a marvellous stone which gave wealth to the possessor, and rain and prosperity to the country in which it was. Akrūra came into possession of it, and held it for fifty-two years while he was in Dvārakā. When the Bhōjas killed Śatrugṇa they fled from Dvārakā, and Akrūra, who was in alliance with them, had to accompany them. Owing to his absence, Dvārakā was assailed by famine and pestilence. Kṛṣṇa then called Akrūra back, and prosperity reigned again. The Bhāgavata account of the Syamantaka legend will be found in *Bhg. P.*, X, lvii, lviii. A fuller account is given in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, xiii. It is worth noting that the jewel which caused so much prosperity, and (to an unworthy owner) such calamities, was closely connected with Sun-worship.<sup>1</sup> It was first obtained by *Suttrājita* from the Sun himself, as the result of worshipping that luminary. Kṛṣṇa refused to be its owner, but acquiesced in its possession by Akrūra. See also notes to verse 14.

30. *Sudāman*, a Brāhmaṇ friend of Kṛṣṇa, whose story is given in *Bhg. P.*, X, lxxx, lxxxi, in which he is not named, although the colophons of these chapters call him Śrīdāman, not Sudāman. He belonged to the 22nd, or *Sākhyā, niṣṭhā*.

He was a schoolfellow of Kṛṣṇa, under Sāndipani, and in after years became extremely poor.

P. says: He was a very disinterested (*niṣkāma*)<sup>2</sup> lover

<sup>1</sup> The Sun is an important personage in Bhāgavata legends. He was father of Manu Vaivasvata, the grandparent of Kapila, and was also the progenitor of the solar race of which Rāma-candra was a member. He gave Draupadi the magic cooking cauldron mentioned in No. 42 below.

<sup>2</sup> As opposed to *sakāma*, "interested." See my article on "The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works" in *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 337 ff.

of the ADORABLE, and so poor was he that ne'er had he even a seer<sup>1</sup> of flour in his house. One day did Suśilā, his spouse, approach him, and say: "Heard have I that thou and Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of Dvārakā, are friends." At these words did his heart become much disturbed, and fell he into grief at the memory of his dear one. Then answered he, "Yea, dear, a love full of flavour is ours." "Go," said she, "but this once, and having looked upon his face return. And if thou receive aught from him bring it hither, for to me will it be very pleasant." "Good words hast thou spoken," he replied, "but in the seven worlds will it bring disgrace to me. For all will think that only for this present that I shall receive did I claim his friendship."

But his spouse pressed him and said, "Why shouldst thou not desire but to see the form of the beloved Kṛṣṇa? For all sorrow and poverty of itself is burnt to ashes merely by the sight of Him." Then came to Sudāman the memory of his BELOVED. He considered, and turned his mind away from fear of the world's contumely.

[He said unto his spouse: "Lady, if thou hast in the house aught worthy of being offered unto him as a present, let it be given to me." Thereupon she begged from her Brāhmaṇa neighbours four handfuls of flattened rice.<sup>2</sup> These did she wrap in a piece of cloth and give to her husband as a present for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>3</sup>]

He set his feet upon the road, reeling with affection, and came at once to Dvārakā.<sup>4</sup> Greatly did he rejoice to see its glory magnifical. In his soul there sprung an unearthly

<sup>1</sup> Two pounds.

<sup>2</sup> *Pṛthuka*, or in the vernacular *ciurā*, rice boiled, beaten flat, and parched. It is eaten dry, and is commonly carried as a provision on a journey.

<sup>3</sup> This is taken from the *Bhṛ. P.* It is a part of the story omitted by P. but assumed later on.

<sup>4</sup> The commentators say that he only went one stage, and that when he woke next morning he found himself close to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa knew of his journey and had miraculously brought him on his way.

joy, and he went forward with eyes athirst for the sweetness of the BELOVED'S countenance. Now was he full of fear that he might be stopped upon his way, but taking courage he entered the porch. It was as though his desire had become the doorkeeper, for it took him by the hand and led him straight to Kṛṣṇa.

When Śyāma saw His friend, He stood motionless from affection, as though He were a picture. Then holding dear His loved one's deed, He ran, and weeping fell upon his neck. So closely did He hold him to His bosom that they two became, as it were, one, and in this unearthly love it seemed as if, though one strove to separate them, they ne'er would come apart. Then Śyāma remembered that His friend was weak and weary from his journey. He released him. He took him by the hand and led him into the inner rooms. Thither did Queen Rukmiṇī bring water, and with her own hands wash his feet and bid him welcome. To His own couch did Kṛṣṇa lead him, and talk with him of the days when they were fellow-pupils taught by Sāṅdipani. He plunged him in a sea of happiness, and Himself was filled with joyous affection.

Then said Śyāma, "Friend, what present hast thou brought Me?" and poor Sudāman, when he thought of his own meagre offering, and of the exceeding magnificence of what he saw around him, was much ashamed, and turned his eyes all wet with tears towards the ground. But Śyāma looked through the holes in the old rent garment that he wore, and under Sudāman's arm he saw a little bundle. He put out His hand and pulled it forth. He opened the knots, and saw that it was filled with flattened rice. He took up a handful and put it in His mouth and chewed it; then, praising its flavour, took He a second. Well-pleased he began to take a third, but the queen seized His hand and said: "A blessed and beloved thing is this. Thou shouldst not eat it every whit. Meet is it that thou shouldst give us all share therein; for it seemeth as

though Thou art taking handfuls of Sudāman's love." So He gave the rest to her. When He had taken the two handfuls, He considered and in His mind gave Sudāman a present of boundless wealth, but did not tell him, so that he knew not the secret. Sudāman abode there in all joy and solace for seven days and then did take his leave, full of woe at his departure from his BELOVED one. When he reached his own village he found that it had become a city exceeding magnifical, as though it were another Dvārakā, and his mind was filled with dismay. But his spouse, seeing him from the balcony of the palace, radiant in her affection, and surrounded by hundreds of maids of honour, came forth to welcome him, and after she had assured him, led him within its doors.

Although he was now so mighty and possessed of great wealth, ever meditating on the LORD, in his heart, he kept drinking the nectar of the memory of His blessed form. Steeped in fresh love and adoration, with these alone did he keep himself alive. He held his body free from worldly joys, and his goings ever on the way of the flavour of true happiness.

31. *Candrahāsa*. He belongs to the 7th, or *Guru*, *viṣṭhā*. His story will be found in Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. i, p. 525. The India Office Library contains two anonymous versions of the legend, one called "Chandrahāsa, an ancient Indian monarch", Madras, 1881; and the other "Chandrahāsa, or the Lord of the Fair Forger", Mangalore, 1882.

P.'s narrative is as follows, with the usual additions from the commentators: There was a certain king named Mēdhāvi, of the land of Kērala, and his son was named Candrahāsa. Mēdhāvi was killed in battle by another king, and his wife became *suttee* with his corpse. Then a slave-girl took the poor orphan and fled to Kuntalapura. There dwelt she in the house of Dhṛṣṭa-buddhi, the chief minister of that city, and brought up the

child as her own son. When Candrahāsa was 5 years old the slave-girl died.

[The boy then lived upon the streets, picking up what he could get, and so keeping the body and soul together. One day Nārada, that mighty saint, in his mercy met him in a secret place, and gave him an image of the ADORABLE, in the shape of a sacred Śālagrāma.<sup>1</sup> He taught the lad to bathe it with reverence, and ever to exhibit it before he ate, as grace before his meat. He also instructed him to keep it at other times in his mouth, and, having taught him the mystery of the Name of the ADORABLE, departed. The boy always did as Nārada taught him and day by day increased in faith and holiness.] Even in the street-plays with the other boys of the town, he played only games that were full of the flavour of faith.

One day in Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's house was there a feast given to the Brāhmaṇas. It chanced that with the other children of the town Candrahāsa also came thither, and made his obeisance to the chief of the learned doctors. Just then Dhṛṣṭabuddhi came to that learned man and asked him: "What married fortune is written in my daughter's fate?" The Brāhmaṇa pointed to Candrahāsa and said, "Of a certainty in this case do I see the future, and foretell that this lad will be thy daughter's Lord." As Dhṛṣṭabuddhi heard this prophecy, he turned away to hide his shame and discontent.

Much did he consider in his mind: "What am I to do? Is such a husband meet for her who is my daughter? He must be killed." Having so resolved, he called certain low fellows and said to them: "When I look upon this lad my heart is burnt within me. Take ye him away and kill him." These murderers took him forth far from the city, but when they looked upon his pretty face they

<sup>1</sup> The fossil ammonite, sacred to Viṣṇu. It is found in the River Gaṇḍakī. Hence later on it is called the son of Gaṇḍakī. The authority for its worship is the Padma Purāṇa. The Bhāgavata is silent on the subject.

cried: "May dust and ashes fall upon the womb<sup>1</sup> that brought us forth as murderers, and causeth us to feel such sorrow at our deeds." Then said they in their compassion to the boy, "Kill thee we must; who can be thy helper?" He replied, "I ask but one favour. Strike not with the sword until I give the word."

Those wicked murderers assented to his prayer. He took from his mouth, where it had lain hidden in his cheek, the holy son of Gaṇḍakī, the Śālagrāma, bathed it with water, decked it with flowers, and reverently worshipped it. As he gazed upon it, the LORD Himself appeared to him within it, and he became rapt with a holy joy. Then with his eyes he gave the signal for the fatal stroke. But the men who had been filled with murderous thoughts, now became filled with pity, and fell fainting to the ground. Faith in the LORD entered them, and their hard hearts became softened with the Great Felicity. Now, on one of his feet Candrahāsa had a sixth toe, which they who are skilled in augury say is a blemish,—an omen of evil fate. So that did they cut off and let him free, now also free from blemish. This toe did they bring back, and show to Dhṛṣṭa-buddhi in token that they had done the foul deed he had commanded.

It chanced that in that kingdom of Kuntalapura there lived another petty king, hight Kalinda of Candanāvati, and happy in all blessings, save that he had no son. Now on that day went he into the forest to hunt, and there saw he Candrahāsa seated. And behold, knowing him to be beloved of the Master, a herd of deer stood round about him, and a great bird hovered over him to give shade unto his head. Then did that king run to him without fear, and took him in his arms, as a beggar taketh a great treasure and looketh upon it as his life. With welcome and rejoicing, and with distribution of

<sup>1</sup> i.e. caste. They were murderers by caste.

gifts, did he lead him into his house. Thus did some days pass, and then the king, considering his virtue and his worth, made him his heir and delivered the kingdom to his charge. In this high station did Candrahāsa throughout the kingdom spread faith in the ADORABLE.

Now King Kalinda had been used to send tribute to the king of Kuntalapura, but Candrahāsa sent none, for all his wealth was spent in succouring the holy. So the king of Kuntalapura dispatched his minister Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi with an army to collect the tribute. When he arrived, Kalinda and Candrahāsa looked upon him as a guest come to their house, and hospitably entreated him; but when Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi saw Candrahāsa he knew that he was the lad whom he had desired to slay, and again, full of wrath, he said to himself, "By some guile must I kill him." So he wrote a letter and gave it unto Candrahāsa, saying, "Take thou this to my house and give this letter into the hands of my son Madana, and say unto him, 'Prithee carry thou out what is written therein.'"

So Candrahāsa took the letter and journeyed to Kuntalapura. Seeing a fair garden, which chanced to belong to Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi, he rested there, and reverently worshipped his Sālagrāma. Then, by the favour of the LORD, sleep came upon his eyes, and he fell into a sweet slumber.

By the will of the LORD into that very garden there came to sport with her damsels and her fellow-maidens the daughter of Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi. By chance she saw Candrahāsa as he slept, and love for him entered her heart. So she led her companions away, and then leaving them she returned by another path and gazed enraptured at his beauty. In her yearning she saw by him a letter, with her brother's name upon it. She took it up and read it, and therein was written, "At once give thou poison (*viṣa*) to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger."

When she read these words, wroth was she with her father, and filled with pity was she for the youth. Now the damsel's name was Viṣayā. Ink made she with the collyrium of her eyes, and after the word *viṣa*, poison, added she but one little syllable *yā*, so that *viṣa* became "Viṣayā". Then, pleased at heart and smitten with love, did she rejoin her companions. Meditating in her soul upon her darling, and full of anxious thoughts, to her home did she return.

Up rose Candrahāsa from his slumber, and went to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's palace, where he gave the letter to the son. When Madana read the words: "At once give thou Viṣayā to the one that beareth this letter. Delay thou not in this, or dread mine anger," his heart was pleased, and warmly did he embrace the youth. He put into his hand the letter and said: "What is written therein doth please me." He summoned the Brāhmaṇas, and within an hour did he perform the marriage of Viṣayā with Candrahāsa. With great magnificence did he perform it: with a magnificence greater even than that seen at the weddings of great kings, and even then was his soul not satisfied.

Then came the vile Dhṛṣṭabuddhi. When he saw the festival it was like death unto him, and Candrahāsa as a bridegroom in his wedding garment was to him as though a sharp stake were thrust into his vitals.

Privately he called to Madana. "Son," cried he, "what blunder hast thou made?" Then Madana showed him the letter, and when he read it fire kindled in his bosom. "Luckless, luckless wight that I am! Better would it be for me that my daughter were a widow." He called those low fellows the murderers, and said these words to them: "Go ye to the temple of Dēvī Durgā. It is my will and pleasure that ye kill the man that entereth it on to-morrow's morn." Then to Candrahāsa said he: "Dēvī Durgā is the goddess of my family. To-morrow, at dawn,

go thou to her temple there to worship, for such is the marriage custom of my house."

At dawn Candrahāsa bathed and worshipped his Śālagrāma, and then set forth to worship Dēvī Durgā. Now just at that moment the LORD put it into the heart of the king of Kuntalapura to say unto himself, "No son have I. No worthier youth is there than Candrahāsa. Him will I make my heir." Therefore did he summon Madana, the son of his minister, and command him: "Such and such have I resolved. Quickly bring thou hither Candrahāsa, thy brother-in-law. The time is passing and may not come again. Do the business now, nor let there be delay." Joyfully ran Madana upon the road. He met Candrahāsa, and gave him the message: "His Majesty doth summon thee at once to the palace. Fear not thou that by doing thus thou wilt show disrespect unto Dēvī Durgā. Make thou here a mental prayer, and I will go and make the temple offerings for thee."

Thus was it Dhṛṣṭabuddhi's son, Madana, who went at morn to Dēvī Durgā's temple, and him it was whom the murderers slew. While it was to the other, to Candrahāsa, that the king said: "Take thou my kingdom, and be its ruler."

A certain man came to Dhṛṣṭabuddhi and said unto him, "The low fellows, murderers, have slain thy son." Tears flowed in torrents from his eyes and splashed upon his body. He ran to the temple, and found that it was even so. To the ground he dropped without sense or movement, and as he fell, unhappy wight, his head struck against a stone and burst, and there he died.

When Candrahāsa heard the tidings he hastened to the temple, and meditating on the feet of Dēvī Durgā, would have offered his own body as a sacrifice to her.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The worship of Durgā is the antithesis of the merciful code of the Bhāgavatas. Human sacrifices (including suicidal sacrifices) were once a common feature of it.

But the Dēvī appeared to him in her proper form and seized his hand. "Dhr̥ṣṭabuddhi," cried she, "was thine enemy. It is I who, in mine anger, have thus slain his son and him." Then prayed Candrahāsa to her for the lives of the two, and that their hearts might be set in the way of virtue, and Dēvī heard his prayer and restored them both to life.

For three hundred years did Candrahāsa rule, and all the nobles that stood near him—nay, the whole land—made he into a kingdom of faith. In every house was heard the sweet Name of the LORD. Only one work was desired—the service of the LORD. Earthly love, wrath, covetousness, pride, and every vice did he put far away from his kingdom. His subjects lived under him in peace, and each one loved him as the apple of the eye. Great is the fruit to him who, when he riseth at dawn, readeth all that hath been said concerning Candrahāsa from the beginning to the end. Even so saith Jaimini.<sup>1</sup>

32. *Citrakētu*. He was king of Sūrasēna. His story is told in *Bhḡ. P.*, VI, xiv ff. P. merely gives it a passing reference.

He had thousands of wives, but by only one, Kṛtadūti, had he (through the blessing of Nārada and Aṅgiras) a son. Filled with jealousy, the other queens gave the boy poison and he died. The commentators narrate that the king so loved the child that he could not perform its obsequies, and even though Nārada came and told him of the emptiness of all earthly things, he still remained subject to delusion. Nārada, to convince him, called the spirit of the lad and commanded it to re-enter its body. The spirit replied that it had had innumerable births. Which of these bodies was it to enter? "Once upon a time I was a pious man, and used to worship the Śālagrāma. One day my mother, who was Kṛtadūti in

<sup>1</sup> In the *Jaimini Bhāratā*, Adhyāyas 52-60.

a former birth, prepared food for me, and it chanced that the firewood over which I cooked it was filled with myriads of ants, who were destroyed in the flames. The food I gave as an offering to the Master. Now as a punishment for the sin of killing these ants, I should have been condemned to myriads of deaths and rebirths for each leg of each ant; but as I did not eat the food myself, but offered it to the Master, the sin was expiated by this one rebirth, from which I have just now been released by death. So also was my mother reborn as Kṛtadūti, that she might suffer a corresponding penalty." So saying the spirit went away, and Citrakētu was consoled, and performed the funeral rites over the corpse.

Then Nārada instructed Citrakētu in the mysteries of the Bhāgavata religion. Citrakētu adored Bhagavat for seven days and was finally vouchsafed a vision of Him in the form of Saṁkarṣaṇa. Saṁkarṣaṇa taught him the supreme mystic formula of the worship of Vāsudēva, and from reciting this Citrakētu received the *yōga*<sup>1</sup> power of being able to wander at will through space.

Once so wandering he arrived at Śiva's court, and there saw Śiva sitting in public with Pārvati upon his lap. In his ignorance he considered this to be an act of impropriety and remonstrated with Śiva. Pārvati thereupon cursed him to be reborn as the Dānava Vṛtra.

The story of Vṛtra is told in the earlier chapters of the sixth Skandha of the *Bhg. P.* (ix-xiii), and forms the preface to the story of Citrakētu. He was killed by Indra with the thunderbolt made from the bones of Dadhica.

33, 34. *The Crocodile and the Elephant.* The story of them is told in *Bhg. P.*, VIII, ii-iv.

Once upon a time, in the White Continent, the Muni Dēvala was bathing. A Gandharva named Hāhā sportively

<sup>1</sup> Note again the frequent connexions between the Bhāgavata religion and the Yōga system of philosophy.

took the form of a crocodile and caught him by the foot. The incensed saint cursed him to remain a crocodile, and to be unable to resume his proper form.

King Indradavana (*Bhg. P.* has Indradyumna) made over his kingdom to his chief minister and went into the mountains to practise asceticism. The Muni Agastya came thither, but Indravana in his spiritual pride did not show him hospitality. Hence Agastya cursed him to become an elephant.

Both the Gandharva and Indradavana were worshippers of the ADORABLE, but owing to these temporary lapses they were condemned to these bestial forms, in which they had no memory of their former faith. *Bh.* gives an alternative legend:—

Once upon a time a king of Mārwar had a sacrifice performed. Amongst the officiating priests were two brothers, both *bhaktas* of the ADORABLE, of whom one performed the office of Brahman, while the other was the Hōtr. The Hōtr got most gifts, so the Brahman wished to add his gifts to his brother's and to divide the total half and half. The Hōtr would not agree, and the Brahman cursed him to become a crocodile in the River Gaṇḍakī, whereupon the Hōtr retorted by cursing the Brahman to become an elephant. Here the point of the story again is that both were *bhaktas*.

One day the elephant came at the head of his herd to drink water at the very place where the crocodile was lying. The crocodile seized him by the leg and tried to pull him into the water, while he strove to get up on to the bank. The other members of the herd tried to help him, but without avail. For a thousand years the battle went on, and at length the crocodile prevailed and dragged the elephant into the river till only his trunk remained above water.

Then, in his torment, there came to the elephant the memory of his former *bhakti*, and he took refuge in the

ADORABLE. Breaking off a lotus flower with his trunk he offered it to Him, and cried to Him for help.

Immédiately on hearing his cry, the ADORABLE, the rescuer of the distressed, took the incarnate form of Hari,<sup>1</sup> and, riding upon the eagle Garuḍa, came in the twinkling of an eye to his help. With his discus he killed the crocodile, and so saved the elephant. Both the crocodile and the elephant then obtained the perfect knowledge; and by the grace of the ADORABLE obtained final release.<sup>2</sup>

35-9. *The Pāṇḍavas.* These belong to the 20th, or *Sauhārda, niṣṭhā*. They are Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma-sēna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, whom Kṛṣṇa befriended in the war of the *Mahābhārata*. From the Bhāgavata point of view the most important of these was Arjuna. Arjuna's cousinship to, and friendship for, Kṛṣṇa is considered as the best example of the Friendly Flavour (*sākhya-rasa*). It was to Arjuna that Kṛṣṇa himself communicated the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Once Hanumat went to the *Sākēta-lōka* (Rāma's heaven) to pay his respects to Rāma. After doing so he asked leave to depart. Rāma consented, saying: "Go thou, but in my next incarnation must thou protect the *bhakta* Pāṇḍavas from their enemies the Kauravas."

Hanumat set out homewards, and on his way, as he was passing near the Dvaita forest he heard Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa conversing. Arjuna was asking Kṛṣṇa how he and his brethren were to escape from the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa replied, "Behold, Hanumat, the messenger of Rāma, is now passing along in the sky. He will protect ye." Hanumat at once descended and approached Kṛṣṇa, who, knowing him to be a devoted servant of Rāma, there and

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the Hari incarnation see note 13 to verse 5.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known Sōnpur fair is held once a year at the junction of the Gaṇḍak and the Ganges, opposite Patna, in commemoration, and on the traditional site, of this combat.

then presented himself to Hanumat in Rāma's form and confided the Pāṇḍavas to his protection.

In this way Hanumat understood that the Pāṇḍavas were true *bhaktas*, and ever afterwards protected them. For this reason he is commonly known by the name of *Arjuna-Sahāyākārīn*, or the "Helper of Arjuna".

40. *Maitrēya*, the son of Kuṣāru. He was friend and playmate of the Vyāsa (*Bhg. P.*, III. iv, 9).

P. says about him, with additions from commentators: His mother's name was Mitrā, and his father's Kuṣāru. Hence he is called both *Maitrēya* and *Kauṣārava*.

He was a disciple of Parāśara. The LORD gave him the order: "Go thou. Vidura (No. 28 above) is My Faithful One. Do thou instruct him so that each limb of his may be filled with the glory of My form and name."

The above is a reference to the contents of the third and fourth Skandhas of the *Bhg. P.*, nearly the whole of which consist of instruction given to Vidura by *Maitrēya*. *Maitrēya* is here the philosopher of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and, besides briefly describing Kṛṣṇa's life, gives long accounts of *bhakti* and of the Paurāṇik versions of the Sāṅkhya and Yōga philosophies. The framework of the story runs as follows: Uddhava on his way to Badarī, at the end of Kṛṣṇa's earthly life (see Uddhava, No. 26 above), meets Vidura, who is wandering distraught, owing to the death of all his relations, the Kauravas. Uddhava wished to comfort him, but being himself stricken with grief at his separation from Kṛṣṇa, was unable to do so. So he told him how he and *Maitrēya* had conversed with Kṛṣṇa just before his departure, and how Kṛṣṇa had taught them the inner mysteries of faith. He therefore recommended Vidura to seek out *Maitrēya*. Vidura does so, and *Maitrēya*, in *Bhg. P.*, III, v, commences to instruct him. In the concluding chapter of the fourth Skandha,

Vidura is comforted and goes to Hastināpura to see his relatives, the Pāṇḍavas. His subsequent adventures in Hastināpura will be found in *Bhg. P.*, I, xiii.

41. *Kuntī*. The mother of the Pāṇḍavas. Like the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī (No. 42) she belonged to the 20th, or *Sauhārda, niṣṭhā*. Kṛṣṇa was her nephew, but nevertheless, she always looked upon him as the ADORABLE in visible form. She kept him before her eyes, either personally or in the form of an image, as she knew that so long as He was present she was not subject to the delusion of the world. P. says about her:—

What living creature can describe the excellence of Kuntī? It was she who asked for sorrow, sorrow from which all others flee. She it was who said to Kṛṣṇa, "Better than happiness is sorrow, if only Thou be near. Dear one, Thy face alone do I desire to see: to see Thee not is a spear that pierceth my heart. Show Thou mercy upon me, and ever dwell Thou near me, or if that may be not, let me take a forest-hermit's life. For in a hermit's life Thou art ever near. It is when we have won our kingdom that Thou wouldest depart from us."

This was the prayer she made when Yudhiṣṭhira had won his kingdom from the Kauravas, and the ADORABLE had resolved to depart to Dvārakā.

When the LORD saw her thus distraught tears filled His eyes, and He gave up His journey to His home. Then did she lead Him down from his chariot, and bring Him back into the palace. For Kṛṣṇa was her life, her body, her all.

When Kṛṣṇa left this earth and returned to his heavenly abode, and the news thereof fell upon her ears, she delayed not. Her soul left her body, and went to be for ever with the LORD. Lo, such faith was truth itself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally, such a *pana*, resolution, was *saccā-pana* or truthfulness. There is a pun in the original on the word *pana*. The *MBh.* account of

42. *Draupadī*, Kuntī's daughter-in-law, and the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. She also belongs to the 20th, or *Sauhārda*, *niṣṭhā*. Her story is well known. Her friendship with Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa's wife, is the subject of *Bhṡ. P.*, X, lxxxiii. P. says about her :--

What skilled poet can fully tell the story of the virtuous *Draupadī*? She looked upon Kṛṣṇa as her husband's brother, and he looked upon her as his brother's wife. When in the gambling match *Duryōdhana* won *Draupadī* from *Yudhiṣṭhira* and when, at *Duryōdhana*'s word, the evil *Duḥśāsana* would have made her naked before the whole assembly, and thereto pulled aside her veil,<sup>1</sup> then in her distress she cried to Kṛṣṇa, "Help, Lord of *Dvārakā*." Now He was there, for he is omnipresent. Natheless, that the word of one of the Faithful might not be made void because she called Him Lord of *Dvārakā*, in His grace there and then went He to *Dvārakā*, and returned thence that He might relieve her distress.

[When *Duḥśāsana* the evil then pulled her veil, lo, it waxed in length, so that how much soe'er he pulled from off her body, still she stood there fully clothed, nor was she put to shame. Then did he continue pulling off the cloth from her till even his mighty arms were wearied. Thus were the faces of the evil blackened, while the faithful were rejoiced.<sup>2</sup>]

Once the vile *Duryōdhana* sent *Durvāsas* with ten thousand disciples to seek the Pāṇḍavas in their forest

Kuntī's death is different, and will be found in XV, xxxvii. She was burnt to death in a forest conflagration.

<sup>1</sup> At the time she was wearing nothing but a single *śāṭī* or veil.

<sup>2</sup> G. prefaces this story by relating how it was a reward in kind for a good action done by *Draupadī*. Once when *Draupadī* was in *Dvārakā* and was sitting with *Rukmiṇī*, Kṛṣṇa entered with a cut finger and asked for a rag to bind it up. *Draupadī* at once tore off a piece of her garment and gave it to him. He counted the threads in it and found there were 999, and for each of these threads he returned a length of cloth when *Draupadī* was in distress.

exile,<sup>1</sup> and with all his following he arrived at the hermitage just after the daily meal was finished. Then did Yudhiṣṭhira receive him with all gentleness and ask him to eat. Durvāsas put off the meal, and thus gave answer: "I and my disciples will go and bathe, and on our return will we eat." So Yudhiṣṭhira told his wife Draupadī to prepare the food, but she confessed to him that the cauldron was now clean.<sup>2</sup> He fell into great anxiety. "Better is it for me," said he, "to give up life, than to offer no food unto the saintly guests." But she to him: "What cause for trouble is there? Hath Kṛṣṇa left us? Is He ever gone?" And when Śyāma heard these loving words of the Lady, so full of faith, He fixed His mind and came, and fulfilled the desire of her heart thereby. Just as He came He said, "Hungry am I. Give me somewhat to eat." Now all anxiety herself, she answers, "Dear One, naught is there in the house." And He to her in gentle voice: "Sweet sister, why dost thou pretend? Is there not in the house the cauldron that is filled with all the dainties of the world?" "Dear One," she said, "empty it is, for I have cleansed and washed it after the daily meal." Then the Master asked for the cauldron. "Bring it, let me see it." She lifted it up, and carried it, and laid it before the Master. He looked and found one single leaf of potherb stuck to the inner surface of the cauldron. This showed he to Draupadī, and ate it with a little water; and with his eating that food were not only

<sup>1</sup> Durvāsas was an extremely irascible saint, who cursed unfortunate wights who showed him the least apparent dishonour. He appears in the story of Ambariṣa above (No. 27). The present story appears in *MBh.*, III, cclxii. Draupadī's housekeeping arrangements gave little trouble. She possessed a wondrous cauldron given her by the Sun which was miraculously filled with food for every meal, and remained full till it was washed after the daily meal was concluded. After that there was no more food in it till the next day.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding note.

## GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MALA

**Durvāsas** and his disciples made\*replete, but the whole universe. For the whole universe is He

Now when **Durvāsas** and his disciples had finished their bath they found their bellies lined and full. Then remembered he **Ambarisa**<sup>1</sup> and the dread power of the **ADORABLE** and feared, and he and his disciples returned not, but departed by another way

<sup>1</sup> See No 27

## VIII

### OMAR'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE KADI

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

THE Instructions of the Second Caliph to the Judge Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī are edited by several Mōslem writers, with the differences which seem inseparable from Oral Tradition. The earliest existing copies are those produced by Jāhiz (ob. 255 A.H. : *Bayān*, i, 169, ed. Cairo), by Mubarrad (210-85 : *Kāmil*, i, 9, ed. Cairo), and Ibn Ḳutaibah (213-76 : *Uyūn al-akhbar* p. 87, ed. Brockelmann); to the next century belongs that of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (246-328 : *Ikd Farīd*, i, 33, ed. Cairo, 1293); to the same century or the next belongs the edition of Māwardī (362-450 : *Aḥkām Sulṭāniyyah*, pp. 119-21, ed. Enger); and to a much later period that of Ibn Khaldūn (732-806 : *Mukaddimah*, i, 184, ed. Cairo, 1284; p. 221, ed. Beyrūt, 1900). According to Mubarrad the Instructions were very widely circulated; he has glossed a few of the expressions, but by no means provided a complete commentary. Glosses to one or two of the phrases are to be found in the *Nihāyah* or "Dictionary of Tradition" of Ibn al-Athīr. The document was translated into German by von Hammer (*Über die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 206, 207) after Ibn Khaldūn; the same text was followed by de Slane in his translation of the *Prolegomena* (*Notices et Extraits*, xix, 449), and Professor Gottheil (*History of the Egyptian Kādīs*, p. vii). Finally the Beyrūt editor has vocalized the whole text. On these translations reference may be made to the strictures of Mr. Amedroz (JRAS., 1909, p. 1139); they are all too paraphrastic to guide the reader to the exact sense of the

document, which, whether genuine or not, is of great importance for the history of Moslem judicial institutions. The present is an attempt to provide an accurate rendering, for which Moslem glosses will, where possible, be utilized; although the translator will not feel himself bound by their authority.

Ibn Kṭaibah's text has been adopted, because we have it in a critical edition; the various readings of the others are given in foot-notes, and, so far as they are of any consequence, discussed, with the exception of the *ʿIḥd Farīd*, which is too corrupt to deserve consideration. Jāhīz alone gives an *isnād*: "recorded by Ibn ʿUyainah and Abū Bakr al-Hudhālī, and Maslamah b. Muḥārīb, all after Kaṭādah; and by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm after ʿUbaid Allah b. Ḥumaid al-Hudhālī after Abu'l-Malīḥ b. Usāmah." Of these *Sufyān b. ʿUyainah* (107-98) was a contemporary of the author, and his authority *Kaṭādah* (60-117) born about twenty years after the death of the correspondents. The famous *ḥādī Abū Yūsuf* (113-82) was also contemporary with the author, and *Abu'l-Malīḥ al-Hudhālī* is mentioned by Ṭabarī (ii, 1255) as an authority for an event in the year 94. Of the rest, *Maslamah b. Muḥārīb* is an authority frequently employed by Ṭabarī, while the remaining two are harder to identify. Clearly this *isnād* takes us near the time of the correspondents, but not actually to it. It is no surprise to the student of Moslem history that even for a letter oral tradition should be preferred to written documents.

كتب عمر بن الخطاب رضه الى ابي موسى الاشعري كتاباً  
فيه: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله عمر امير المؤمنين  
الى عبد الله بن قيس سلام عليك اما بعد: فان القضاء

فريضة محكمة وسنة متبعة فافهم إذا أدلى اليك فانه لا ينفع  
 تكلم بحق لا نفاذ له آس بين الناس في مجلسك ووجهك<sup>1</sup>  
 حتى لا يطمع شريف في حيفك ولا يئأس ضعيف من عدلك<sup>2</sup>  
 البينة على من ادعى واليمين على من انكر والصلح جائز بين  
 الناس<sup>3</sup> الا صلحا احل حراما او حرّم حلالا ولا يمنعتك  
 قضائ قضيتة بالامس<sup>4</sup> فراجعت نفسك<sup>5</sup> وهديت فيه  
 لرشدك ان ترجع الى الحق فان الحق لا يبطله شيء<sup>7</sup> واعلم  
 ان مراجعة الحق خير من التماذى في الباطل الفهم الفهم  
 فيما يتلجم<sup>9</sup> في صدرك مما ليس فيه<sup>10</sup> قرآن ولا سنة<sup>11</sup>  
 وأعرف الاشباه والامثال<sup>13</sup> ثم قس<sup>14</sup> الامور بعد ذلك<sup>15</sup> ثم  
 اعمد<sup>16</sup> لأحبها<sup>17</sup> الى الله واشبهها بالحق فيما ترى اجعل<sup>18</sup>  
 لمن ادعى حقا غائبا<sup>20</sup> أمدا ينتهى اليه فان أحضر بينة<sup>21</sup>  
 اخذ بحقه وإلا استحللت عليه القضاء<sup>23</sup> والمسلمون<sup>24</sup> عدول  
 في الشهادة<sup>25</sup> الا مجلودا في حد أو مجربا<sup>26</sup> عليه شهادة زور  
 او ظنيانا في ولاء او قرابة<sup>27</sup> ان الله تولى منكم السرائر<sup>28</sup> ودرا  
 عنكم<sup>29</sup> بالبينات واياك والقلق<sup>31</sup> والفجر<sup>32</sup> والناذرى<sup>33</sup> بالخصوم  
 في مواطن الحق التي يوجب<sup>34</sup> الله بها الاجر ويحسن الذخر<sup>35</sup>

فانه من<sup>39</sup> صلت سريره<sup>38</sup> فيما بينه وبين الله اصلح الله<sup>39</sup>  
 ما بينه وبين الناس ومن تزين<sup>39</sup> للدنيا بغير ما يعلم الله منه  
 شأنه الله<sup>40</sup> والسلام

#### VARIOUS READINGS

J = Jāhiz. B = Mubarrad. W = Māwardī. K = Ibn Khaldūn.

وجهك و مجلسك و عدلك K ; وجهك و عدلك و مجلسك B, W<sup>1</sup>

المسلمين J, B, W, K<sup>2</sup> ولا يخاف ضعيف من جورك و اليئنه J<sup>2</sup>

فراجعت B<sup>4</sup> امس W, K : اليوم B<sup>5</sup> J inserts حرم حلالا etc.

راجعت فيه نفسك J : فراجعت اليوم فيه غفلك W, K ; فيه غفلك

ترجع عنه فان الحق قديم J : فان الحق قديم B, W, K<sup>7</sup> J, B, W, K omit<sup>8</sup>

عند ما يتلجلج J : تلجلج B, W<sup>9</sup> في B, W, K<sup>10</sup> اعلم ان

كتاب B, K<sup>11</sup> مما لم يبلغك في كتاب الله ولا سنة النبي صلعم J

ثم اعرف B, W, K<sup>12</sup> كتاب الله تعالى ولا سنة نبيه W ; ولا سنة

وقس J, W, K ; ثم without B<sup>14</sup> الامثال والاشباه J, W, K<sup>13</sup>

ثم without B<sup>16</sup> بنظائرها W, K ; عند ذلك B<sup>15</sup>

الى J : اقربها B<sup>17</sup> ترى W, K omit the whole sentence as far as

واجمل للمدعي J : واجمل B, W, K<sup>19</sup> B omits<sup>18</sup> احبها

بيئته J : بينته B, K<sup>21</sup> او بينته J, B, W, K<sup>20</sup>

القضاء عليه K : القضية عليه W ; عليه القضية B<sup>23</sup> اخذت له

اننى للشك واجلى للعسى J, B, W, K add<sup>25</sup> : وجهت عليه القضاء J

و B, K omit<sup>24</sup> وابلغني العذر J ; فانه (فان ذلك

في K : في ولاء او نسب B, W<sup>27</sup> مجرى K<sup>26</sup> بعضهم على بعض

W, K ; فان الخ B ; فان الله قد J. <sup>28</sup> نسب او ولاء  
 B, W, K omit. <sup>29</sup> فان الله (سجانه + K) عفا عن الايمان <sup>30</sup> B +  
 عفا عن الايمان ودرأ بالبينات W, K for the whole ; و الايمان  
 B explained as <sup>31</sup> و الغلق ودرأ عنكم بالشبهات ثم اياك القلق J.  
 بالناس J <sup>32</sup> و التافف W, K ضيق الصدر وقلة الصبر  
 W + ; و التنكر عند الخصومات فان الحق + B ; و التنكر للخصوم  
 B, W, K without يعظم <sup>33</sup> فان استقرار الحق + K  
 Here W به الذكر K ; بها الذكر W ; به الذخر B ; بها لذخر J. <sup>34</sup>  
 and K add و السلام and terminate. <sup>35</sup> فمن B <sup>36</sup> J. <sup>37</sup> بخلص  
 و بين الله تبارك وتعالى ولو على نفسه J. <sup>38</sup> نيته B <sup>39</sup> صحته B  
 B <sup>40</sup> و اقبل على نفسه كفاه الله : يكفه الله اخ  
 الله انه ليس من نفسه شأنه الله فما ظنك بثواب غير الله عز وجل في  
 و من تزين للناس بما يعلم الله خلافه J. : عاجل ررقه وخزائن رحمته  
 منه هنك الله ستره و ابدى فعله

#### TRANSLATION OF IBN KUTAIBAH'S TEXT

The judge's office is [the application of] either an unequivocal ordinance of the Kur'ān or a practice that may be followed. Understand this when considerations are put before you, for it is useless to utter a plea when it is not valid. Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention; so neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you. The claimant must produce evidence, from the defendant an oath may be exacted. Compromise is permissible between Moslems, provided no law be violated thereby. If you have given judgment, and upon reconsideration come to a different opinion, do not let the

## OMAR'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE KADI

judgment which you have given stand in the way of retraction; for justice may not be annulled, and you are to know that it is better to retract than to persist in injustice. Use your brains about those matters which perplex you, to which neither Law nor Practice seems to apply: study the theory of analogy, then compare things, and adopt the judgment which is most pleasing to God and most in conformity with justice so far as you can see. If a man bring a claim in absence [of the defendant], fix a term by which the defendant is to appear; if the plaintiff then produce evidence, his claim shall be allowed, otherwise you will be entitled to give judgment against him. All Moslems are credible witnesses except such as have suffered stripes for offences with fixed penalties, such as have been proved to have given false witness, and such as are suspected of partiality on the ground of relationship whether of blood or of patronage. God concerns Himself with your secret character, and leaves you to follow appearances. Avoid fatigue and the display of weariness or annoyance at the litigants in the courts of justice, wherein God enables you to earn reward and make a handsome store. For when a man's conscience towards God is clear, God makes His relations with man satisfactory; whereas if a man simulate before the world what God knows that he has not, God will put him to shame.

### NOTES

*The judge's office is the application, etc.:* This sentence has hitherto been erroneously rendered, e.g. by Hammer, "das Richteramt ist eine durch Gebote festgestellte Pflicht, deren Erfüllung durch die Sunna begründet ist." If the *kaḍā* were an institution of the *Qur'an*, it should be possible to quote a text for it: but in fact neither the *nom. ag.* (*kāḍin*) nor the *nom. verbi* (*kaḍā*) occur in that book, the latter at all, the former in the sense of "judge". Since it has no cognate in the sense in Aramaic or

Ethiopic, it is probably an Islamic technicality. The verb to which these words belong is used in the *Qur'ān* in its etymological sense, "to terminate," whether life, a ceremony, or a dispute; in the last case, where the object has sometimes to be supplied in thought, it approximates in sense to the verb *ḥakama*, "to judge." That a derivative from this last verb was not chosen is perhaps due to two facts: (1) the prevalence of a maxim that God only was Judge (*ḥākim*); (2) the provision in *Sūrah* iv, 34, for the appointment in certain cases of two *ḥakam* or "arbiters", whilst the seeking of a single *ḥakam* other than God is forbidden in vi, 114. Nevertheless the *ḥukkām* or "judges" are mentioned in ii, 184, as a recognized institution, though in a prohibitive sentence.

The sentence, therefore, is a succinct statement of the *Sources of Law*, while later in the document the author provides for the case in which these are not found sufficient. The two sources are (a) Texts of the *Qur'ān*, (b) Practice.

With regard to the first, there is the limitation to such part of the *Qur'ān* as is *muḥkam*, with reference to the important distinction in iii, 5, between texts that are *muḥkam* and such as are *mutashābih*. From xxii, 51, we should infer that the former word referred to some critical or editorial operation, and that the difference was between texts of ascertained and texts of doubtful genuineness. To follow the latter is said in the *Sūrah* to be a sign of apostasy and the desire to stir up dissension. Perhaps this text (iii, 5) is later than the Prophet's time.

To the second Source of Law, *sunnah*, an interesting epithet is also attached. This is "which may be followed". Lower down in the instructions *sunnah* appears in the copies of *Jāhiz* and *Māwardī* as "the Prophet's *sunnah*", but the epithet "which may be followed" shows that this

cannot be meant, for any practice of the Prophet would deserve to be followed. A practice which may be followed is, then, a practice which was not abrogated by Islam, i.e. pre-Islamic or Arabian practice. In a marriage oration of the Caliph Ma'mun (quoted *Murāj al-dhahab*, vii, 9, ed. Paris: ii, 225, ed. Cairo) the same phrase occurs: "If there were about marriage no unequivocal text, and no practice that may be followed, save what God has created, i.e. the natural result," etc. Marriage was clearly in existence before Islam. In a speech of Hasan (quoted by Jāhiz, *Maḥāsīn*, 148, 3) the *sunnā* are spoken of in the plural, i.e. the practice of the community. It is curious that in Turkish *sunnah* is used as a euphemism for "circumcision", which was assuredly a pre-Islamic practice. In a verse cited by Yāqūt (*Udabā*, v)<sup>1</sup> the word is applied to the *budun*, or animals sacrificed at Meccah, which again dated from pre-Islamic times. The word seems originally to mean "a beaten track", being derived from *istanna*, "to gallop," and we think of a beaten track as beaten by a long series of persons rather than by one. The title of our earliest collection of traditions, the *muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik, means the same.

This theory, then, of the Sources of Law (compared by Mr. Amedroz to Common Law and Statute Law) implies that where there was no Qur'ānic enactment Arabian practice, provided it had not been abrogated, was to be followed. This is obviously a very different theory from that which ultimately prevailed, whereby "Islam had cancelled all that was before it", and the Prophet was the sole source of law, either by the Qur'ān, which he had revealed, or his infallible utterances and deeds.

A remarkable case, in which we can trace the development of this doctrine, is to be found in the story of the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, in which the person to whom these Instructions were addressed was one

<sup>1</sup> MS. *peneb me*.

of the arbiters. In the treaty between the two claimants, as given by Ṭabari (i, 3336, 15), that which the arbiters cannot find in the Kur'ān is to be referred to "the *sunnah* which is just, combining rather than separating".<sup>1</sup> At a later time this is so expressed as to make it appear that what was meant was the *sunnah*, in the sense of the Prophetic Tradition.<sup>2</sup> Yet it seems clear that what is meant must be "practice, whereon the community are agreed rather than divided". The record which we have of the debate is imperfect, and indeed unintelligible, as appears from Wellhausen's analysis.<sup>3</sup> What light could either the Kur'ān or the "practice" throw on the question of the succession? It is noticeable that suggestions which appear to have been offered on this occasion were to put the appointment into the hands of a commission, or to nominate the son of Omar. The former would be following Omar's precedent, the latter following one form of the hereditary principle, whilst the claims of 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah could both be supported by theories of succession.

A use of the word *sunnah* which is of some interest occurs in the remark of 'Ali, quoted by Ṭabari, when he was compelled to erase the words "Commander of the Faithful" after his name. He says, "*sunnah* for *sunnah* and example for example," and proceeds to recount how the same thing had happened to the Prophet (i, 3335, 3). Perhaps the rendering "case for case" would be sufficiently accurate.

The maxim "Islam cancels all that preceded" probably referred originally to offences committed before conversion; pre-Islamic Arabian practice, so far as it did not interfere with Islam, was for a time maintained. The growth of

<sup>1</sup> السنة العادلة الجامعة غير المفرقة

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 111, 3 a.f.

<sup>3</sup> *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 58.

the Moslem community, so as to include a variety of non-Arab nations, and the absence of any Arabian code, speedily rendered this second source of law, Practice, too uncertain to be followed: the Practice or Precedent of the Prophet was substituted for it, and, as Goldziher has shown admirably, the deliberate invention of precedents was rendered almost necessary by the course of events and the requirements of the courts.

*Understand this when considerations are put before you:* Hammer renders "so fasse denn, was dir vor allem ziemt". The words *idhā ulliya ilaika* must be explained from Sūrah ii, 184: "Eat not your goods between you wrongfully, فتدلوها الى الحكماء, that ye may eat a part of men's goods guiltily and knowingly." These words puzzle the commentators, but can scarcely mean anything else than "neither offer part of them as a bribe to the judges", after which "a part" is substituted for the whole, because a part will already have gone to the judges. The word is evidently identical with the Ethiopic *adlawa*, "he pleased," or "he flattered"; of which the *nom. agentis* is used for "partial", "unjust" of a judge (examples are given by Dillmann). The words of the Sūrah may then be construed literally "and curry the favour of the judges with them": an even more literal rendering would be "and dangle them before the judges", or "depress the scale with them", since the word is in origin connected with the "pans" of the balance. In vii, 21, the second form is used with an accusative for "to cajole". It comes to mean "to adduce as a plea", e.g. Ṭabari, i, 2045, 7 (with *bi*), but usually suggests that the plea is weak: and in some contexts definitely means "to ingratiate oneself", as in the verse (cited by Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'ah, ii, 174)

واجعل له نسباً يدي اليك به      فحمة العلم تعلو لحمة النسب

"Make for him a pedigree whereby he may ingratiate himself with thee, for the bond of learning exceeds that of blood in strength."

The point, then, of this precept is that when pleas are urged, the judge is to bear in mind that it is his business to carry out law, whether written or customary; that it is not for him to decide on the abstract merits of a question. And this is the sense of what follows: *for it is useless to utter a plea which is not valid*: thus the argument (e.g.) of the suffragists that men and women are equal must not avail in the face of the text of the Kur'an which declares that "the male shall have the shares of two females".

*Equalize all Moslems in your court and your attention*. Mubarrad's text adds "and your justice", which also appears in Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, though the arrangement of the words varies; it seems to injure the sense seriously. Without it the words are clear. *Āsi* (on which Mubarrad has some bad philology) is a dialectic equivalent of *sāwi*; so in the *Murāj al-dhahab* (ed. Paris, vii, 75), ii, 238,<sup>1</sup> the sixth form is used for "to divide equally" in the reflexive sense, in a line in which the third form is used for "to help" or "console". "Equality in court" means sitting side by side with other litigants. In the History of the Egyptian Kādīs (p. 64, B.M. Add. 23324, fol. 169b) the Caliph Mansūr is requested to put himself on an equality with his opponent in his sitting; the Caliph descends from his throne and takes a seat next the other party to the suit. According to the Scholiast on Hariri (ed. i, p. 445) litigants *kneled* before the judgment-seat; and Baiḍāwī on Sūrah xix, 69, says the same. But according to Sharbīnī (Comm. on the *Minhāj*, iv, 369) it is more usual for them to stand.

The word rendered *attention* literally signifies *face*. It may mean "in your looks", i.e. let the expression on your

فتواسينا الالف اثلاثا

face be the same in all cases; and this view is supported by Nawāwī and others. Yet the reference is more likely to be to a Jewish rule that both litigants should be allowed the same time for their addresses.

*So neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial, nor will the humble despair of justice from you:* the antithesis between *sharīf* and *wadī'* is often found, e.g. *Murūj al-dhahab* (ed. Paris, vii, 80), ii, 239, "no one of either class would salute him."<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to name the date at which the former came to mean of the family of the Prophet. *Moslems* is the correct rendering of *al-nās* (literally "the people"), for according to the "truer" view a Moslem should be given a higher place in court than a member of a tolerated sect (Sharbīnī, loc. cit.). 'Alī himself is quoted for this view.

The word for "to be partial" (*ḥaif*) is interpreted by Mubarrad as *ma'il*, "inclination." In Sūrah xxiv, 48, it is used of partiality or prejudice against some one; and since in Syriac its analogue means "violence", that sense seems more natural than favouritism. Perhaps we should read *janaf* (Sūrah ii, 178).

*The claimant must produce evidence:* This is almost a translation of the Mishnic rule, המוציא מחברו עליו הראיה, "Whoso would get out from his neighbour, on him lies the proof." The Hebrew *r'āyāh* can be used either for a document or for witnesses' testimony, but seems normally to mean a document; thus, in the Mishnah of B. *Sanhedrin*, 31a, it is expressly contrasted with testimony, and is a thing which a man can keep in his *porte-monnaie*. Bokhārī must have assigned the same force to the Arabic equivalent *bayyinah*, for he quotes this maxim as based on the Qur'ānic injunction to have all loans put down in writing and witnessed by two persons (ii, 282; Kaṣṭalānī, ed. vi, iv, 371), though not in the sense of signed by them. We

لم يسلم عليه شريف ولا وضع<sup>1</sup>

learn from Ibn Mājah (ii, 34) that some supposed the whole of this verse to be abrogated. In the *Hidāyah* (iii, 484) this maxim, with the following, are both ascribed to the Prophet.

*From the defendant an oath may be exacted:* According to the Jewish lawyers the oath in the intention of Scripture could only be demanded when part of the claim was allowed; the Rabbis introduced a somewhat less terrible oath for the case of complete repudiation of the claim.

*Compromise is permissible between Moslems:* Ibn Kūt. has "the people" for "Moslems", but they are synonymous. We should probably infer that the law does not contemplate it between Moslems and members of other communities. The law-books deal elaborately with this subject.

*Provided no law be violated thereby:* The illustrations given in the law-books are not very convincing. It is noticeable that the person to whom these instructions are addressed was afterwards one of the arbiters in the historic dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, and in the opinion of many compromised in a manner which seriously violated the law.

*If you have given judgment, etc.:* It is not clear whether the meaning is that precedents are not to be binding, or that any judgment is liable to be altered on reconsideration. The reading of Jāhīz, Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn, "justice is from eternity," favours the former view, while Ibn Kūt.'s reading, "may not be annulled," favours the latter. Both theories appear to be fraught with danger to society, though logically deducible from the theory that law is the will, not of the sovereign, but of God.

*Use your brains, etc.:* The writer now comes to the case in which the two primary Sources of Law fail.

*Which perplex you:* Mubarrad takes the word here used (*talajlaja*) to be a metaphor drawn from food that will not go down. In a letter to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i, 78, 23) Omar (?) uses the active in the sense of "to

employ sophistry". In Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'ah, i, 233, 2, *تجلج*, perhaps we should read *يلج في صدره*.

*Study the theory of analogy*: The conciseness of the style of these instructions suggests that the words *ashbāh* and *amthāl* are not synonyms, though the difference is not clear. It is probable then that this sentence should be rendered as above, rather than "study similar and analogous cases". Analogy was already studied by the Jews (see Ad. Schwarz, *die hermeneutische Induktion in der Talmudischen Litteratur*, 1909).

*Then compare things*: Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn read "and compare things with their likes", which favours the above rendering, whilst the text of Mubarrad and Ibn K̄ut. favours the literal translation. The word used for "compare", *kis*, seems certainly borrowed from the Jews, who use in this sense *hēkēsh*, which, according to Kohut and others, should be *hikkēsh*, literally "knock together, bring into collision", perhaps itself a translation of the Greek *συμβάλλειν*; just as the Talmudic *הוכיח* for "to refute" seems clearly a translation of the Greek *ἐλέγχειν*. The Arabic root *k-y-s* then turns the inflexional vowel into a radical, and omits the first radical; an interesting case of the history of Semitic roots. The use of the term makes it clear that Omar (if these Instructions be genuine) must have had a Jewish lawyer at his elbow.

*And adopt the judgment, etc.*: This clause is omitted by Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn. Mubarrad has it, but with "nearest to God" for "most pleasing to God". An obvious ground for its omission would be that it is at first sight illogical. For what the judge has to compare are not different judgments in the same case, but cases for which the two Sources of Law provide with cases for which there appears to be no such provision. This is done by discovering what in Jewish law is called *haṣṣad ha-shōweh*, "the point of agreement," between them. It

may happen that the unforeseen case has points of agreement with various others, leading to different conclusions; in this event the judge has to use his conscience.

*If a man bring a claim in absence:* The editions of Jāhiz, Mubarrad, Māwardi, and Ibn Khaldūn add "or a proof", evidently a gloss, interpreting the words of the text as "if a man make a claim, asserting that there is evidence for it which cannot be immediately produced". At the end of the sentence these authorities add "for that will be the best way to dispel doubts and clear up obscurity". According to this, the rule will provide for a case not noticed in the foregoing law of procedure. If the plaintiff produce evidence he wins his case. If he produce no evidence, and the defendant decline an oath, he also wins. But there is the third possibility that the plaintiff may say he can produce evidence, yet not at once. It will be better in that case to give him a term by which to produce his evidence than to offer the defendant an oath. The Jews allowed thirty days' grace for this purpose.

Yet it is not clear why the failure to produce the evidence should lose the plaintiff his case.<sup>1</sup> Hence it seems possible that the matter dealt with is *default*; on which the law-books give some elaborate rules, and for which the word here used (*ghā'ib*) is the technical term. The construction is curious, but perhaps not too crabbed for Omar. The difference, then, between this case and the other would be that, if the defendant do not appear, the plaintiff is cast unless he produce evidence; for the defendant's absence is not to be regarded as equivalent to his refusing the oath. And indeed in the *Minhāj* it is stated that evidence is indispensable in the case of a claim against an absentee.

The third possibility, viz. that it is the object of the

<sup>1</sup> The Jews suggest that further delay will afford suspicion of forgery or suborning.

claim which is absent, is indeed discussed in the law-books, but clearly is not dealt with here.

*All Moslems are credible witnesses*: Jāḥiẓ, Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn read, "credible against each other." This would imply that they are not credible necessarily in each other's favour; and indeed the Kur'ān (ii, 134) exhorts them to witness against parents, relations, and even themselves. The question of members of other religions is not touched. Mr. Amedroz (loc. cit., p. 1139) has called attention to the difficulties in which this subject is involved. The qualification of witnesses in the later law-books are far stricter than those with which Omar is satisfied. The Kur'ānic phrase is *dhū 'adl* (v, 105, lxv, 2), which appears to mean "possessed of fairness", i.e. just and upright. On the retention or suppression of "against each other" the interpretation of the next clause will depend.

*Such as are suspected of partiality, etc.*: Mubarrad renders these words "one whose pedigree or clientship is suspect", i.e. one who is suspected of falsifying his pedigree. But the true rendering appears to be what has been given, and the law-books (e.g. the *Minhāj*, ed. van den Berg, iii, 404; ed. Sharbīnī, iv, 399) go into this question of prohibited degrees for the purpose of evidence very elaborately. The same question occupied the Jewish lawyers, whose rules on the subject of evidence are similar in several respects. In the *Minhāj* evidence is not allowed in favour of parent or child (to any degree), but is admitted against them; it is admitted in favour of husband or wife, and in favour of brothers or friends. It is not admitted in favour of a slave or freedman (*mukātib*), etc. The annotator on Jāḥiẓ takes the right view.

The reading of Mubarrad, Māwardī, and Ibn Khaldūn (*nasab* for *ḥarābah*) is somewhat in favour of Mubarrad's rendering, but the above considerations show that it is erroneous.

*God concerns Himself, etc.* : The readings here vary very considerably. Ibn Kūt. agrees with Mubarrad, except that the latter adds "and the oaths" after the word "evidence". The verb *dara'a* is used in the Kur'ān in the sense of averting punishment, "it shall avert punishment from her" (xxiv, 8); and there is a tradition in which the same word occurs, "avert penalties by doubts," i.e. suspicion (of the character of the witness) is sufficient to avert the penalty from the person accused. The true reading and interpretation are supplied by the words attributed to Omar by Bokhārī (ed. Kaṣṭalānī, iv, 377). "Now [since the Prophet's death] we only take you by your manifest actions; if a man make display of good [make a fair show], we trust him and favour him, and have nothing to do with his secret character; God deals with his secret character. Whereas if a man make display of evil, we neither trust nor believe him; even though he say that his secret character is good."<sup>1</sup> The word *bayyinah*, then, in this sentence means not, as above, "evidence," but "outward conduct" as opposed to *sarīrah*, "secret character." God, while Himself inquiring into the secret character of Moslems, is satisfied if you attend to their outward conduct, and regard any Moslem as trustworthy so long as he is not a notorious evil-liver. The word *bayyinah* is misunderstood by all save Ibn Kūt., and since the oath plays in law as important a rôle as evidence (which the word meant above), there are two theories as to the import of the sentence, "God saves you further trouble by evidence." Either it *includes* oaths, in which case there will be no harm in adding the word, as is done by Mubarrad; or it *excludes* oaths, and since the oath has been mentioned

انما نأخذكم الآن بما ظهر من أعمالكم فمن أظهر لنا خيراً أمناه  
وقربناه وليس إلينا من سريره شيء الله يجاسيه في سريره ومن أظهر  
لنا سوءاً لم نأمنه ولم نصدقه وإن قال إن سريره حسنة

above, a statement must be introduced to show that oaths are not now required; and this takes the form, "God has excused you from oaths," which Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn prefix to the clause. The Beyrūt editor and von Hammer both read *īmān*, "faith," for *aymān*, "oaths," and the latter boldly renders, "God is forgiving to the Believer." De Slane's suggestion, "God is the only judge who has no need of an oath," is equally impossible.

*Avoid fatigue, etc.*: The true reading seems here to have been preserved by Mubarrad.

*Display of annoyance*: The reading of Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn is "the expression of annoyance", or reproaching the litigants. The form of annoyance suggested by the word in the text is that produced by what offends the senses, e.g. incorrect speech (cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā*, i, 24, 4 a.f.) or evil odours (*Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 42, 1).

After this sentence Mubarrad inserts, *and irritation during the pleadings*, which adds nothing to the sense. Jāhīz similarly, "and irritation against the litigants." The copies vary very considerably in what follows. Mubarrad and Māwardī read "for by truth in the abodes of truth God magnifies the reward and bestows a 'good store [Māwardī 'name']"; but the Arabic seems clumsy if not incorrect. Ibn Khaldūn adds a word to improve the sense: "for by the *ascertainment* of truth in the abodes of truth," etc. This last reading is clearly interpolated; but there is little to be said for Mubarrad's reading either, which appears to be due to an objection felt to making the courts of justice themselves grant a right to a reward.

The last sentence is omitted by Ibn Khaldūn; it is also omitted by the Arabic Māwardī, but figures in the Persian translation. Mubarrad gives it in a form somewhat different from Ibn Kūtaibah's: "If a man's intention be sound and he turns towards himself [i.e. takes care of his

own conscience], God will look after his relations with other men; whereas whoso feigns before men what God knows him not to possess, shall be shamed by God (and what thinkest thou of the reward of others than God?) in His present provision and the stores of His mercy." The phrase *thawābi ghairi 'llāhi* seems unintelligible; the Persian translator quoted by Enger renders, "God shall shame him now, and what thinkest thou of the reward of God in the provision which He has promised out of the stores of His mercy?" But this is not convincing. Perhaps the original meant "shall shame him in this life, and how much more hereafter", and the form which the sentence assumes in Mubarrad's work is due to continuous interpolation. Jāhiz has, "If a man's intention be sincere in his relations with God, even against himself, God will provide for his relations with mankind."

The whole of the concluding sentence is perhaps rightly omitted by the Arabic Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn, since it should evidently have come after the words "leaves you to follow appearances" had it been part of the original document. For it is evidently intended to soften somewhat Omar's doctrine that no inquiry was to be made into the character of witnesses. If Providence takes care that the hypocrite is always unmasked, such inquiry is not so absolutely necessary as it would be if the unmasking were ordinarily left to the next world.

Māwardī offers two criticisms only on Omar's letter. One is that it contains no formal investiture. The other is the last point noticed, that it unreasonably limits the command of Sūrah xlix, 6, to weigh evidence, by taking too narrow a view of the meaning of the word *fāsiq*, "evil-doer," there employed. Māwardī thinks the objection may be got over by regarding this as a personal opinion of Omar.

Many equally grave objections occur to the European

reader. The assumption that all Moslem witnesses are credible involves the assumption that there will never be conflicting testimony; and the Judge is given no guidance for the case in which this occurs. Experts in legal matters will easily think of many more deficiencies.

Comparison between the various copies of this much-studied document suggests two reflections: one, the absolute untrustworthiness of oral tradition, even where only a few sentences have to be committed to the memory; the other, the difficulty of construing Arabic texts correctly.

## IX

### "ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES" IN ARABIC FROM A BODLEIAN MS.

By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

IF anything could make Sir Richard Burton turn in his grave, it would be to know that all the time he was having his unpleasantness with the authorities of the Bodleian, there reposed in that library an Arabic MS. containing the "Story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves". Ever since Professor Ethé made his catalogue of the additional Arabic MSS. in the Bodleian, the treasure was waiting to be lifted by anyone who should take the trouble to run over that catalogue in its still manuscript form. But it is plain that no student of the *Arabian Nights* had done so, until, in September of 1908, Professor Ethé's catalogue was most courteously put into my hands, and I discovered that the one of Galland's stories of which absolutely no Oriental trace had ever been found, and the possibility, even, of the existence of which, as an Oriental story, had been denied, had been lying in the Bodleian in Arabic since 1860. I had just returned from a vain search for MSS. of the *Nights* in Cairo, Syria, and Constantinople to make this find in Oxford.

The MS. is in certain ways so mysterious, and its provenance so uncertain, that a somewhat minute description is necessary. It is a small octavo numbered "MS Bodl. Orient. 633". On the back is a bookseller's mark, "Rue Richelieu | a Paris | Librairie A. Franck 390." From this Franck it was bought by the Bodleian in 1860 for 8s.; but there the trail at present stops. Twice (fol. 1a and fol. 112a) a stamp occurs (V.L.), of which I can make nothing. It contains two stories. On a fly

at the beginning is a Latin title of the first, *Historia Chalifæ | Haroun Ar-raschid, et | filie Khosrois, regis | Persarum*. On the next leaf, fol. 1a, is the same title in Arabic—

حكاية الخليفة هرون الرشيد | مع بنتكسرى على | التمام والكمال | تم

The story follows, and the Arabic title of *Ali Baba* is given on fol. 45a. *Ali Baba* extends to fol. 112a and closes the volume. The paper on which the two stories are written is different, but the hand, a very fine and legible one, is the same throughout, and is evidently modern. At the end the scribe gives his name as Yūḥannā ibn Yūsuf Wārisī (وارسى). Yūḥannā suggests a Christian, but the wording of the colophon is Muslim, or, at least, not specifically Christian. Wārisī, whether as *nisba* or as a family name after the fashion of Damascus, seems to be unknown. I have consulted Dr. Sarruf, the editor of the *Muqattam* and the *Muqataṭaf* and a Syrian by birth and education, and he has made wide inquiries, but with no result. Is it by chance a European name masquerading in Arabic? Yet that seems hardly likely.

We are, therefore, driven back upon internal evidence for any hypothesis of the origin of this form of *Ali Baba*. Of course, the important point is its relationship to Galland's French. Does it stand in the ancestry, or is it collateral to the ancestry of that version, or is it a descendant? It is unfortunate that there is no such direct evidence of date and place of MS. against the latter hypothesis as exists in the case of one of the two MSS. of *Aladdin*, but neither is there such evidence of French influence on its grammatical constructions, as exists in the case of the other *Aladdin* MS. (Zotenberg, *Histoire d' 'Alā al-Dīn*, pp. 41 ff.). The only suspicious construction which I have noted is خوفنا لا (note 2, p. 346), which may connect with "de peur que . . . ne". But خوفنا من and خوفنا ان also occur.

There remains, however, another criterion. Although the honours in story-telling are pretty equally divided between the author of the Arabic *Aladdin* and Galland, yet there cannot be much question that Galland was a greater literary artist than the author of at least this form of *Ali Baba*. Is there anything, then, in this text that Galland would have found to his purpose and yet did not use? Or is there anything in Galland which an Arabic translator would surely have utilized? In dealing with a man like Galland and of Galland's methods, I hesitate to be dogmatic about the first question, but I have no doubt that there are points in Galland's version which even the most obtuse translator would not have neglected. Let anyone read the two accounts of how the oil merchant was taken in by Ali Baba, and of the night of terror which followed. In spite of the wordiness of the Arabic, Galland has all the advantage of picturesque detail. Morgiane needs the light to skim Ali Baba's pot of broth; she has to work under great pressure of haste; she sits and reflects that the robber captain cannot escape by the house door as it is double-locked. Of course, there are also additional details in the Arabic, but none, I think, of this picturesqueness. And, further, I am by no means sure that it was this text or one like it that lay before Galland.

The story is written in a pseudo-grammatical Arabic, with mistakes from time to time, and appearances of colloquial words. Fine writing was evidently an object, even to the use of purple patches of rhetoric more befitting a *maqāma*. A wide vocabulary is displayed and rhyming synonyms are scattered regardless of space. Yet the basis is evidently not one of the conventional tales of the rhetoricians, but a folk-tale with a widespread *Märchen* behind it. The most accessible European form of that *Märchen* is *Simeliberg*, No. 142 of Grimm's *Kinder und Haus-Märchen* (Reclam ed., vol. ii, pp. 222 ff.; other forms

and note on name in vol. iii, pp. 241 and 359). But no "Syrian Munshi", as Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole suggests (*Lane's Arabian Nights*, Bohn's Standard Library, vol. iv, pp. 412 f.), could have produced our *Ali Baba* from anything like the Grimm *Märchen*. The *Märchen* run together, it is true, but very much farther back, and we have only another illustration of the unity in that type of story which Artin, Spitta, and Stumme, to mention three only, have so fully demonstrated. It may, however, be a point of importance that the European analogues in this case seem to be German and Slavonic rather than Italian. It would be interesting to discover whether any similar story occurs in Turkish. *Baba*, in Galland also of the cobbler, points in the same direction. "Der arme und der reiche Bruder" in Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen* (Leiden, 1905), pp. 231 ff., is evidently of the same stock, but has been considerably modified. *Simeliberg* is much nearer *Ali Baba*.<sup>1</sup>

My hypothesis, then, is that there existed in Syrian Arabic a folk-tale of *Ali Baba*, presumably with Turkish and Slavonic affiliations. This was taken by the redactor of our recension and worked over into what he considered elegant form and literary Arabic. But modern literary idioms—I mean such as occur in present-day *Nahwī*—coloured his style, and even some absolutely colloquial expressions remained unobserved. To these last I have drawn attention in the notes, and for the first Dozy will in general be found a sufficient guide. Of this recension, finally, I consider that the Bodleian MS. is a generally faithful representative.

But from what did Galland translate? Had he the

<sup>1</sup> I may leave in the hazard of a conjectural foot-note my guess that this Turkish-Slavonic-German *Märchen* extended only to the death of the envious brother. The story of the attempted revenge of the robbers and of their destruction is of other origin, and its analogues are South European. For it see Clouston's notes on the story in vol. iii of Burton's *Additional Nights*. Did the two stories meet in Syria?

story in a written form? If so, in a form of what kind? It is certain from Galland's diary (*Zotenberg*, pp. 28 ff.) that various stories were first related to him and thereafter given to him in writing by the Maronite of Aleppo, Hanna Diab, who had been brought to France by Paul Lucas, the traveller. On March 25, 1709, Hanna tells Galland some stories, and promises to put them in writing for him. Thereafter come various entries as to the telling of stories. On November 3, 1710, Galland enters in his diary that he has just finished reading the story of *Aladdin*, which had been written for him in Arabic more than a year previously by Hanna. From the close agreement of Galland's translation with the two manuscripts of *Aladdin* found by Zotenberg, it is plain that Hanna did not make his copy from memory. Also, this copy, which he gave to Galland, has not yet been found. But on May 27, 1709, Galland had inserted in his diary a brief abstract of *Ali Baba*. Unfortunately Zotenberg quotes a few lines only, but these are sufficient to show that Galland did not expand his story from that abstract. These are "Les Finesses de Morgiane ou les quarantes voleurs exterminiez par l'adresse d'une esclave. Dans une ville de la Perse, vers les confins des Indes, il y avoit deux frères, l'un fort riche, . . ." Here, apparently, there is no mention of how Cassim had become rich through his wife inheriting wealth after marriage. On another side, the Bodleian Arabic text, with less probability, makes Cassim marry a rich woman, and thus shows that its form of the story is not dependent upon Galland. Further, it was only at the end of August, 1711, two years and three months after Hanna's recital, that Galland began to put in shape the story of *Ali Baba*. I can hardly believe, then, that writing after so long a time, and possessing only the abstract in his diary, he could have produced the existing close agreement in the skeleton of the tale between his rendering and this Arabic text.

Zotenberg, it is true, thought otherwise (p. 34), apparently on the basis of Galland's entry of August 24, but that entry does not necessarily involve that he did not also possess a written text. I regard it as probable, then, that there lay before him a text of this story, copied by Hanna. Whether that text was in simple language, like that published by Zotenberg of *Aluddin*, or had been rhetorically bedevilled like this Bodleian text of *Ali Baba*, cannot be certainly determined.

In editing, I have followed the MS. as closely as possible, endeavouring only to clear away evident surface errors and to reproduce correctly the final "learned" recension. To get back to the colloquial lying behind was evidently impossible, and, on the other hand, it was not my business to make this redactor write good Arabic. The varying orthography of *hemza* I have followed, and also the treatment of verbs final *wāw* and *yā*. Even the confusion of ز and ذ, ت and س I have respected, drawing the line, however, at such a pure transcriptional fantasy as البشوا for البسوا. لم دخل, too, I have left (cf. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, § 545) and all the idioms of أما. The feminine ة I have uniformly dotted; the redactor evidently prided himself on his *i'rāb*. All these changes, except the ة and a few perfectly purposeless slips, are recorded in the notes.

حكاية على بابا مع اللصوص الأربعين  
والجارية مرجانة على التمام  
والكمال والحمد لله  
وحده

[f. 46a] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
حكى والله أعلم في غيبه واحكم فيما مضى وتقدم من

احاديث الامم الماضية والشعوب الخالية انه كان في غابر الزمان  
وسالف العصر والاولان في مدينة من مدن خرمان العجم رجلا  
اخوان شقيقان احدهما يسمى قاسم والثاني يسمى على بابا وكان  
قد توفي ابوهما وما خلف لهم الا تركة حقيرة ومستروكات غير غزيرة  
فاقسما ما خلف لهما ابوهما ولو كان قليلاً بالحد والانصاف من غير  
انزاع ولا خلاف ثم بعد اقتسامهما ميراث والدهما تزوج قاسم  
بامرأة غنية صاحبة املاك وبساتين وكروم وداكين مشحونة  
بالبضائع الفاخرة والامثلة المشتمة الزاخرة فبدأ [f. 46b] ياخذ  
ويعطى ويبيع وبشترى فأتسعت حاله وساعدته المقادير فصار له  
صيت بين التجار ومنزلة بين اهل اليسر والافتخار واما على بابا فقد  
تزوج بنت ذات فاقة لا تملك درهماً ولا ديناراً ولا بيوتاً ولا عقاراً  
ففق في مدة يسيرة ما كان اورثه<sup>1</sup> من ابيه فاستولى عليه بعد  
ذلك الضيق مع غمومه والفقر مع شدته وهوموه فاحتار في امره  
وعجز عن الحيلة في تحصيل قوته ومعيشته وكان عالماً لبيباً مثقفاً  
اديباً فانشد يقول هذه الابيات<sup>2</sup> [من المتقارب]

يقولون لي انت بين الورى	بعلمك كاللييلة المقمرة
فقلت دعونى من قولكم	[f. 47a] فلا علم الا مع المقدره
فلورهنونى وعلمى معى	وكل الدفاتر والمحبرة
على قوت يوم لژد الرهان	وارموا لى القصة والمحبرة

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. Is the prefixed *a* the Syrian colloquialism (Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 130 f.) or simply a transcriptional error?

<sup>2</sup> These verses are given exactly as in the MS., except that there the *ð* at the end of lines 1-3 is dotted. Line 4b is evidently corrupt. Cf. its different readings in the first Bulaq edition of the *Nights*, i, 51, *Bulaq II*, i, 71, *Calcutta II*, i, 141, and Salhānī's Beyrout edition, i, 118. None of these versions is convincing. The lines do not occur in *Calcutta I*, *Breslau*, or the Galland MS.

فاما الفقير وحال الفقير      وعيش الفقير فما اكدره  
 ففي الصيف يعجز عن قوته      وفي البرد يدفئ على مجمره  
 تقوم عليه كلاب الطريق      وكل ليئيم بدا ينهره  
 اذا ما اشكى حاله لامرء      فما في البرية من يعذره  
 اذا كان هذا حياة الفقير      فاصلح ما كان في المقبرة

[f. 47b] فلما فرغ من انشاده قعد يفكر في حاله والى ماذا يركن  
 مأله ويدبر في امر معيشته وفي الحيلة على بحصيل قوته وقال في  
 نفسه اذا اشتريت بما تبقى عندي من الدراهم فاسأ وحميراً  
 وصعدت بهم الى الجبل وقطعت من حطبه ونزلت ابيعه في سوق  
 المدينة لا بُدَّ ان يحصل لى بثمنه ما يزيل كربتى وما انفق على  
 عيلتى فاستصوب ذلك الراى وسعى في شرى الحمير والفاس واصبح  
 متوجهاً الى الجبل مع ثلاثة حمير كل حمار قدر البغل ثم قضى  
 نهارة في قطع الحطب وربط الحمول فلما امسسى عليه الوقت  
 حمل حميره ونزل بهم قاصد المدينة الى ان انتهى الى السوق  
 فباع فيه الحطب فتساعدا بثمنه على حاله ونفق على عياله  
 [f. 48a] وانفرج كربه واتسع مرجه ثم حمد الله واثنى عليه وبات  
 مسرور القلب قريراً العين مطمئناً النفس فلما اصبح الصباح قام وعاد  
 الى الجبل وفعل كما فعل بالامس وجعل ذلك دابه كل يوم يصبح  
 متوجهاً الى الجبل ويمسى راجعاً في سوق المدينة يبيع حطبه  
 وينفق بثمنه على عياله ونظر من هذه الصنعة البركة وما زال على  
 هذه الحالة الى يوم من بعض الايام بينما هو واقف يحطّب في  
 الجبل ان راى غباراً قد تار حتى سد الاقطار فانكشف الغبار وبان من  
 محته عدة فرسان كالليوث العوابس وهم غارقون في السلاح لابسون  
 الدروع متقلدون بالسيوف معتقلون بالرماح ومتكبرون القيسان فحاف

[f. 48b] منهم على بابا وانزعج وارتعب وعمد الى شجرة مرتفعة وتسلق عليها واختفى بين اغصانها محترساً منهم ظاناً انهم لصوص فتوارى خلف الاغصان المورقة وصوب نحوهم الحندق قال الراوى لهذا الكلام العجيب والامر المطرب الغريب فلما صعد على بابا على الشجرة وميز الفرسان بعين الفراسة تحنق انهم لصوص قطاع الطرق فعدهم وجددهم اربعين شخصاً كل واحد منهم راكب جواداً من احسن الخيل فازداد فزعه وكثر جزعه وارتعدت فرايصه ونشف ريقه وعمى عن طريقه ثم وقفت الفرسان وترجأت عن خيولهم وعلّقوا عليها بمخالى الشعير وكل واحد منهم عمد الى خرج كان مربوطاً على ظهر جواده [f. 49a] وحلّه وحمله على عاتقه كل ذلك وعلى بابا يتلمح فيهم وينظر اليهم من فوق الشجرة ثم ان قايد اللصوص مشى امام القوم وقصد بهم ركن الجبل ووقف على باب صغير من الفولاذ فى محل كثير العشب حتى ان الباب ما كان يبان من كثرة العوسج والشوك وكان غفل عنه على بابا ولا نظره قط ولا عشر فيه فلما وقفت اللصوص عند باب الفولاذ قال قايدهم باعلا صوته يا سمسم افتح بابك ففى حال نطقه هذه الكلمات انفتح الباب ودخل القايد ومن خلفه اللصوص حاملين الخرجة فتعجب على بابا من امرهم وغلب على ظمّه ان كل خرج ملان من الفضة البيضاء والذهب الاصفر المنقوش وكان الامر كذلك لان هؤلاء [f. 49b] السراق كانوا يقطعون الطرقات ويشنون الغارات على القرى والبلاد ويظلمون العباد وكلما ينهبون قافلة او يغارون على قرية يحملون السلب الى هذا المكان المنقطع المختفى البعيد عن الاعين ثم ان على بابا ما زال فوق الشجرة مختفياً ساكتاً عديم الحركة اسكن شاخصاً بصرة فى اللصوص وراقباً افعالهم حتى راهم خارجين

بالخرجة الفوارغ والقاييد امامهم فربطوها كما كانت على ظهور  
 الخيل وبعد ما لجموها ركبوا عليها وساروا طالبين الجهة التي اجوا<sup>1</sup>  
 منها وما زالوا يمعنون في السبر حتى بعدوا وغابوا عن العيون هذا  
 وعلى بابا ساكت من خوفه لا يتحرك ولا يتنفس وما نزل من  
 فوق الشجرة الا لما بعدوا وغابوا [f. 50a] عن بصره قال الراوى  
 فلما امن شرهم على بابا وسكن روعه واطمان نزل من على الشجرة  
 ودنا من الباب الصغرووقف مناملاً فمه وقال في نفسه اذا قلت يا  
 سمسم افتح بابك كما فعل قاييد السراق هل يفتح الباب ام لا  
 فعند ذلك نعدم ويطى به هذه الكلمات واذا بالباب قد انفتح  
 وسبب ذلك ان هذا المكان كان من صنع الجان الساردين وهو  
 مرصود مطلسم بالطلسمات العظيمة ولقطة با سمسم افتح بابك هي  
 كانت السر المعين لفك الطلسم وفتح الباب ثم ان على بابا لما  
 عاين الباب مفتوح دخل منه فما لحنى يخطى العتبة الا والباب  
 انقفل عليه فانزعج من ذلك وارنعب وقال [f. 50b] كلمة لا  
 يخجل فايها لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم نم لما تذكر لقطة  
 يا سمسم افتح بابك سكن ما كان به من الرعب والخوف وقال لا  
 يعننى فقل الباب حيث ابنى عالم بسر فتحة سم مشى فلما وهو  
 يطن ان المحل مظلم فعجب غاية العجب لما وجدده فاعة رحبة مضبة  
 بالرخام مبنية مشددة الاركان ظريفه البنان مخزون فيها جمع ما  
 تستهى النفس من المآكل<sup>2</sup> والمشارب فمنها عبر الى القاعة

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a Syrian colloquialism for حاورا. Cf. Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 130, 147, and Hartmann in Meyer's *Arabischer Sprach-führer*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ماءكل; according to the usage of the MS. this might mean either أكل or as I have printed above.

الثانية اكبر واوسع من الاولى فوجد فيها من الاموال والعجايب  
 والتحف والغرائب ما يبهت منها الناظرون ويكل عن وصفها  
 الواصفون مجموع فيها سبايك الذهب العيين وغيرها من لحيين  
 ودنانير منقودة [f. 51a] ودرهم معدودة وكل ذلك بالكيمان  
 كالرمال والحصى لا يمكن فيه العد والاحصى ثم بعد ما دارف هذه  
 القاعة العجيبة ظهر له باب اخر دخل منه الى قاعة، ثالثة ابهج  
 واظرف من الثانية تحوى ما فى الاقطار والبلاد من اجود ثياب العباد  
 يوجد فيها التفاصيل القطنية الغالية الزاخرة وملابس الحرير والديماج  
 الفاخرة فما من صنف قماش الا وهو موضوع فى هذا المحل سوى ان  
 كان من الاقاليم الشامية او من اقصى بلاد افريقية حتى من الصين  
 والسند ومن النوبة والهند ثم اقبل على قاعة المعادن والاحجار وهى  
 اعظمها واعجبها لانها كانت تحوز من الدر والجوهر ما لا  
 يضبط ولا يحصى [f. 51b] سوى ان كان ياقوت او زمرد  
 وفيروزج او زبرجد اما<sup>1</sup> اللؤلؤ كان فيه بالكيمان ويبرى العقيق  
 بجانب المرجان ثم منها دخل الى قاعة العطر والبخور والطيب  
 وهى اخر القاعات فوجد فيها من هذا الفن كن جنس ظريف  
 وكل نوع لطيف فكانت رائحة العود والمسك فايحة وبهجة العنبر  
 والزبد لايحة ونشرة العطر والند عابقة وطيبة الطيب والزعفران فايقة  
 والصندل مطروح كحطب الوقود والمندل متروك كالعود المفقود  
 فاندesh على بابا من روية هذه الاموال والدخاير<sup>2</sup> وتاد فكرة وحاد

<sup>1</sup> أما in this MS. is used in three ways: classically with ف; in sense "as for" but without ف; colloquially in sense "but". According to Hartmann in Meyer's *Arabischer Sprachführer* (pp. 150, 289), this would be a sign of Syrian origin, but Spiro (*Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*) gives *amma* as in use with that sense.

<sup>2</sup> So for دخاير throughout.

لله فوقف ملياً باهتاً ذاهلاً ثم تقدم يتأملها بالتدقيق فتارة بين الدرّ يقلب درة يتيمة [f. 52a] وتارة بين الجواهر يميّز جوهرة كريمة ومرة يفرد القطعة الديباج وأخرى يعجبها الذهب الوهاج وساعة يمر بين التفاصيل الأبريسم الناعم الرطيب وساعة يستنشق روايح العود والطيب ثم افتران هذه اللصوص ولو كانوا داموا سنين عديدة وإيام مديدة في جمع هذه الأموال والعجايب ما قدروا يدخرون جزء منها وإن لا بدّ هذا الكنز له وجود قبل أن اللصوص يعترضوا فيه وإن على كل حال تملّكهم إياه ليس على وجه شرعى ولا على طريق العدل وإن اذا اغتنم الفرصة وأخذ القليل من هذا المال الغزير لا يقع عليه اثم ولا يعتريه لوم وثانياً بحيث أن المال كثير [f. 52b] ولا يمكنهم فيه العد والاحصى فلا يشعرون بما يبوخذ منه ولا يدرون به فحينئذ اتفق رأيهم على أن يأخذوا ما تيسر من هذا الذهب المطروح وبدأ ينقل أكياس الدنانير من داخل الكنز إلى خارجه وكل ما أراد الدخول والخروج يقول يا سمسّم افتح بابك فينفتح الباب ثم بعد ما فرغ من نقل المال حمل حميرة وسترا كياس الذهب بشى قليل من الحطب وساق دوابه حتى وصل إلى المدينة وقصد منزله وهو مسرور مجبور المخاطر قال الراوى ثم أن على بابا لما دخل بيته غلق عليه الباب احترازاً من هجوم الناس وبعد ما ربط حميرة في الاصطبل وعلق عليها أخذ كيساً وصعد به إلى عند زوجته [f. 53a] ووضعه بين يديها ثم نزل وحضر بغيره وما زال يحمل كيساً بعد كيس إلى أن نقل الجميع وزوجته باهتة متعجبة من فعله فلما لمست كيس منهم وحسّت بخشونة الدنانير أصفر لوناً وتغيّر كونها لظنّها أن بعلمها سرق هذا المال الغزير فقالت له ما فعلت يا ميسوم ليس لنا في الحرام من حاجة

ولا في اموال الناس من رغبة اما انا فكنت قانعة بما قسم الله لي  
وراضية بفقرى وشاكرة بما رزقنى اياه ولا التفت الى ما في ايدي  
الناس ولا اريد الحرام فقال لها يا امرأة طيبي نفسا وقترى عيونا  
حاشا وكلا ان يمدى تلمس الحرام اما هذا المال وجدته في كنز  
فانتهزت الفرصة [f. 53b] واخذته وجبته ثم ان حكى لها على ما  
جرى له مع اللصوص من اوله الى اخره وليس في الاعادة افادة ثم  
لما فرغ من حديثه اوصاها على صون اللسان وكتمان السر فلمما  
سمعت منه ذلك تعجبت غاية التعجب وسكن خوفها وانشرح  
صدرها وفرحت فرحا عظيما ثم ان فرغ على بابا الا كياس في  
وسط المحل فصار الذهب كوماً فبهتت المجارية واستكرته وشرعت  
في عدّ الدنانير فقال لها زوجها ويلك ما تحسنين تعديهم ولا في  
يومين وهذا شئ لا فائدة فيه ولا يلزم فعله في هذا الوقت اما  
الصواب عندى اننا نحفر لهم حفرة وندفنهم فيها خوفاً من اظهار  
امرنا وافشى سترنا [f. 54a] فقالت له ان كان مالك غرض في عدهم  
لا بد من كيلهم لنعلم بالتقريب قدرهم فقال لها افعلنى ما بدا لك  
ولكن اخشى ان يدروا الناس بحالنا وان ينكشف سترنا فنندم  
حيث لا ينفع الندم فما التفتت الى كلامه ولا اكثرت به بل  
خرجت لتستعير كيلة لان اله الكيل ما كان موجود عندها من  
فقرها وضعف حالها فذهبت الى سلفتها زوجة قاسم وطلبت منها  
كيلة فقالت لها سلفتها حباً وكرامة ثم لما قامت لتحصرها لها قالت  
في نفسها زوجة على بابا فقيرة وما لها عادة تكيل فيا هل ترى ايش  
عندها اليوم من المحبوب حتى احتاجت الى الكيلة فحبت تطلع  
على ذلك وتعرف حقيقته فوضعت بعض [f. 54b] شمع في  
اسفل الكيلة ليلصق فيه الحب المكيول ثم اعطتها لها فاخذتها

زوجة على بابا وشكرت سلفتها على ما صنعت من المعروف وعادت سرعة وعجلة الى منزلها فلما استقرت فيه تعدت تكيل الذهب فوجدته عشر كيلات فرحت بذلك واخبرت به زوجها فهو في اثنا ذلك كان حفر حفرة واسعة فدفن فيها الذهب وردّ التراب عليها ثم بادرت زوجة على بابا في رجوع الكيلة لسلفتها هذا ما جرى لهؤلاء واما زوجة قاسم لما انصرفت عنها زوجة علي بابا قلمت الكيلة فرات ديناراً قد كان التصق في الشمع فاستغربت ذلك لعلمها بفقر علي بابا وقعدت ساعة [f. 55a] وهى في حيرة ثم تحققت ان الشى المكيول هو ذهب عين وقالت على بابا مدعى الفقرو هو يكيل الذهب بالكيل فمن اين له هذه السعادة وكيف ظفر بهذا المال الغزير فدخل في قلبها الحسد واحرق فوادها وقعدت في انتظار زوجها وهى في اسوء حال اما قاسم بعلمها كان عادته يبادر كل يوم الى حنوته ويستقيم فيه للمساء وهو مشغول في البيع والشرى والاخذ والعطى فاستبطته<sup>1</sup> زوجته في ذلك اليوم لشدة ما اصابها من الهم والحسد قاتلها ثم امسا امسا الوقت وجنّ الليل قفل قاسم حنوته وقصد بيته فلما دخلها راي زوجته وهى قاعدة عبوسة كئيبة باكية العين حزينة [f. 55b] القلب وكان يحبها محبة شديدة فقال لها ما اصابك يا قرّة عيني ويا ثمرة فوادى وما سبب حزنك وبكائك<sup>2</sup> فقالت له ما انت الا مقتصر الحميلة قليل المروة يا ليتنى كنت تزوجت باخيكت لانه ولو اظهر الفقر وابدا الفاقة وادعى المسكنة عنده مال ما يعلم قدره الا الله وما يحصى الا بالكيل اما انت المدعى النعمة والسعادة المفآخر بالغنى

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for فاستبطأته.

<sup>2</sup> MS. وبكايكى but evidently a slip of the scribe, of no significance.

ما انت الا فقير في الحقيقة نظرًا لاختيك لانك تعدد دنانيرك  
 بالواحد واستغنعت بالقليل وتركت له الكثير ثم حكى له على  
 ما جرى لها مع زوجة على بابا وكيف استعارت منها الكيلة وكيف  
 وضعت في قعرها بعض شمع وكيف التصق فيه الدينار فلما سمع  
 [f. 56a] قاسم كلام زوجته وعانين الدينار الذي التصق في اسفل الكيلة  
 تحقق بالسعادة اخيه فما فرح من ذلك بل تمكن الحسد من  
 قلبه ونوى له السوء لانه كان حسود كسود لييم بخيل فبات تلاكث  
 الليلة مع زوجته وهما في اشد حال من عظيم الغم واليم الهم ومما  
 قفل لهما جفنة ولا عمن ولا لحقهما سنة ولا نوم بل ارقا وقلقنا طول  
 ليلتهما الى ان اصبح الله بالصباح وانما بنورة ولاح فلما صلى الصبح  
 قاسم قام ومضى الى عند اخيه ودخل عليه في بيته على حين  
 غفلة فلما ابصره على بابا ترحب به واستقبله باحسن استقبال  
 واطهر له الفرح والبشاشة واجلسه في صدر المكان فلما استقر في  
 الجلوس قال له قاسم [f. 56b] لماذا يا اخي تظهر الفقر والمسكنة  
 وتحت يدك اموال لا ناكلها<sup>1</sup> النيران فما سبب بخلك وعيشتك  
 الرذلة مع سعة الرزق والقدرة على الإنفاق الزايد فما فائدة المال اذا  
 ما استنفع به الانسان اما تعلم ان البخل محسوب في المساوي  
 والرذائل ومعدود بين الطبايع اللئيمة الذميمة فقال له اخوه يا ليتني  
 كنت كما ذكرت واما انا فقير على حالي ولست املك من  
 المال سوى حميرى وفاسى واما كلامك هذا استغربته ولا عرفت  
 له موجب ولا افهمه قط فقال له قاسم مكرك وكذبك ما ينفعك  
 الا ولا تستطيع تخادعنى لان ظهر امرك وشاع ما كنت [f. 57a]  
 تخفيه من حالك ثم اراه الدينار الذي التصق في الشمع وقال له

<sup>1</sup> تاكها. MS.

هذا ما وجدناه في الكيلة التي استعرتموها مننا<sup>1</sup> ولولا كثرة مالكم ما احتجتم اليها ولا كنتم تكيلوا الذهب بالكيل فعند ذلك علم على بابا ان سبب كشف ستره واطهار امره هو قلة عقل زوجته السسى ارادت كيل الذهب وانه اخطى لما طوعها في ذلك لكن اى جواد لا يكبو واى مهتد لا ينبو وفهم ان لا يمكنه جبر ما انفرط منه الا باظهار سره وان الصواب عدم الكتمان واطلاع اخيه على قضيته وان على كل حال بحيث ان المال كثير ويزيد على تقدير الاوهام والظنون فلا ينقص نصيبه منه اذا قسمه مع اخيه وشاركه [f. 57b] فيه وان لا يقدروا يفتنوه ولو عاشوا من العمر مائة سنة واخذوا منه نفقتهم اليومية ثم على موجب هذا الراى اخبر اخاه بقصة اللصوص واحكى له على ما جرى له معهم وكيف دخل الكنز ونقل منه جملة من المال وكل ما اراده من المعادن والتماش ثم قال له يا اخى كلما جبته يكون بينى وبينك مشاركة نقسمه بالسوية وان اردت اكسر من ذلك احضره بين يديك لان مفتاح الكنز معى اعبر فيه واخرج منه على مرادى من غير عارض ولا مانع فقال له قاسم هذا قسم لا ارضى به اما مقصودى تدلنى على محل الكنز وتطلعنى على سر فاتحه لانك شوقتنى فيه واريد [f. 58a] رويته وكما دخلته انت واخذت منه مهما شئت مرادى اذهب اليه واشاهد ما فيه واخذ منه ما يعجبني وان ما وافقتنى على ما ارومه اشتكيتك الى عامل المدينة واطلعت على امرك ويحصل لك منه ما تكره فلما سمع منه على بابا هذا الكلام قال له لاي شىء تهتدنى بالعامل انا لا اخالفتك في امر واعلمك ما تريد معرفته وانما توقيفى كان

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. ; a colloquialism for مثلاً. Cf. Willmore's *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, p. 103, *miniina*.

بسبب اللصوص خوفًا من اذيتهم لك اما دخولك للكنز فلا يضرني ولا ينفعني وخذ منه كلما يعجبك لانك وان عتلت لا تقدر على نقل جميع ما يحويه والذي تبقى لا يزال اكثر من الذى تاخذه باضعاف مضاعفة ثم دله على طريق الجبل ومحل الكنز وعلمه لفظة [f. 58b] يا سمسم افتح بابك وقال له احفظ هذه الكلمات جيد الحفظ واحذر ان تنساها لان اخاف عليك من غدر اللصوص ومن عواقب هذا الامر قال الراوى فلما عرف محل الكنز ووقف على طريق الوصول اليه وحفظ الالفاظ الضرورية انصرف قاسم عن اخيه فرحان غير ملتفت الى تحذيرد وغير مكترث بكلامه ثم عاد الى منزله طليق الوجه ظاهر السرور وحكى لزوجته ما حصل له مع على بابا وبعد ذلك قال لها فى غداة غد ان شاء الله اتوجه الى الجبل واعدود اليك بمال يزيد عن الذى اتى به اخى لان معاتبتك اضجرتنى وقلقتنى ومقصودى افعل شيئًا يكسبني رضاك ثم جهز عشر بغلات ووضع على [f. 59a] كل بغلة صندوقين فوارغ وجعل على كل بغلة ما يلزم من الة واحمال وبات على نية التوجه الى الكنز والاستيلاء على ما يحويه من الاموال والدخاير<sup>1</sup> من غير ما يشارك فيها اخاه فلما برق الفجر ولاح الصباح قام اصلح بغاله وساقهم قدامه قاصدًا الجبل الى ان انتهى اليه فلما وصل استدل بالامايير التى وصفها له اخوه على وجود الباب وما زال يفتش عليه الى ان ظهر له فى ركن الجبل بين العشب والنبات فلما رآه بادر بقول يا سمسم افتح بابك واذا بالباب قد انفتح قدامه فاستعجب من ذلك غاية العجب وعبر الكنز بسرعة وعجلة طمعًا فى اخذ المال ثم بعد ما خطى العتبة [f. 59b] انقل الباب عليه كعادته فته

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for والذخاير .

قاسم في القاعة الاولى ومنها انتهى الى الثانية والثالثة وما زال ينتقل من قاعة الى قاعة حتى متر على القاعات كلها فبهت مما رأى من العجايب واندھش مما وجد من الغرائب وكاد يطير عقله من الفرح وطمع في اخذ المال باجمعه فبعد ما شق يمينًا ويسارًا وقلب ساعة ما اراد من الدراهم والمتاع رام الذهب فاخذ كيس ذهب وحمله على عاتقه وتقدم به نحو الباب واراد ينطق بالالفاظ الضرورية لفتح الباب اعنى يقول يا سمسم افتح بابك فلم تج على لسانه وسهى عنها بالكلية فقعد يتذكرها فما كانت تخطر بباله ولا تصورت في فكره بل نساها مطلقًا فقال يا شعيرة [f. 60a] افتح بابك فلم يفتح الباب ثم قال يا حنطة افتح بابك فما تحرك الباب ثم قال يا حمص افتح بابك فما برح الباب مغلقًا على حاله وما زال يذكر حبًا بعد حب الى ان ذكر جميع اسماء المحبوب ولفظة يا سمسم افتح بابك غايمة عن ذهنه فلما تحقق ذلك ورأى ان ما افاده شيئًا من ذكر اسماء اصناف المحبوب جميعها رمى الذهب من على مناكبه وقعد يتذكر ما هو المحب الذى دله اخوه على اسمه فما كان يخطر بباله ابداً فمكث مليًا وهو في غاية القلق والعنا كل ذلك وما امكن ان هذا الاسم يتصور في فكره فبدى يتأسف ويتألم وندم على ما فعل حيث ما ينفعه الندم وقال [f. 60b] يا ليتنى استقنعت بما اعرض على اخى وتركت الطمع الذى هو الآن سبب هلاكى وبقي يلطم على وجهه وينتف لحيته ويمزق ثيابه وينثر التراب على راسه ويبكى بالدموع الغزيرة وتارة يصرخ وينوح باعلا الاصوات وتارة يبكى وهو ساكت كئيب فطالت عليه الساعات وهو في هذه الحالة وترادفت الاوقات وكل دقيقة مضت عليه يراها بمقام دهر وكلما طال قعوده في الكنز وكلما زاد

فزرعه وخوفه الى ان ايس من اللجاة وقال انا هالك لا محالة ولا  
سبيل الى الخلاص من هذا السجن الضيق هذا ما كان من امره واما  
ما كان من امر اللصوص انهم عشروا بقافلة فيها تجار ببضائعهم فنهبوها  
[f. 61a] وغنموا اموالاً عظيمة فعند ذلك طلبوا الكسز ليضربوا  
فيه السلب كما كانت عادتهم فلما دنوا منه اشرفوا على  
البغال وهم واقفون بالصناديق فتوسسوا منهم وراهم امرهم فحملوا  
عليهم حملة الرجل الواحد فشردت البغال وتبددت في الجبل فما  
التفتوا لها اللصوص بل وقفوا خيولهم وترجلوا عنها وحردوا سيوفهم  
حذرًا من اصحاب البغال متوهمون انهم كثيرون فلما لم يروا احداً  
خارج الكنز دنوا من بابه اما قاسم لما سمع دبدبة الخيل وصوت  
الرجال صغلاهم فتيقن انهم السراق الذين اخبره اخود عنهم فرجا  
اللاجاة ورام الفرار وتوارى خلف الباب [f. 61b] مستخضراً للهروب  
فتقدم قايد اللصوص وقال يا سمس افتح بابك واذا بالباب قد  
انفتح فعند ذلك هجم قاسم من الدمار هارباً وللجاة طالباً وعند  
هجمته عثر في القايد فاسقطه في الارض وصار يركض بين اللصوص  
فانفلت من الاول والثاني والثالث لكن كاسوا اربعون رجلاً فما قدر  
ينفذ من الكل فلمحقه رجل منهم وطعنه طعنة في صدره خرج السنان  
يلمع من ظهره وقضى محبه هذا جزا من استولى عليه الطمع ونوى  
لاخوانه الغدر والخيانة ثم ان اللصوص لما دخلوا الكنز وبان لهم ما  
أُخذ منه غضبوا غضباً شديداً وغلب على ظنهم ان قاسم المقتول هو  
غريمهم وانه هو الذى اخذ ما نقص من اموالهم لكن [f. 62a]  
احتاروا كيف كان وصوله الى هذا المكان المجهول المنقطع المخفى  
عن الاعين وكيف علم سرفتح الباب وما يدرى به غيرهم الا الله  
سبحانه وتعالى فلما راوه مرمرى مقتول عديم الحركة فرحوا

واطمأّنوا<sup>1</sup> لظنهم أن ما عاد يرجع غيرد الى دخول الكنز وقالوا الحمد لله الذى اراحنا من هذا الملعون ثم لاجل ان ينكلوا به غيره ويخوفوه قطعوا جسده اربع قطع وعلقوها خلف الباب لتكون عبرة لكل من تجاسر على الدخول فى هذا المكان فبعد ذلك خرجوا وانغلق الباب كما كان فركبوا خيولهم وانصرفوا الى حال سبيلهم هذا ما كان من امر هؤلاء واما ما كان من امر زوجة قاسم [f. 62b] انها قعدت طول النهار فى انتظاره وهى متعشمة بقضاء حاجتها ومتمامة باحضار ما تغويه من الدنيا ومستحضرة للمس الدنانير والفليسات فلما امسا الوقت وابطى عليها فلقت ومضت الى عند على بابا واخبرته بان بعلمها توجه للجبل من الصبح وانه لهذا الوقت لم رجع وانها خائفة ان يكون تعرض له عارض او اصابه مصيبة فطمئنها على بابا وقال لها لا تهنئى لان غيابه لهذه الساعة لا يكون الا لسبب واطن انه توقف عن دخول البلد نهارا خوفا لا<sup>2</sup> يشتهر امره وما مراده يدخلها الا ليلا لاجل قضاء حاجته فى ستر وما يمضى الا قبل من الوقت حتى تريه راجع البكث [f. 63a] بالمال واما انا لما بلغنى<sup>3</sup> انه نوى الذهاب الى الجبل امنعت من الصعود اليه حكم عادتى ليلا يتضايق من حضورى ويظن ان مرادى التجسس عليه ربنا يتراءى ما عسروينمها عليه بخبر واما انت فارجعى بيمينك ولا تخافى من شىء وان شاء الله لا

<sup>1</sup> MS. واطمأّنوا; I think he means as I have printed, but the writing of *hemza* is very irregular in this MS.

<sup>2</sup> Has this been influenced by the French "de peur que . . . ne"? It occurs again on f. 63b and f. 83a. *خوفا أن* and *خوفا من* also occur. *أن* would be good classical usage, but I do not think it occurs in this story.

<sup>3</sup> MS. نغلى.

يحصل الاكل خير وستنظريه راجع اليك سالماً غانماً فعاتت  
 زوجة قاسم الى بيتها وهي في غير حال الطمان وقعدت كشيبة وفي  
 قلبها من غياب زوجها الف حسرة فصارت تحسب كل حساب  
 حالك وتظن الظنون السوء الى ان غربت الشمس واطلم الجو  
 وجن الليل من غير ان تراه راجع اليها فعند ذلك امتنعت من  
 الاجتماع وهجرت النوم وهي في انتظاره فلما مضى [f. 63b] ثلثي  
 الليل ولم عاينته عايذاً ايست من مجيه وبدت تبكى وتنوح ولكن  
 امسكت عن الصرخ والصياح كما تفعل النساء خوفاً لا يدروا  
 الجيرن ويسألونها عن سبب بكائها فبانت ليلتها في سهر ومحيب  
 وقلقى واسواس واهتمام وجزع وكآبة<sup>1</sup> واسوء الحالات فلما ادركت  
 الصباح عجلت بالذهاب لعند علي بابا واعلمته بعدم رجوع اخيه  
 فكانت تحذثه وهي حزينة باكية بالدموع الغزار وفي حالة لا توصف  
 فلما سمع علي بابا ما ابدت له من الخطا قال لاحول  
 ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم انا احترت في سبب غيابه  
 لهذا الوقت لكن امضى بنفسى اكشف عن خبره واوقفك  
 على تحقيق امره ولعل الله ان يكون المانع خير ولا العارض  
 [f. 64a] سوء او ضمير ثم اطلع في الحال حميره واخذ فاسه وقصد  
 الجبل كما كان يصنع في كل يوم فلما دنا من باب الكنز وما وجد  
 البغال وراى اثر الدماء قطع العشم من اخيه وتيقن بهلاكه فتقدم  
 نحو الباب وهو مرعوب حاسس بالذى جرى وقال يا سمسم افتح  
 بابك فعند قوله ذلك انفتح الباب ووجد جسم قاسم مقطوع اربع  
 قطع ومعلق خلف الباب فاقشعر بدنه من روية ذلك واصطقت<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. Is it for كآبة or for كآبة? There is a tendency to write the *hemza* after the *alif*.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. for اصطكت.

سنانه وتقلصت شفتاه وكان ان يغشى عليه من الرعب والفرع وحصل له غم شديد ونأسف على اخيه تأسفاً عظيماً وقال لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم انا لله واتا اليه راجعون المكنون ما منه مهروب وما قُدِّرَ على المرء في [f. 64b] الغيب لا بُدَّ ان يستوفاه ثم رأى ان البكاء والحزن لا فائدة فمهم في هذا الوقت ولا عايدة وان الاولى والالزم استحضار الحملة واستعمال مايب الرأى وسديد الحزم وتذكُّر ان تكفن اخيه ودفنه من الواجبات عليه وفرض من فروض الاسلام فعند ذلك اخذ ارباع جثته المقطوعة وحملهم على حميرة وسترهم بشىء من القماش وضاف على ذلك ما عجبته من دخاير<sup>1</sup> الكنز وهو ما خُفِّ حملهُ وعلى نمته وكَمَّلَ حمل حميره بالحطب ثم صبر ملباً الى ان دخل الليل فلما اظلمت الدنيا قصد المدينة ودخلها وهو اشد حاله من الوالدة النكلى لا يدري ما التدبير في امر المقتول وماذا يفعل [f. 65a] وما زال يسوق حميره وهو غارق في بحر الافكار الى ان وقف عند بيت اخيه وطرق الباب ففتحت له جارية سودة حبشية كانت عنده برسم الخدمة وهى من احسن الجوار وجهاً واطرفهن قَدْماً صغيرة السن سميكة الوجه كحملة العين كاملة الوصف واحسن من ذلك كانت ذات رأى سديد وعقل ناقد وهمة عالية ومروءة زائدة في وقت الحاجة وتفوق في تدبير لحيل الرجل الماهر الحادق وكانت اشغال البيت مركوبة عليها وقضاء الخوايج مفوضة اليها فلما دخل على بابا الحوش قال لها هدا وقتك يا مرجانة واحتجنا الى تدبرك في امرهم سابيه لك قدام سيدتك فامضى معى [f. 65b] حتى تسمعى ماذا اقول لها ثم ترك الحمير في الحوش وصعد الى عند زوجة اخيه وطلعت

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for دخاير.

خلفه مرجانة وهى حائرة مرتابة مما سمعت منه فلما ابصرته زوجة قاسم قالت له ما واراكت<sup>1</sup> يا على بابا اخير ام شرهل يكن له اثر او كشفت له على خبر عجل على بالظمان وبرد نار فوادى فلما ابطى فى الجواب فطننت بحقيقة الحال واخذت فى الصريخ والندب فقال لها امسكى الان عن الصريخ ولا تعالى صوتك خذوف<sup>2</sup> ان تسمع الناس بخبرنا وتكونين سبب هلاكنا الجميع ثم حدثها على ما صار وعلى ما جرى له وكيف وجد اخاه مقتولا وجسده مقطوع اربع قطع ومعلق داخل الكنز خلف الباب [f. 66a] وبعد ذلك قال لها اعلمى وتحققي ان اموالنا واراوحنا واهالينا من مواهب الله الهنية وخواريه المستودعة فافرض علينا الشكر اذا اعطى والصبر اذا ابتلى والجزع لا يرد ميتا ولا يدفع حزنا فعليك بالصبر وما عقب الصبر الا الخير والسلامة والتسليم لاحكام الله اولى من الجزع والتعرض والراى السديد والصواب الان ان اكون لك بعلا وتكون لى اهلا وانتزوجك وحرمتى لا يصعب عليها ذلك لانها عاقلة عفيفة النفس والفرج ذات بروتقوى ونكون الجميع اهل واحد والحمد لله عندنا من الاموال والخيرات ما يغنيننا عن الشغل والعناء والكد فى طلب المعيشة واستوجب [f. 66b] منا ذلك الشكر للوهاب على ما اعطى والثناء عليه فيما انعم فلما سمعت زوجة قاسم كلام على بابا سكن بعض ما كان بها من الجزع وشديد الغم وانقطع بكائها وجقت دموعها وقالت له انا لك جارية مطيعة وخادمة سميرة ومهما رايت صلاحا اطاعك فيه ولكن كيف الحيلة فى امر هذا المقتول فقال لها اما المقتول ففوضى امره الى جاريتك مرجانة لما تعرفى من وفور

<sup>1</sup> Is this "What has hidden thee, detained thee?" or "What is behind thee, what dost thou bring?"

<sup>2</sup> MS. خوف.

عقلها وجودة فهمها وسداد رايها واهليتها لتدبير الحيل ثم تركها وانصرف الى حال سبيله اما الجارية مرجانة لما سمعت كلامه ونظرت سيدها وهو مقتول ومقطوع اربع قطع وفهمت [f. 67a] سبب ذلك بالتدقيق طمّنت سيدتها وقالت لها لا تهتمى وارتاحى على من جهته لاني سادّبر لك فيه امراً يحصل لنا منه الراحة ولا ينكشف سترنا ثم خرجت وقصدت دكان صيدلاني كان في الشارع وهو رجل شيخ طاعن في السن مشهور بالمعرفة في ابواب الطب والحكمة وموصوف بالحدائق في علم طبخ الادوية ومعرفة العقاقير ومفردات الطب وطلبت منه معجوناً لا يوصف الا في الامراض الثقيلة فقال لها من احتاج الى هذا المعجون في منزلكم فقالت له سيدي قاسم لانه اصابه مرض شديد قد اصرعه وصار الان في حالة العدم فقام العطار [f. 67b] وناولها المعجون وقال لها لعل الله يجعل فيه السفاء فاخذته من يده ودفعت له ما تيسر من الدراهم وعادت الى البيت ثم اصبحت باكر النهار ورجعت الى عند الصيدلاني وطلبت منه دواء لا يُسقى الا عند قطع الاياس فقال لها اما نفع معجون امس قالت له لا والله وسيدي على اخر رمق وصار ينازع في الروح وسيدي اخذت في البكاء والالين فاعطاها الدواء فاخذته ودفعت له ثمنه وانصرفت ثم مضت الى عند علي بابا واخبرته بما دبرت من الحيلة واوصته انه يكثر من الدخول في بيت اخيه ويظهر الحزن والكآبة ففعل كما اوصته فلما راوه اهل النخـط [f. 68a] داخل وخارج من بيت اخيه وعلى وجهه اثر الحزن سالوه عن سبب ذلك فاخبرهم بعله اخيه وانه ثقل عليه المرض فشاع ذلك في المدينة وتفاوضت فيه الناس فلما كان من الغد نزلت مرجانة قبل انشقاق الفجر وشقت في شوارع المدينة حتى اجتازت برجل

اسكاف اسمه الشيخ مصطفى طاعن في السن غليظ الهامة قصير  
القامة طويل اللحية والشوارب كان يبادر في فتح حنوته وهو اول  
السوق في ذلك والناس تعرف منه هذه العادة فاقبلت عليه  
وسلمت عليه بادب وحشمة وجعلت في يده ديناراً فلما رأى  
لونه الشيخ مصطفى قلبه ملياً في [f. 68b] يده وقال هذا استفتاح  
مبارك لانه فهم انها تريد منه مصلحة فقال لها اشرحى لى ما  
عندك من الاغراض يا سيدة الجوار لا تضبهم لك فقالت له ايها  
الشيخ خذ خيطاً وابراً واغسل يديك والبس نعليك ودعنى  
اعصب عينيك وانفض واذهب بى في قضاء امر لطيف تكسب  
فيه الاجرة والاجر ولا يحصل لك منه ادنى ضرر فقال لها ان كل  
تطلبينى اشيء يرضى الله والرسول فعلى الراس والعين لا اخالفك  
فيه واما ان كان شىء من المعاصى والجنايات او من المآثم<sup>1</sup>  
والخطايا فلست اطوعك فيه واقتدى غيرى في قضائها فقالت  
له لا والله يا شيخ [f. 69a] مصطفى ما هو الا من المباحات  
والجائزات ولا تخشى من شىء وعند قولها ذلك وضعت في يده  
ديناراً ثانياً فلما ابصره ما امكنته المخالفة والتقير ووثب قائماً على  
قدميه وقال لها انا في خدمتك ومهما امرتينى به نقضيه لك ثم  
اغلق باب دكانه واخذ ما يلزمه من خيط وابر وغير ذلك من الة  
الخباطة اما مرجانة كانت قد استحضرت<sup>2</sup> على عصابة فجعلت  
باخراجها وعصبت بها عينيه حكم الشرط لاجل ان لا يمكنه ادراك

<sup>1</sup> MS. المآثم.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently means "to prepare, or provide one's self with"; but I can find that meaning in *Spiro* only, p. 139, "to bring, prepare, procure." The word occurs elsewhere in this story, ff. 62b, 70a, 86a, and 103b. On ff. 62a and 86a it is used in the sense "prepare one's self for (ل)", like the 5th stem in *Dozy*.

المحل الذى تقصد به الذهاب اليه فاخذت بيده وسارت به وهو  
يمشى خلفها فى الشوارع والازقة كالأعمى لا يدرى اين يذهب وما  
المقصود بذلك فما زالوا ماشيين [f. 69b] معًا وهى تارة تأخذ  
على يمينها وتارة تعطف على يسارها وتطول فى مسيرها لاجل ان  
تتوّه ولا يفهم اين تقصد به ولا زالت تقوده على هذه الصفة الى ان  
وقفت على بيت المرحوم قاسم فطرقت الباب طرقة لطيفة ففى  
الحال قاقوه لها ودخلت بالشيخ مصطفى وصعدت به الى ان اوقفته  
فى المحل الذى فيه جسد سبدها فلما استقر به حلت العصابة من  
على عينيه اما الشيخ مصطفى لما انكشفت عيناى ورأى نفسه فى  
محل لا يعرفه ونظر امامه جسد الفتى بل خاف وارتعدت فرايصة  
فقال له مرجانة لا تخف يا شيخ ولا عليك من بأس المقصود  
منك فقط<sup>1</sup> ان تخطى اجزاء هذا الرجل المقتول خياطة  
[f. 70a] جيدة وتجمع اربابه حيث يكون جسده قطعة واحدة ثم  
ناولته دينارًا ثالثًا فاخذ الشيخ مصطفى ووضع فى عبه وقال فى نفسه  
هذا وقت الاخذ بالحزم واستحضار الراى الصائب انا فى محل لا اعرفه  
وبين قوم اجبل ما هم عازمون عليه فان خالفتهم لا بد ان يؤذونى  
فما يسعنى الان الا الانقياد لما يريدونه وعلى كل حال انا برى  
من دم هذا الرجل المقتول وخلص حقه من قاتله على الله سبحانه  
وتعالى وما فى خياطة جسده من محرمة ولا يقع على بذلك ذنب  
ولا يلزمنى عقوبة ثم قعد وشرع فى خياطة اجزاء الثمنيل وجمعهم حتى  
صاروا جسد كامل فلما فرغ من عمله وتم المقصود [f. 70b] قامت  
مرجانة عصبت عيناه ثانيًا واخذت بيده ونزلت به الى الزقاق

<sup>1</sup> This extraordinary form occurs twice, here and on f. 76b; I have therefore felt compelled to retain it. Is it influenced by *abadan*?

وسارت من شارع الى شارع وعطفت من عطفة الى عطفة وهى تقوده الى ان وصلت به الى الدكان قبل ان تخرج الناس من بيوتها فما احدى درى بهم فعند وصولها للدكان ازال العصابة من على عيونه وقالت له اكنم هذا الامر واحذر ان تتكلم به وتتحدث عنما رايت ولا تكثر فضوگ فيما لا يعينك ربما تقع فيما لا يرضيك ثم دفعت له دينارا رابعا وتركته وانصرفت فلما عادت الى البيت احضرت الما الساخن والصابون وقعدت تغسل جسد سيدها حتى طهرته من الدم ثم البسته ثيابه ورقدته فى مضجعه [f. 71a] فلما تم ذلك ارسلت خلف على بابا وزوجته فلما حضرا اخبرتهما بما فعلت وقالت لهما اعلنا الان بموت سيدى قاسم واخبرا الناس به فعند ذلك مسكن النساء فى البكاء والعيول ولولن بالندب والنعى وسرخن واطمن على وجوههن حتى سمعت الجيران وحضرت الاصحاب وعزوهن عليه فزاد السكاء ونما الندب وانطلق الصرخ وعلا النوح فشاع فى المدينة خبر موت قاسم فصار المحبون يتراحمون عليه والاعداء يتشامتون فيه فبعد ساعة حضرت المغسلون ليغسلوه حكم العادة فنزلت مرجانة واخبرتهم انه معسول محنط ومكفن واعطتهم اجرتهم زيادة عن المعتاد [f. 71b] فانصرفوا وهم مجبورون الخاطروا لاستفهموا عن سبب ذلك ولا سألوا عنما لا يعينهم ثم بعد ذلك حضروا بالنكش فنزلوه ووضعوه فيه ومضوا به الى التربة والناس شايعون جنازته ومرجانة والنساء والنايكات ماشيات من خلفهم يبيكين وينوحن حتى وصلوا الى التربة فحفروا له ودفنوه رحمة الله عليه ثم عادت الناس وتفرقوا وانصرفوا الى حال سبيلهم فعلى هذه الصورة خفى امر قتل قاسم وما فطن احد بحقيقة الحال وظلت الناس انه مات حتف انفه ثم بعد انقضاء عدها تزوج على بابا

بامرة اخيه وكتب عقد نكاحها واستفضى بها<sup>1</sup> [f. 72a] فاستحسن  
الناس فعله ونسبوه الى فرط محبته لاختيه فبعد ذلك نقل حوايجهم  
في بيتها وسكن فيه هو وزوجته الاولى ونقل ايضا فيه الاموال التي  
اخذها من الكنز ثم افترق في امر دكان المرحوم اخيه فكان قد رزقه  
الله بولد قد بلغ من العمر اثنتي عشرة سنة فكان سابقا يخدم رجلاً  
تاجراً وتعلم منه صنعة التجارة حتى انه صار ماهراً فيها فلما احتاج  
ابوه الى احد يضبط الدكان اخذه من عند التاجر وجعله فيه يبيع  
ويشترى وسلم اليه جميع البضائع والامثلة التي خلفها عمه واوعده  
بالنزوح ان سلك سلوك الخير والنجاح وتبع طريق العدل والصلاح  
هذا ما كان من [f. 72b] امر هؤلاء واما ما كان من امر اللصوص  
انهم لما عادوا الى الكنز بعد مدة يسيرة ودخلوا فيه وما وجدوا جثة  
قاسم علموا ان اطلع على امرهم غير واحد من الغرماء وان المقتول  
له رفقاء وان سرهم صار شايع بين الناس فعظم عليهم ذلك واغتموا  
له غمًا شديدًا ثم افتقدوا ما أخذ من الكنز فوجدوه يبلغ الى شئ  
كثير فاغتاظوا لذلك غيظًا شديدًا فقال لهم القايد ايها الابطال  
وفرسان الحرب والقتال هذا وقتكم في اخذ الثار والانتقام ظننا ان  
فاتح الكنز رجلاً واحداً والحال انهم جماعة لا نعرف عدد اشخاصهم  
ولا ندري اين محل سكنهم فانحن مخاطر بارواحننا ونرسي  
انفسنا [f. 73a] الى المهالك لتجمع الاموال وغيرنا يستنفع بهم  
من غير عنا ولا تعب فهذا امر عظيم لا نطيق احتماله فلا بد من  
تدبير حيلة نضل بها الى عدونا وان عشنا به لانتقم منه اشد الانتقام  
ولا تلتك بهذا الحسام ولو كان في ذلك فنى الروح فهذا وقت السعى

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find this form anywhere, but it apparently has the meaning of *افضى الى* in Lane, p. 2414a, ll. 18 ff.

واظهار المروءة والجسارة والنشاط تفرقوا وادخلوا القرى والسواد ودوروا في الامصار والبلاد وتجسسوا الاخبار واسألوا ان كان فقير اغتنى او قتل وانقبر لعل تستدلوا على عدونا ويجمعكم الله به وبالخصوص نحتاج الى رجل ذى حيلة وخداعة تكون عنده مخوة الرجال ينفرد لبحث هذه المدينة لان غريمنا من اهلها من غير شك ولا ريب [f. 73b] فيترى برى التجار ويدخلها بلطف ويستنشق اخبارها ويسال عن احوالها وعن الحوادث التى حدثت فيها وعنمن مات او قتل في هذ المدة القريبة وعن اهل بيته وكيف جرى فيه ربما يستدل بذلك على المطلوب لان امر المقتول لا يخفى ولا بد ما شاع<sup>1</sup> خبره في البلد ودرو بالقصة الكبار والصغار فان ظفر بعدونا او اخبرنا عن محله يكون له علينا الفضل المنيف وازيد في مرتبته وارفع درجته واجعله ولي عهدى وان عجز عن الامر المطلوب منه وما في بعده وخاب املنا فيه نعلم انه احمق جاهل ضعيف الراى قصير الحيلة عديم التدبير فجازيه على سوء فعله [f. 74a] وبطلان سعيه ونقتله قتلة شنيعة لان لاجابة لنا بقليل المروءة ولا فايده في ابقاء عديم البصيرة ولا يكون لاصاً ماهراً الا الرجل الجاهض العاقل بساير فنون الحيل فما تقولون في ذلك ايها الشجعان ومن فيكم يتصدر لهذا الامر العسر المتلف فلما سمعوا مقالته وما ابدى لهم من الخطاب استصوبوا رايه وقبلوا الشروط التى شرحتها عليها وتعاهدوا على وفائها ثم قام من بينهم شخص طويل القامة غليظ الجثة وتصدر لارتكاب هذا الطريق الصعب الوعر وقبل على نفسه الشروط المتقدم ذكرها التى كانوا توافقوا عليها فقبلوا اقدامه وزادوا في اكرامه ومدحوا [f. 74b] شجاعته واقدامه واستحسنوا جود

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *la budd ma yiktib* in *Spiro*, p. 34.

احكامه وابرامه وشكروه على مروته وجراته وعجبهم قوته وجسارته ثم اوصاه القايد بالاناة والاخذ بالحزم وباستعمال المكر والخداعة والحيل الخفية وعلمه كيف يدخل المدينة في صفة تاجر يريد التجارة في الظاهر اما في الباطن على نية التجسس وبعد ان فرغ من توصيته تركه وانصرف وتفرقت اللصوص اما الرجل السارق الذي قدم نفسه فدأ عن اخوانه لبس لبس التجار وتزبى بزبهم وبات على نية التوجه الى المدينة فلما ولّى الليل واقبل الفجر سار على بركة الله تعالى قاصدا ابوابها ودخل منها الى شوارعها [f. 75a] وراحباها وشق في اسواقها ودروبها واكثر الناس غارقين في لزيز<sup>1</sup> المنام فما زال يمشى الى ان عطف على سوق الحاج مصطفى الاسكافي فوجده فاتح حنوته وقاعد يخييط في بعض النعال لان كما ذكرنا كان يباكر في نزول السوق وكانت عادته يفتح قبل اهل الخط فاقبل عليه الجسوس وسلم عليه باحسن سلام وبالح في التحية والاکرام وقال له ببارك الله في همتك وزاد في حرمتك انت اول اهل السوق في فتح حنوتك فقال له الشيخ مصطفى يا ولدى السعى في طلب الرزق خير من النوم وهذا عادتي في كل يوم فقال له اللص لكن يا شيخ اخذني العجب كيف تحسن الخياطة في هذه الساعة قبل طلوع [f. 75b] الشمس مع ضعف بصرك وكبر سنك وقلة الضوء فلما سمع منه الشيخ مصطفى هذا الكلام التفت اليه مغضبا ونظرا اليه شزرا وقال له اظنك غريب من هذه البلدة لان لو كنت من اهلها ما كنت تنطق بهذا الكلام حيث انى موصوف عند الغنى والفقر بحذاقة النظر ومشهور عند الكبير والصغير بجودة المعرفة في صناعة الخياطة حتى ان جماعة اخذو نى بالامس لا خيط لهم ميتا في محل قليل النور فخيطة

<sup>1</sup> So in M.S. for لذيذ, which occurs also on ff. 88b and 93b.

خياطة جيدة ولولا حذاقة بصرى ما قدرت افعل ذلك فما سمع السارق هذا الكلام الا واستبشر ببلوغ المرام وعلم ان ساقته القدرة الالهية حنى عشر في مطلوبه [f. 76a] فقال له وهو يظهر التعجب انت سائ يا شيخ واظن انك ما خيطت الا الكفن لانى ما سمعت قط ان الميت يتخيط فقال ما قلت الا الصدق ونطقت بالواقع لكن الظاهر لى منك انك مقصودك تطلع على اسرار الناس فان كان هذا مطلوبك فانهب عنى وانصب حيلك على غيرى ربما تجد فضولى كثير الكلام اما انا اسمى الصامت لا ابوح بما اريد كتماناه ولا ابقي<sup>1</sup> احدثك فى شان ذلك هذا واللص زاد يقينه وتحقق ان هذا الميت هو الرجل الذى قتلوه فى الكثر فقال للشيخ مصطفى يا شيخ لا حاجة لى باسرارك وسكوتك عنها خير لان يقال ان كتمان السر من شيم الابرار [f. 76b] وانما مقصودى منك فقط<sup>2</sup> ان تدلنى على بيت هذا الميت ربما يكون من اقاربى او من معارف فيجب على ان اعزو اهله عليه لان لى مدّة مديدة غايب عن هذه المدينة واجهل ما حدث فيها فى ايام غيابتى ثم وضع يده فى جيبه واخرج دينارا جعله فى يد الشيخ مصطفى فابى ان ياخذة الشيخ وقال للصوص تسالنى عن شى لا استطيع اجابك عنه لان ما جابونى فى بيت الميت الا بعد ما جعلوا على عمنى عصابة فاجهل الطريق الموصل اليه فقال له اللص اما الدينار او هبته لك سوى ان كان تقضى حاجتى ام لا فخذة بارك الله لك فيه لا الزمك برده ولكن من الممكن [f. 77a] انك اذا قعدت تفكر قليلا تستدل على الطريق الذى سلكته وعينيك مغمضة فقال له الشيخ مصطفى

<sup>1</sup> MS. ولا بقى .

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 on p. 352. قط occurs a few lines above.

لا يملكى ذلك إلا اذا كان تربط على عيني عصاة كما فعلوا بي في ذلك الوقت لانى ذاكر كيف اخذوا بيدي وكيف مشوني وكيف عطفوا بي وكيف اوقفوني فحينئذ ربما اهتدى بذلك على المحل المطلوب وادلك عليه ففرح اللص لما سمع هذا الكلام واستبشر وناول للشيخ مصطفى دينارًا ثانيًا وقال له نفعل كما ذكرت ثم نهضا الاثنان قايما على اقدامهما فغلق الشيخ مصطفى دكانه والصل اخذ عصاة وربطها على عينييه واخذ بيده ومشى معه فصار الشيخ مصطفى ياخذ على يمينه وتارة [f. 77b] يعطف على يساره وساعة يمشى قدامه ويفعل كما فعلت به الجارية مرجانة الى ان انتهى الى درب خطى فيه بعض خطوات<sup>1</sup> ووقف وقال للصل اظن كان وقوفى في هذا المحل فعند ذلك حل اللص العصاة من على عينييه وكان بالامر المقدر صار وقوف الاسكاف حذا بيت المحرور قاسم فسأله اللص هل يعرف رب هذا المنزل فقال له لا والله لان هذا الشارع بعبد عن دكانى ولا لى معرفة باهل الخط فشكره اللص واعطاه دينارًا ثالثًا وقال له انصرف الى دعة الله تعالى فعاد الشيخ مصطفى الى دكانه وهو مسرور بكسب الثلاثة دنانير اما اللص وقف يراقب البيت ويتأمله فرأى ان بابه يشابه [f. 78a] ببيان بيوت الحارة كلها فخاف يتوه عنه فاخذ اسفيداجًا وجعل به عليه علامة صغيرة بيضاء ليستدل عليه ثم رجع الى عند اصحابه في الجبل وهو مسرور محبور النواظر ومتيقن بان الحاجة التى أرسل من اجلها قضيت وان ما بقى الا اخذ الثار هذا ما كان من امره اما ما كان من امر الجارية مرجانة انها لما قامت من النوم وصلت صلاة الصبح

<sup>1</sup> Means apparently "a road of only a few paces length running through a *khutt*". On *darb*, *khutt*, etc., see de Sacy, *Abd-allatif*, pp. 384 f.

كما كان عادتها كل يوم اصلحت حاجتها وخرجت لاحصار ما  
تحتاج اليه من الماء كل والمشارف فعد عودها من السوق ادبرت  
على باب البنت علامة بصاء فساءلها واستعجبت منها ورأيتها  
ذلك وفالت في نفسها من الجابر [f. 78b] ان يكون ذلك من  
لعب الاطفال او نفش بقسوة صسان الحارة ولكن بالاصح ان هذه  
العلامة فعل عدو وديم او حسود لثم الامر سوء بقصده والله خمسة<sup>1</sup>  
يضمرة فمن الحرم ان سؤده ونفسد علمه بدمره الماحوس ثم اخذت  
اسعداجا وصورت على ابواب الحمران علامات بشاه العلامة التي  
رومها اللص وعلمت بهذه العلامة نحو عشرة بمان من  
ابواب الحارة ثم دخلت البيت وكملت هذا الامر هذا ما  
كان معها واما ما كان من امر الرجل السارق انه لما دمل على  
اصحابه في الجبل اظهر لهم العرج ونشرهم بملوع املمهم وادراك  
مرامهم وسعرت الاسقام من عربهم ثم اخبرهم كيف صدف  
اجساره [f. 79a] برجل اسكاف كان خبط العمل وكف اسدل به  
على لمة وكف وضع علمه علامة خوفا من السهان والعقل عمنه  
فشكره القاد ومدح مرويه وصرح بذلك عانه الفرج وقال للصوص  
عرفوا جمعكم والمسوا<sup>2</sup> تماث العوام واخفوا سلاحكم وافصدوا المذبذبة  
وادخلوا فيها من مناهج مخلفه ويكون احماكم في الجامع الكسر  
واما انا وهذا الرجل اعنى المحاسوس بطلب سمع عربنا فاذا  
وجدناه وحققنا برجع اليكم في الجامع وسوارروا هياك على ما  
يجب فعله ونفقوا<sup>3</sup> على ما يكون فيه الصواب سوى ان كان من

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for بيثة.

<sup>2</sup> MS. والبشوا.

<sup>3</sup> MS. and ونتوا زروا.

هجوم البيت [f. 79b] ليلاً أو غير ذلك فلما سمعت اللصوص  
خطابه استحسنوه واستصوبوا كلامه ووافقوا مرامه ثم انهم تفرقوا ولبسوا  
ثياب العوام واخفوا من تحتها سيوفهم كما امرهم القايد ودخلوا  
المدينة من طرقات مختلفة خوفاً من اشعار الناس بهم وصار  
اجتماعهم في الجامع الكبير حكم اتفاقهم اما القايد والجاسوس ساروا  
طالبين زقاق خصمهم فلما وصلوا اليه رأى القايد بيتاً بعلامة بيضاء  
فسال رفيقه ان كان هو البيت المطلوب فاجابه بنعم ثم وقع منه  
التفاتة الى بيت اخر فرأى ايضاً على بابه علامة بيضاء فسأله اينهما  
البيت المقصود الاول ام الثانى فاحتار اللص وعجز عن  
الجواب [f. 80a] ثم خطى القايد خطوات فوجد نيف وعشرة  
بيوت بعلامات فقال له انت علمت على هذه البيوت جميعها او  
على واحد منهم فقال بل على واحد فقال القايد وكيف الان هم  
الان عشرة او ازيد قال لا اعلم سبب ذلك فقال له هل تفرق بين  
هذه البيوت الذى ميزته وببذك علمت عليه قال لا لان البيوت  
تشبه بعضها بعضاً والبيمان على نمط واحد وصورة العلامات صورة  
واحدة فلما سمع القايد هذا الكلام علم ان لا يفيد حجة من وقوفه  
في هذا المحل وان لاسمى الى اخذ الثار في هذه المرة حيث ان  
امله عاد خائياً فرجع بالرجل للجامع وامر فرسانه [f. 80b] بالعود  
الى الجبل واوصاهم ان يتفرقوا في الطرقات كما فعلوا وقت مجيئهم  
فلما اجتمعوا عند الجبل في المحل المعتاد قص عليهم ما اتفق له  
مع اللص وانه عجز ان يميز بيت عدوهم ثم قال لهم يجب علينا  
الان تنفيذ الحكم فيه على موجب الشروط والمواثيق الجارية بيننا  
فاجابوا على ذلك بالامتنال اما السارق الجاسوس حيث كان  
شجاع صلد القلب فما تاخر عند سمعه هذا الكلام ولا جبن بل تقدم

وهو ثابت الجاش خالٍ عن الاستيحاء وقال بحق استوجبت الموت والعقوبة بفساد رأى وقلة حيلتى حيث انى عجزت عن ادراك الامر المطلوب منى ولا رغبة لى بعد ذلك فى البقاء والموت خير من [f. 81a] الحياة فى عار فعند ذلك سل القايد سيفه وضربه ضربة على عاتقه اطاح راسه عن بدنه ثم قال يا رجال الطعن والقتال من فيكم صاحب بسالة وباس شجاع القلب قوى الراس يتصدر لهذا الخطب العسر الجسيم والامر المتلف العظيم فلا يتقدم عاجز ولا ياتمنى ضعيف فلا يقبل<sup>1</sup> الا اذا رأى سديد وبطش شديد وفكر صديد واحتيال عتيد فقام رجل من بين القوم يسمى احمد الغضبان وهو طويل القامة غليظ الهامة هائل المنظر قبيح المخبر اسمر اللون شنيع الصورة شواربه كشوارب الهرايد الفيران ولحيته كالحية التيس بين المعز والخرفان [f. 81b] وقال يا جماعة الامثال ما يصلح لهذه المصلحة الا انا واحضر لكم ان شاء الله بالخبر الصحيح وادلكم على بيت الغريم اوضح دلالة فقال له القايد التصدر لهذا الامر لا يكون الا على الشروط التى قد منا ذكرها فان رجعت خائباً ما ينالك<sup>2</sup> متناً الا رمى الرقبة وان عودت<sup>3</sup> مظفراً نزيد مرتبتك واکرامك ونرفع درجتك واعظامك ويحصل لك كل الخير ثم ان احمد الغضبان لبس ثياب التجار ودخل المدينة قبل انشقاق الفجر وقصد من غير توان حارة الشيخ مصطفى الاسكافى التى كان استدل عليها من كلام رفيقه فوجده قاعدًا فى دكانه فسلم عليه وجلس عنده ولاطفه فى الكلام واندرج [f. 82a] معه فى الحديث الا ان فتح سيرة الميت وذكر كيف خيطه فطلب منه احمد الغضبان ان يدلّه على البيت

<sup>1</sup> MS. اقبل.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. Is it for *yunāllak* or must we read *tanāllak*?

<sup>3</sup> So in MS.

فامتنع من ذلك الشيخ مصطفى وابا ان يتكلم فلما رغبه بالمال ما استطاع المخالفة لان المال سهم صايب وشفيع لا يُرد فعند ذلك ربط عصاة على عينييه وفعل كما فعل قرينه السابق ذكره ومشى معه حتى انتهى به الى حارة المرحوم قاسم ووقف حذا بيته فبعدهما اهتدى على البيت ازال العصاة من عينييه واعطاه ما كان اوعده من الاجرة وخلى سبيله<sup>1</sup> ثم ان احمد الغضبان لما اهتدى على مطلوبه خاف ان يتوه عنه فاحترازا [f. 82b] من وقوع ذلك جعل على باب البيت علامة صغيرة حمراء صورها في محل مخفى وظن ان ما احد يبصرها ثم عاد الى عند اصحابه واخبرهم بما صنع وهو فرحان لا يشك بالثجاج ومتيقن ان ما احد ينظر العلامة لكونها صغيرة ومخفية هذا ما كان من امرهم واما ما كان من امر الجارية مرجانة انها اصبحت باكر النهار وخرجت على جاري عاداتها لاحضار اللحومات والبقل والفاكهة والنقل وبقية لوازم البيت فلما رجعت من السوق ما خفى عليها العلامة الحمراء بل وقع بصرها عليها وعايبتها فرابها ذلك واستغربته وفهمت بفراسرتها وغزارة عقلها [f. 83a] انه فعل عدو غريب او حسن قريب يريد السوء لاهل المنزل فلاجل ان تتوهه<sup>2</sup> صورت بالاحمر على ابواب الجيران علامات على شكل هذه العلامة وجعلتهم في الموضع الذى اختاره احمد الغضبان وكتمت ذلك وسكنت عنه خوفا<sup>3</sup> لا يحصل منه لسيدها قلى او تشويش هذا ما كان منها اما السارق لما وصل الى عند اصحابه قص عليهم ما جرى له مع الاسكاف وكيف اهتدى على بيت

<sup>1</sup> In *Spiro*, p. 181, *ahla sabylah* = "he set him free, he discharged him". Dozy has phrases somewhat similar, but not the same, using the second stem.

<sup>2</sup> MS. تتوّه.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. n. 2 on p. 346.

الغريم وكيف علّم عليه بالاحمر ليستدل عليه في وقت الاحتياج فعند ذلك امرهم القايد بلبس ثياب العوام وبأخذ من تحتها السلاح وبدخول المدينة من طرقات مختلفة ثم قال لهم ويكون [f. 83b] اجتماعكم في المسجد الفلانى فجلسوا فيه الى ان يعود اليكم ثم انه اخذ احمد الغضبان ومضى معه في كشف البيت المطلوب ليستدل عليه ويحققه فلما وصلا الى الشارع المعروف عجز احمد الغضبان عن تمييز البيت لسبب كثرة العلامات الموضوعة على الابواب فالتجمل من روية ذلك وسكت عن الكلام اما القايد لما رأى عجزه عن معرفة البيت طرق<sup>1</sup> وعبس وغضب غضباً شديداً لكن الضرورة الزمته بكنم الغيظ في هذا الوقت ورجع في المسجد بالسارق المكسوف فلما اجتمع باصحابه امرهم بالرجوع الى الجبل فتفرقوا وعادوا منفردين الى محل سكنتهم وجلسوا للمشورة فعند ذلك [f. 84a] اخبرهم القايد بالواقع وان ما ساعدتهم المقادير على اخذ الثار وكشف العار في ذلك اليوم لسوء تدبير احمد الغضبان ولعجزه عن معرفة بيت الغريم ثم جرد سيفه وضربه به على عاتقه حتى طارت هامته وفارقت جثته وعجل الله بروحه الى النار وبئس القرار ثم تفكر القايد في هذه القضية وقال في نفسه رجالى يصلحون للقتل والطعن والنهب ولسفك الدماء ولشن الغارات ولكن ليس لهم افهام في ضروب الحيل وابواب الخداعة فان ارسلتهم واحداً بعد واحد لقضاء هذه المصلحة عدمتهم على هذه الصورة من غير فائدة ولا تحصيل عائدة فالاعوب ان اباشر بنفسى هذا [f. 84b] الامر العسر ثم اخبر اللصوص بذلك وان ما يمضى الى المدينة الا هو

<sup>1</sup> Apparently to be read as passive; see Lane, p. 1851a, *sub* مطروق. We would say "he was knocked out".

فقالوا له الامر امرك والنهى نهيك فافعل ما بدا لك فعند ذلك  
غير ثيابه واصبح متوجهاً الى المدينة وطالباً الحاج مصطفى الاسكافي  
كما فعلا رسوليه المتقدم ذكرهما فلما وجده اقبل عليه وسلم عليه  
ولاطفه بالكلام واندرج معه في الحديث الى ان فتح سبرة الميت  
المقتول وما زال يسايره ويوعده بالمنقوشات الى ان ارصاه ووافقه  
الشيخ مصطفى على مقصوده ونال منه القايد ما اراده من معرفة  
بيت عدوه هذا على الصورة التى ذكرناها انفاً فلما وقف عند البيت  
اعطى [f. 85a] للشيخ مصطفى جايزته زيادة عنما كان اوعده به  
واصرفه ثم رقب البيت وتأمل فيه ولا الزمه وضع علامة عليه بل عدّ  
ابواب الحارة الى حد<sup>1</sup> باب البيت المقصود وحفظ عددها ونظر في  
طيقانه وشبابيكه ومييزه تمييزاً بليغاً حتى عرف جيّد المعرفة هذا  
وهو يتمشى في الشارع خوفاً لا يرتابوا اهله من طول وقوفه ثم عاد الى  
اصحابه واخبرهم بما صنع وقال لهم عرفت الان بيت غريمنا فاتى  
ان شاء الله وقت الانتقام واخذ الثار فافتكرت على طريق الوصول  
الى ذلك ووسيلة الدخول والاهجام عليه فساشرحه لكم فان رايتموه  
مناسب شرعنا في عمله وان [f. 85b] ما استصوبتموه فالذى في  
ضميوه حيلة انفذ من حيلتى فليظهرها ويتكلم بما بدا له ثم انه  
اطلعه على ما اضره ونواه فاستحسنوه وتوافقوا على فعله وتوافقوا  
باليمان<sup>2</sup> ان ما احد منهم يتاخر عن صاحبه في طلب الشار فعند  
ذلك ارسل جماعة منهم في البلاد القريبة وامرهم بشرى اربعين  
فربة من القرب الكبار وارسل البقية من رجاله في القرى المجاورة  
واوصاهم بشرى عشرين بغلة فلما ابتاعوا ما امرهم به حضروا بالجميع

<sup>1</sup> Semi-colloquial for حتى .

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. = ناليمان .

بين يديه ثم فتقوا فم كل قرية على حد ما تسع دخول الرجل وكل واحد من هذه اللصوص دخل في قرية من القرب المفتوحة ويده خاجر فبعد [f. 86a] ما دخلوا الجميع وصاروا في هذا الحبس الضيق خيط القايد الافمام كما كانت ولطح القرب بالزيت حتى يظن الناظر فيهم انهم ملانين زيت وحمل كل قربتين على ظهر بغلة اما القربتان الزايدتان فملاهما زيتًا بالحقيقة ووضعهما على بغلة منهم فصاروا العشرون بغلة محملين تسع عشرة بالرجال وواحدة بالزيت لان كان عدد اللصوص ثمانية وثلاثين رجلاً بعد فقد الاثنين الذين قتلها القايد ثم لما تم استحضاره ساق المغال قدامه ودخل بهم المدينة بعد غروب الشمس لما امسا المساء واظلم الضوء وطلب منزل على بابا الذي كان مميّزه وعرفه [f. 86b] جيّد المعرفة فلما وصل اليه وجد على بابا بنفسه جالسًا خارج الباب على مصطبة وتحت منه نطعة ومتكى على وسادة مليحة فنظر فيه فوجده مسرورًا محبورًا مجبور الخاطر في حالة النعمة والسعادة فلما وصل الى عنده سلم عليه محتشمًا بادب وخشوع وهيبة وخضوع وقال له انا رجل غريب البلاد بعيد الوطن ناى المسكن قد اشتريت جانب زيت متعشمًا ان ابيعه بفضل ورجع في هذه المدينة فما امكنتى الدخول فيها الا مساءً لطول المسافة ووعث الطريق فوجدت الاسواق مغلقة فدرت محتارًا على محل او ماوى ابات فيه مع دوابى [f. 87a] فما وجدته فما زلت سائرًا الى ان اجتزت بك في هذا الوقت فحال ما نظرتك حمدت الله واثنت عليه لاستبشارى بانجاح حاجتى وبلوغ اربى لان الكرم ظاهر فى وجهك الكريم والمروءة لايحة فى عينك السليم فلا شك انك من اهل النخير والنجاح والتقوى والصلاح فهل لك ان تبينتنى عندك فى هذه الليلة وتاوى بغالى

فينبقي لك على الفضل الجميل والاحسان الجزيل وتكسب أجرى  
 عند الكريم المتان المجازى الاحسان بالاحسان والمتجاوز عن السيئات  
 بالغفران وفي غداة غد ان شاء الله انزل السوق وابيع زيتى وانصرف  
 عنك شاكرًا ولجميلك مادحًا فاجابه على بابا بالرضا والتقبول  
 قايلاً [f. 87b] له مرحبًا واهلاً بالانح الطارق علينا انت ضيفنا اليوم  
 المبارك وتانسنا في هذه الليلة السعيدة وكان على بابا عنده الكرم  
 والجود وكان سخياً حسن الاخلاق جميل الاوصاف صاف النية لا يظن  
 في الناس الا خيراً فصدق ما افترى عليه التاجر الكذوب ولا خطر في  
 باله انه قايد لصوص الجبل ولا عرفه لان ما كان رآه الا مرة واحدة وفي  
 غير هذا الزى فزعى على عبد عبد الله وامره بادخال البغال  
 فامتل عبد الله امره ودخل القايد خلف دوابه لنزول الاحمال  
 فنزل هو وعبد الله القرب عن البغال وصفوهم جنب الحايط في  
 ساحة الدار ثم اخذ العبد البغال وادخلهم [f. 88a] الاصطبل  
 وعلق عليهم بالشعير اما القايد كان قصده يبات في الساحة عند  
 قربه واعتذر من دخوله القاعة متعللاً بخوف الثقلة لاهل الدار ولكن  
 في الحقيقة لاجل ان يملك غرضه وبمكنه فعل ما انطوى عليه من  
 الخيانة فما وافقه على بابا على ذلك بل حلف عليه بالدخول  
 وما زال يلح عليه حتى ان اجزبه<sup>1</sup> قهراً على رغم من مراغفه فما  
 امكنه المخالفة ودخل معه فوجد القايد نفسه في قاعة واسعة  
 مليحة قد بُلط أرضها بانواع الرخام بدايرها اسرة مقابلة بعضها بعضاً  
 مفروشة بافخر النطاع والفرش وفي صدر المكان سرير اعظم منهم  
 مفروش بالحرير الملوكي بمراتب مفضضة [f. 88b] وستور مكللة  
 فاجلسه على بابا على ذلك السرير وامر بوقود الشموع وارسل

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for جذبه ; ز for ذ and prefixed Syrian a.

لمرجانة واخبرها بحضور ضيفه وامرها ان تصنع للعشاء ما يليق به من لثيز<sup>1</sup> الطعام ثم بعد ذلك جلس الى جانبه واخذ في منادمته ومسامرته الى ان اتى وقت العشاء فحين ذلک مدّوا الخيوان<sup>2</sup> وحضروا بالطعام في اوانى الفضة والذهب وقدموا المائدة بين يدي القايد فاكل هو وعلى بابا من جميع الالوان حتى اكتفا ثم رفعوا الطعام وحضروا بعتيق المدام فدار الكاس بينهما فلما فرغا واكتفا اكلا وشربا قعدا ثانيًا في حديثهما ومسامرتهما الى حصة من الليل فلما آن وقت الرقاد والاصطجاع قام القايد ونزل في الساحة [f. 89a] قايلاً ان قبل النوم يريد الكشف على دوابه واما في الحقيقة لاجل ان يتفق مع انماعه على حال<sup>3</sup> فدنا من الاول الذى كان كما قلنا داخل القربة الاولى وقال له بصوت منخفض اذا رميت عليك حصى من الطاقة فشقوا القرب بخناجركم والحقوني ثم قال للثاني مثل ذلك وللثالث الى ان انتهى الى الاخر واما على بابا حيث كان نوى دخول الحمام في صبيحة هذه الليلة وصى مرجانة بتجهيز القوط اللازمة له وامرها ان تعطيهم لعبد الله وتصنع له مرقة لحم يشربها عند خروجه من الحمام ثم اوصاها ايضاً باكرام الضيف وانها تفرش له فرشاً ناعماً لايقاً بمقامه وتخدمه بنفسها وتقوم معه بوجوب وحقوق [f. 89b] الضيافة فاجابته بالسمع والطاعة ثم انه ذهب الى مضجعه واضطجع ونام ورجع الان الى حديث القايد ونقول وبالله التوفيق انه لما اتفق مع اصحابه واحفاده ودبر معهم ما وجب فعله طلع الى عند مرجانة وسالها على محلّ مسرقده فاخذت شمعة واصلته الى مقصورة مفروشة بافخر الفراش فيها

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for لذيق .

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. for خيوان .

<sup>3</sup> "For a moment" ?

جميع ما يحتاج اليه من فرش وغطاء<sup>1</sup> وغير ذلك من آلة النوم  
ومست عليه وعادت الى المطبخ في امتثال ما امرها به سيدها  
فجهزت الفوط وآلة الحمام وسلمت الجميع للخادم عبد الله ثم  
ركبت اللحم وقادت الفارثتحت الدست هذا كله وضوء السراج  
يضعف قليلاً قليلاً من عدم الزيت حتى [f. 90a] انطفئ من  
اصله فافتقدت كوز الزيت وجدته فارغاً وبحيث كان الشمع فرغ  
ايضاً احتارت في امرها لانها كانت محتاجة للنور لاجل تمام طبخ  
المرقة فلما رأى عبد الله حيرتها قال لها لا تهتمى ولا تصجرى لان ما  
زال<sup>2</sup> الزيت موجوداً في الدار وهذا بكثرة هل نسيته قرب التاجر  
الغريب الملايين زيت الموضوعين في ساحة البيت فانزلى خذى  
ما شيتى منهم واذا صبح الصباح دفعنا له ثمن الزيت فلما سمعت  
منه هذا الخطاب استحسننت ما فيه من الصواب وشكرته على  
شورته الحميدة ونزلت بالكوز ودنت من القرب اما اللصوص كانت  
قد ضجروا من طول [f. 90b] قعادهم في سجنهم الضيق وتعبوا من  
امحنى ظهورهم فضماقت انفسهم وتكسرت اعضاؤهم وانهشمت  
اعظامهم ولا بقى لهم صبر على هذا الحال ولا طاقة الى طول  
الحبسة فلما سمعوا صوت مرجانة ظنوا في غفلتهم انه صوت القايد  
لاجل تنفيذ سهم القضاء فيهم وغلبة امر ربهم فقال لص منهم هل  
اتى ميعاد الخروج قال الراوى لهذا الكلام العجيب والامر المطرب  
الغريب لما سمعت مرجانة صوت رجل يتكلم من داخل القربة  
فزعت فزعاً شديداً وارتعدت فرايضا من الوجل وارتعبت رعباً  
عظيماً وغيرها كانت سقطت من الفرع او صرخت [f. 91a] لكن

<sup>1</sup> So vocalized in the MS. ; the first vowel is colloquial ; see *Spiro, ghata*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. مازل.

كانت عندها شجاعة القلب وسرعة الفطنة فلحظت في الحال صورة  
 الواقع وفهمت اسرع ما يلحظ البصر انهم لصوص قاصدين خيانة  
 فدبرت من غير ابطاء ما يناسب من التدبير لعلها انهما ان  
 صرخت او تحركت هلكت من غير شك وهلك سيدها وجميع  
 اهل البيت فامسكت عن العويل والحركة وشرعت من غير مهالة<sup>1</sup>  
 في فعل ما نوته من الحيلة فحققت صوتها واجابت اللص الاول  
 قائلة تنأى قليلاً ما بقى من الوقت الا اليسير ثم دنت من القرية  
 الثانية فسألت اللص الثاني كما سألت الاول فاجابته على صورة  
 الجواب المذكور وما زالت [f. 91b] تتمر على القرب ويكلمونها  
 اللصوص واحد بعد واحد وهي تجاوبهم وتصبرهم الى ان انتهت الى  
 قرب الزيت في اخر الصف فلما لزوا الصمت فهمت انهم  
 خاليين من الرجال فحركتهم ولما تحققت انهم ملانين من الزيت  
 فتحت واحد منهما واخذت منه في كوزها ما تيسر وعادت الى  
 المطبخ ولعت السراج ثم عمدت الى دست كبير من النحاس  
 الاحمر ونزلت به في الحوش وعبته من الزيت وطلعت ركبته على  
 النار وكثرت وقود الحطب تحت منه الى ان غلى الزيت فلما تم  
 غليانه نزلت بالدست وصبت بالكوز الزيت في فم كل قرية حيث  
 وقع الزيت الساخن [f. 92a] على راس اللصوص فافناهم وهلكوا  
 عن اخرهم ثم لما تحققت ان ما بقى منهم بقية وانهم ماتوا  
 باجمعهم رجعت في المطبخ وتمت طبخة مرقة اللحم حكم ما  
 اوصاها سيدها فبعد ما خلصت اشغالها طفت النار والسراج وجلست  
 تنظر وتراقب ما يفعله القايد اما هو لما دخل المقصورة التي  
 اُصلحت له غلق الباب وطفى الشمعة واضطجع على فراشه كالنايم

<sup>1</sup> So in the MS., but I cannot find this form anywhere.

ولكن ما برج يقظانًا ومنظرًا انتهاز الفرصة ووقت يمكنه فيه فعل ما اضره لاهل البيت من السوء فلما نامت على ظمته العيون وعدمت الحركة قام ساكنًا وأطلع محترسًا فبحيث ما رأى نورًا ولا سمع حسًا ظن ان نامت [f. 92b] اهل البيت كلها فاخذ حصى وطرحهم في الساحة على موجب اتفاقه مع اصحابه وصبر قليلًا ينتظر خروج رجاله فلما تموا<sup>1</sup> ساكتين ولا بان لهم حس ولا حركة اخذه العجب وقذف حصى اخر من الطاقة وحكم سقوطها. على القرب فما زالوا ساكتين وما تحرك احد منهم فتوسوس من ذلك وعاد ثالث مرتة يرمى من الحجارة وانتظر من غير فائدة خروج اللصوص فلما ايس من ذلك دخل في قلبه الخوف ونزل لكشف ما حل بهم وما سبب وقوفهم فعند قرية من القرب طلعت على مراغفه رايحة كريهة وزمخة الزيت الساخن فتطير<sup>2</sup> من ذلك وازداد فزعته ورعبه ثم مر عليهم وهو يخاطبهم واحدًا بعد واحد [f. 93a] فما زالوا ساكتين صامتين فعند ذلك حرك القرب وقلبها

<sup>1</sup> "They remained silent." For تم in Syrian Arabic, see Oestrup, p. 156, and Hartmann, under *bleiben*. Hartmann gives *tamm* and *damm* as Syrian forms, but *damm* as Egyptian. For Egyptian see Spiro, under تن; Willmore, §§ 218 ff.; Spitta, *Grammatik*, pp. 328 ff. But in Egyptian the construction is different, the subject being expressed by a suffix. For Algeria, Beaussier, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Alger, 1887), p. 68, gives وتموا رايحين, "de là ils s'en furent." But the original form was تم. This was apparently recognized first by Stumme, who has a short note on an occurrence in his *Tunisische Märchen*, i, 25. See also Landberg's *Hadramout*, pp. 276 f. and index, p. 537, under تم, تن, and تمي. The form تم occurs several times in the Galland MS. of the *Arabian Nights*; see, for example, in my print of the "Story of the Fisherman and the Jinni", p. 16, last line, وتموا سايرين. تم occurs also in *Breslau*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, تم, but Dozy does not seem to have quite grasped its meaning.

<sup>2</sup> MS. فتطائر.

ونظر داخلها فوجد رجاله هالكين مايتين فلما رأى ما أخذ من قرب الزيت فهم على أى صورة فنبوا وسبب هلاكهم فاعتم لذلك غمًا شديدًا وبكى على فقد أصحابه بكاءً عزيزًا وخاف على نفسه من القبض فنوى الهروب والفرار قبل أن يسدوا عليه الطرق فلاجل ذلك فتح باب البستان وتسلق على المحايط ونط في الشارع وفر هاربًا للنجاة طائبًا وللغابة قاصدًا وهو كئيب مكدود بالغم وفي قلبه الف حسرة هذا ومرجانة في كمينها ترصده فلما علمت أنه فارق البيت وهرب نزلت وغلقت باب البستان الذى [f. 93b] كان فاتحه اللص وعادت مكانها هذا ما كان منها وأما ما كان من امر على بابا انه لما أصبح الله بالصباح وأضاء بنوره ولاح وسلمت الشمس على زين الملاح استيقظ من منامه ولذيد أحلامه ولبس ثيابه وخرج طائبًا دخول الحمام وعبد عبد الله خلفه يحمل الله الغسل والقوط اللازمة له فعبر الحمام واغتسل واستراح وهو في غاية البسط والسرور لا يدرى ما حصل في منزله في هذه الليلة ومن أى خطر انجاه الله ثم لما فرغ من الغسل لبس ثيابه ثانيًا وعاد الى بيته فعند دخوله الساحة رأى القرب في محلهم فآخذة العجب من ذلك وقال لمرجانة ما بال هذا التاجر الغريب يأخر عن نزول [f. 94a] السوق فقالت له يا سيدى كتب الله لك عمرًا طويلاً وقضى لك حظًا غالبًا لان سلمت في هذه الليلة من خطر عظيم وانجأت الله بحسن نيتك من الهلاك ومن قتلة شنيعة انت واهل بيتك والذين كانوا حفروا لك حفيرًا اوقعهم الله فيه وجزاهم على سوء نيتهم والخيانة عقبتها النخبة والعطب وابقيت كل شى على حاله لتنظر بعينك ما كان اهب لك التاجر المفتري عليك وخيانته وشجاعة جاريتهك مرجانة فتقدم وابصر ما في باطن هذه القرب فعند ذلك

تقدم على بابا فلما رأى في قلب القرية المجاورة له رجلاً بيده  
خنجر اصفر لونه وتغير كونه وتأخر خائفاً فقالت له لا تخف  
[f. 94b] لأن هذا رجل ميت ثم أورته<sup>1</sup> بقية القرب فوجد في باطن  
كل قرية رجلاً ميتاً وبيده خنجر فوقف ساعة خائفاً وينظر تارة الى  
مرجانه وتارة الى القرب وهو باهت مرعوب لا يدرى ما الخبير فقال  
لها عجل على بتفسير ما عاينته وأجزى في الكلام لأن اربعيني ما  
رايت غاية الرعب فقالت له تأنى درجة ولا تعلى صوتك ليلا  
تدرى الجيران بما لا يناسب نشره بل هوّن نفسك وأذهب الى  
قاعتك واجلس على تختك حتى تستريح واحضر لك مرقّة  
اللحم التى طبختها لك فشرها ويسكن ما اصابك من الفزع ثم  
مضت الى المطبخ واتت له بالمرقة وناولته اياها فشرها ثم بدت  
مخاطبه بهذا الكلام [f. 95a] امرتنى امس بتجهيز الاله الحمام وبتصنيع  
مرقة لحم فبينما كنت مشغولة في امثال ذلك ان انطفى سراجى  
من عدم الزيت فطلبت كوز الزيت ووجدته فارغاً فاحترت في  
امرى الى ان قال لى عبد الله لا تحملى هم ذلك لان ما زال  
الزيت موجود عندنا بكثرة وانزلى خذى ما يلزمك من قرب  
التاجر البايث عندنا وغدا ندفع له ثمنه فرايت شورته حميدة  
ونزلت بالكوز فلما تقدمت الى عند القرب سمعت من داخلها  
صوت رجل يقول هل اتى وقت الخ-روج فعلمت انهم قاصدين  
خيانة فقلت له من غير وجل ولا خوف لا ولكن ما بقى من الوقت  
الا اليسير فمررت على بقية القرب وجدت [f. 95b] في باطن كل  
قرية رجلاً سألنى هذا السؤال او خاطبنى بما يقارب هذا الكلام  
فجاوبته بهذا الجواب الى ان انتهيت الى قريتين ملانين زيت

<sup>1</sup> Colloquial for اورته. See Spiro, p. 214.

فعبيت منهم كوزى وولعت سراجى واخذت دسئاً كبيراً مليته من الزيت وركبته على النار حتى غلى الزيت وصبيت منه فى فم كل قرية حتى هلك السراق من تأثير الزيت الساخن كما رايت ثم طفيت السراج ووقفت ارصد الرجل التاجر الخاين الافاك الكذاب فرايته يقذف حصى من الطاقة لينبه رجاله وكرر فعل ذلك مراراً فلما توقفوا عن الخروج وايس من رويتهم نزل ينظر ما سبب توقيفهم فرآهم فنيوا عن اخرهم فعند ذلك خاف على نفسه من القبض [f. 96a] او القتل فتسلق على حايط البستان ونط منه فى الشارع وقره دارنا فابيت ان استيقظك خوفاً من ضجة اهل الدار فانتظرت رجوعك لاقص عليك القصة فهذا خبرى مع هؤلاء الخينة<sup>1</sup> والله اعلم فالان ينبغى ان اخبرك بشى حصل من قريبه وكنتمه عنك وهو ان من مدة يسيرة وانا راجعة من السوق ابصرت على باب بيتنا علامة بيضاء فحصل عندى من رويتها ارتياح وتشويش وعلمت ان هذا فعل عدوٍ ضمّر لنا السوء فلاجل ان اتّوهه<sup>2</sup> صورت على ابواب بيوت الجيران علامات كهذه العلامة بعينها ثم بعد اكم<sup>3</sup> يوم رايت علّموا باب دارنا بعلامة حمراء فجعلت على ابواب الجيران بهذا [f. 96b] اللون علامات تشابهها وكنتم ذلك عنكم خوفاً<sup>4</sup> ان ترتابوا منه فلا شك ان واضعين العلامات هم هؤلاء الرجال الميتون وانهم اللصوص الذين عثرت بهم فى الجبل فبحيث عرفوا طريق منزلنا لاراحة لنا ولا امان

<sup>1</sup> Dozy gives from Boethor خمن as a plural of خائن, but I cannot find خينة anywhere.

<sup>2</sup> MS. اتّوه.

<sup>3</sup> Colloquial, "some, a few," see *Spiro*, under كام.

<sup>4</sup> MS. خوف.

طال ما واحد منهم موجود على وجه الأرض فينبغى اننا نكون على حذر من كيد الذى هرب لانه لا شك ان يسعى في هلاكنا فيجب علينا حرس انفسنا وانا اكون اولكم في الاحتراس واليقظة قال الراوى فلما سمع على بابا خطاب جاريته مرجانة استعجب غاية العجب مما جرى له ولها من غريب الاتفاق وقال لها ما سلمت من هدد ورطة ولا أجوت من هدد الخطرة الا بقدرة الخالق المنان المنعم [f. 97a] علينا بالفضل والاحسان وبسدادة رايتك وجودة فطنتك ثم شكرها على حسن فعلها وشجاعة قلبها وجزالة رايها وجودة تدبيرها وقال لها من هذا الوقت انت حرة معتوقة لوجه الله وفضلك علينا باقى وساجازيك بكل خير فكما قلتى لا شك ان هولاء الرجال هم لصوص الغابة فالحمد لله على خلاصنا منهم فيلزمنا الان دفنهم وستر ما جرى لنا معهم ثم نادى عبد الله عبده وامرد باحضار معولبن فاخذ هو واحد ودفع له واحد وشرعا في حفر خندقا طويلا في البستان وجزبوا<sup>1</sup> اجساد اللصوص واحدا بعد واحد ورموهم فيه ورتوا [f. 97b] التراب عليهم حتى غاب اثرهم اما البغال فباعوهم في السوق على امرار مختلفة وكذلك فعلوا بالقرب فهذا ما كان من هولاء اما ما كان من امر قايد اللصوص انه لما قهر هاربا من بيت على بابا واتى الى الغابة ودخل الكنز في المحس حال بكى على وحدته ووحشته وتعد يتأسف ويتالم على خيبة امله وعكس عمله وفقد رجاله وكره الحياة وتمنى الموت قايدا يا اسفاد عليكم يا ابطال الزمان يا رجال النهب والطعن يا فرسان الجدال في حومة الميدان يا ليت اتاكم الموت في وسط الحرب والقتال ولقيتم الوفاة والقوت في النخصام والجدال اما موتكم

<sup>1</sup> So in MS., cf. جزئه | on p. 366, n. 1.

حتف [f. 98a] انفكم عار وانا الشقى سبب هلاك من كنت  
 افديهم بالروح يا ليت<sup>1</sup> سُقيت كاس الرداء قبل ما اشاهد هذا  
 البلا ولكن ما ابقانى المولى عز وجل الا لاخذ الشار وكشف العار  
 وسانتقم من عدوى اشر الانتقام واذوقه اليم العذاب وعظيم العقاب  
 وانا الكافي على فعل ذلك ولو كنت وحدى والذى عجزت عنه  
 بالرجال الكثيرة اتّمه ان شا الله بمفردى ثم بات وباله يجول في بحر  
 الافكار وقلبه مشغول بطلب حيلة يصل بها الى غرضه وهجر لذيد  
 المنام واصبح ترك عزيز<sup>2</sup> الطعام ثم اقتضى رايه على تدبير حيلة  
 ظن ان يدرك بها امله ووقف على امر يفعله متاملاً ان  
 [f. 98b] ينال به مراده ويشفى به امراضه فلما اقبل النهار بدل  
 ملبوسه واخذ ثياب التجار وواف المدينة استاجر مقصورة في احد  
 المحانات الكبار واخذ حنوّاً في سوق التجار فنقل فيها من الكنز  
 على امرار متفرقة بضايح مشتمة ظريفة واقمشة مذهبة نفيسة فمنها  
 التفاصيل الهندية والطاقت الشامية والسياب الديباجية والخلع  
 السنية والملابس الابريسمية والجواهر المعدنية هذا كله من نهب  
 البلاد واموال العباد الموضوعة في الكنز ثم قعد في حنوته في بيع  
 وشراء واخذ وعطاء مع الناس وصار يسامح في الاسعار ويكس في  
 الاثمان ويقابل الناس بما يشتهونه [f. 99a] ويخاطبهم بما يرغبونه  
 الى ان اشتهر امره وشاع ذكره وانتشر خبره واتسعت سيرته فزاروه  
 اكبار وتزاحمت عليه الصغار وهو يقبل الناس بمعروف وبشاشة  
 ويعاملهم باللين والهشاشة ويظهر لهم سماحة الوجه وحسن الاخلاق  
 ولطف في خطابه وحسن في جوابه حتى ان حبوه الناس باجمعهم

<sup>1</sup> MS. يا ليت شعري , of which I can make nothing.

<sup>2</sup> MS. عزيز .

وهذا كله ضد طبيعته لان كان مجمل على القساوة والغلاظة والعبادة  
والنظاظة ومعتاد على القتل والنهب وسفك الدماء والسلب لكن  
الضرورة لها احكام واحوجته الى فعل ذلك فما من يوصف بعلم  
ولا قضاء ولا من يرجع اليه في اتفاق ولا امضاء ولا امام مسجد  
[f. 99b] ولا خطيب ولا ذى فتوى يسأل فيجيب ولا من يجتهد  
في رأى فيخطى او يصيب ولا مجدل بحديث ولا متكلم في قديم  
وحديث ولا معروف بدين وصلاح ولا فرسان حرب وكفاح ولا راشق  
بسهام ولا طاعن برماح ولا ضارب بصنّاح ولا بازي ولا حاضر ولا مقيم ولا  
ساير ولا اول ولا اخر ولا مسرّ في باطن ولا معلن في ظاهر ولا عرب ولا  
عجم ولا راعى ابل ولا غنم ولا صاحب مأواة<sup>1</sup> ولا دار ولا ساكن في حضر  
ولا بادية<sup>2</sup> ولا صاحب بيوت ولا جدار ولا ملجئ في البحار ولا ساير في  
البرارى والقفار حتى اتى الى عنده وابتاع من قماشه ومتاعه  
وزارته كل جارية رومية خماسية القد سائلة الخد قائمة  
[f. 100a] النهد عيطا السوالف عظيمة الروادف لها عيون كعيون  
الغزلان وحواجب كالقيسان واذان كالكيسان وصدر كالرمان وفم  
كخاتم سليمان وشفف كالعقيق والمرجان وقد كغصن البان واعتدال  
كالخيزران وانفاس كالبالسان تجلى الهموم باعطاف قلبها الرحيم  
وتشفى السقيم بكلامها المحلو الرحيم وبادرت الى عنده كل صبية  
قمرية كحيلة الطرف متممة الظرف كاملة الوصف ثقيلة الردف  
معتدلة الانف مكشمة الشفتين مودة الخدين ظريفة اليدين ثقيلة  
الردفين دقيقة الساقين كحيلة العينين حمرة الوجنتين بها من الحسن  
والجمال والبهاء والكمال والقد والاعتدال ما يعجز [f. 100b] المتكلم

<sup>1</sup> MS. ابة, of which I can make nothing. I conjecture with diffidence.

<sup>2</sup> MS. وبادية بدار.

البليغ عن وصفه ولا يبلغ العالم الواصف الى ذكر نصفه وسارعت الى  
لقائه كل عجوز بوجه مسموط وحاحب ممعوط وجسم أجرب وشعر  
أشهب ووجه اغبش وطرف اعمش وساق اخضر وفم ابخر وقدم  
مايل ومنظرهايل ومخاط سايل ولون حايل شخاخة رشاحة نازلة  
اللعاب والمخاط كثيرة الفسا والزراط<sup>1</sup> عديمة الصمت والنشاط زائدة  
في الكلام والعياط تقرف النفوس من صورتها وتفر من رويتها وجالسه  
كل شاب اذج<sup>2</sup> الحاجبين خفيف العارضين مورد الوجنتين قد  
دبل عزارد<sup>3</sup> وازهرت انواره وظهرت اقمارة وخفيت اوزارده يتمايل  
من العجب والتهيه ويتبين من الدلال ما فيه ويقطر الشهد من فيه  
[f. 101a] وحضر الى حنوته كل امرد ظريف ذى طرف ضعيف  
وعذار خفيف ونوب نظيف بوجه اقمر وخذ احمر وجبين ازهر ووجه  
ايضا عين كحيل وخذ اسيل وخصر محيل وردف ثقيل وساق صقيل  
تشفى السقيم رويته وتبرى الكليم مشاهدته وقلب بضايعة كل كهل  
كامل السن قوى الثرس والسن طويل القامة كبير الهامة وافر اللحية  
والحاجبين جعد الشعر في العارضين به من البطالة والبسالة ما يفوق  
الفارس الشجعان ويضاهي الاسد الغضببان واشترى من سلعته كل  
شيخ حرم طاعن في السن اقرع الراس ضعيف البصر متمكى على  
عصاه قد مارس الامور وادبه السنين والدهور [f. 101b] وشابت  
لحميته من نوايب الزمان وانحنى ظهره من تداول الليالى<sup>4</sup> والايام  
ونطق لسان حاله يقول شعرا [من البسيط]

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for والضراط .

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. for أذج .

<sup>3</sup> So in MS. for عذارد .

<sup>4</sup> MS. الليلى .

أرعىنى الدهرأى رعىه      والدهر ذو قوة وبطس  
 قد كنت أمشى ولست أعيا      واليوم أعيا ولست أمشى  
 وهو يقبل كل منهم بالرحب والسعة ويساوى بين القوى والضعيف  
 والذمى والشريف ولا يفرق بين الأمير والعامور والطلق والماسور  
 ولا بين الجليل والمحقر والغنى والفقر بل يعظم العالم الأديب  
 كما لا يحقر الوارد الغريب ويفضل الحبيب ويكرم الجار  
 القريب حتى عمت القلوب محبته وشملت النفوس  
 [f. 102a] مودته وقدر القادر جلّ جلاله لا مراراد انفاذه<sup>1</sup>  
 وحكم قضاء على عباده ان حنوت هذا الغدار صار يواجه حنوت  
 ابن على بابا وكان اسمه محمداً فبحيث كانوا جيران وجبت  
 عليهما حقوق المجاورة فلاجل ذلك تعارفا وتوالفا ولا كان احد منهما  
 يعرف من هو صاحبه وما هو اصله فازداد بينهما الود والمحبة وصارا  
 يجلسا عند بعضهما ولا احد منهما يصبر عن جارة فصدف في بعض  
 الايام ان على بابا جاء لعند ابنه محمد لقصد الزيارة طالباً التنزه في  
 سوق التجار فوجد التاجر الغريب جالساً عنده فاول ما ابصره القايد  
 عرفه جيد المعرفة وتحقق انه غريمه الذى جاء [f. 102b] في  
 طلبه ففرح لذلك غاية الفرح واستبشر بقضاء حاجته وبلوغ اربه  
 وباخذ الثار لكن كتم هذا ولا غيّر هيئته وبعد ما انصرف على بابا  
 سال عنه ابنه متظاهراً ان لا يعرفه فقال له محمد هذا هو أبى فلما  
 فهم ذلك وتحققه صار يكثر من الجلوس عند محمد ويزيد في اكرامه  
 وبيالغ في احترامه ويظهر له اللفة والمحبة والصدقة والمودة وقد  
 كان يدعيه عنده لاكل الطعام ويصنع له الولائم والتضيافات ويطلبه  
 للسهرات ولا يصبر عنه في المناديات والمسامرات ويهاديه الهدايا

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for انفاذه.

النفيسة والتحف الظريفة هذا كله لتنفيذ<sup>1</sup> غرض كان اضمره  
ولتمكين ما كان انطوى عليه من الغدر والخيانة [f. 103a] اما  
محمد لما شاهد فرط معرفته ورأى حسن عشرته وزيادة صداقته حبه  
ووصلت محبته فيه للغاية ووده الى النهاية لما كان يظن فيه من  
خلوص النية وصدق الطوية وكان لا يصبر عنه ساعة واحدة ولا يفارقه  
لا ليل ولا نهار فحكى لابيهِ ما كان يصنع به من المعروف التاجر  
التغريب وما اظهر له من الود والمحبة وانه رجل غنى كريم سخي  
ومن الامثال وبالغ في مدحه وذكر انه يدعيه عنده في كل وقت لاكل  
الطعام اللذيذ ويهاديه بالتحف النفيسة فقال له ابوه واجب عليك  
يا ابني ان تقابله بما يعاملك به وتصنع له وليمة وتدعيه ويكون  
ذلك في يوم [f. 103b] الجمعة فاذا خرجتما معًا من صلاة الجمعة  
في وقت الظهر ومررتما على بيتنا فاعزم عليه بالدخول فاكون  
مستخضرًا على ما يناسب ويليق لمقام هذا الضيف الجليل فلما  
كان يوم الجمعة مضى القايد وقت الظهر الى المسجد وصحبه محمد  
فبعد ما صلا صلاة الجماعة خرجا معًا لقصد التنزه في المدينة  
فمازالا يجولان فيما الى ان انتهيا الى شارع على بابا فلما وصلا  
لעند البيت اعزم محمد على رفيقه بالدخول لاكل الطعام قايلاً له  
ان هذا منزلنا فابى وامتنع من ذلك بصروب من العلل فاكد  
عليه محمد وحلف عليه وما زال ورا د حتى رضى قايلاً له اوافقك  
على مرادك لاف حق الصحبة ولا جبر بخاطرك [f. 104a] لكن  
يكون على شرط انكم لاتضع ملحًا في الطعام لاني اكره ذلك غاية  
الكرهة ولست استطيع أكله ولا اشم زايحته فقال له محمد هذا امر  
هين وبحيث ان معدتك لا تقبل الملح لا يحضر بين يديك الا

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for تنفيذ .

طعام من دون ملح فلما سمع كلامه فرح في الباطن فرحاً شديداً لان غاية مقصوده كان الدخول في البيت وكل ما صنع من الحيل كان لاجل ادراك هذا الغرض وتحصيل هذه الامنية فحينئذ ايقن باخذ الثار وتحقق تمكين الانتقام وقال في نفسه اوقعهم الله بين يدي من غير محالة ولا شك فلما خطا العتبة ودخل الدار ترحب به على بابا وسلم عليه بغاية ما يكون من الادب والمحشمة [f. 104b] واجلسه في صدر المكان بظنه انه تاجر جليل ولا عرف انه صاحب الزيت بنفسه بسبب تغيير زيه وصورته ولا خطر بباله انه ادخل الذيب بين الغنم والاسد بين النعم وقعد يجادته ويوانسه اما ابنه محمد فاتى لعند مرجانة واوصاها بعدم ادخال الملح في الاطعمة كون ان ضيفهم لا يقدر على اكله فاضجرها ذلك لانها كانت صنعت الطعام فالتزمت بطبخ غير من دون ملح لكن استغربت ذلك ورايها امرة واشتاقت انها تنظر من هو هذا الرجل الذي لا رغبة له في الملح ولا يذوقه من دون الناس كلها لان حقيقة<sup>1</sup> هذا الشئ لا يسمع به ولا يتفق فلما استوى [f. 105a] الطبخ وأن وقت العشاء حملت المائدة هي وعبد الله وقدمها بين يدي الجماعة فعند ذلك لاحت منها التفاتة الى التاجر الغريب فعرفته في الحال لفراستها وجودة فطانتها<sup>2</sup> وتحققت انه قايد للصوص من غير شك ولا ريب ثم اطالت فيه النظر فابصرت تحت ردايه يد خنجر فقالت في نفسها فهمت الان سبب امتناع هذا الملعون عن اكل الملح مع سيدى وهو انه يريد قتله فاستقبح فعل ذلك واستفحشه بعد اكل الملح لكن باذن الله تعالى ما ينال مقصوده ولا ابقية يتم ذلك ثم انصرفت لاشغالها ووقف عبد الله للخدمة

<sup>1</sup> To be read, I suppose, حقيقة.

<sup>2</sup> MS. فطانتها.

أكلوا من جميع الألوان وصار على بابا يكرم ضيفه ويعزم عليه [f. 105b] بالأكل فلما أكتفوا رفعوا الطعام واحضروا المدام والنقل والمحلاويات والفاكهة والمسكرات فتحلوا وتفكّوها ثم دار بينهم الكاس والملعون يناولهما الشراب ويمتنع من الشرب ومقصوده بذلك سكرهما ويبقى هو يقظان دون سكر بكمال عقله ليملك غرضه وهوان إذا غلب عليهما السكر وناما يغتنم الفرصة يريى دماهما ويستلهما بخنجر ثم يفرّ هارثًا من باب البستان كما فعل سابقاً فبينما هم على هذه الحالة أذ دخل عليهم مرجانة وعبد الله أما مرجانة فكان عليها قميص شبك<sup>1</sup> إسكندراني وجمّة ديباج ملوكى وغير ذلك من الثياب الفاخرة وكانت ممنطقة بمنطقة ذهبية [f. 106a] محبوكة بأنواع الجواهر قد ضم خصرها وأبرز ردفها وعلى رأسها شبكة من اللؤلؤ وداير عنقها عقد من الزمرد والياقوت والمرجان نهد من تحته نهداها كأنهما فحلن<sup>2</sup> رمان وهى مزينة بالحلى والحلل وكأنها كانت زهر الربيع فى أول ابتسامه والبدر فى ليلة تمامه وأما عبد الله فكان لابس أيضاً الثياب الفاخرة وبيده طبل يضرب عليه وهى ترقص رقص أهل الصناعة فلما رآها على بابا فرح ونسم وقال لها مرحبا للجارية الانبسة والخدمة النفيسة والله نعم ما فعلنى لأننا كنّا مشتاقين للرقص فى هذه الساعة ليتم حظنا وسرورنا ويكمل طريقنا وحبورنا [f. 106b] ثم قال للقايد هذه الجارية ليست لها مثيل لأنها ماهرة فى كل شى وناضجة فى الخدمة ولا يغيب عنها فن من فنون الادب قد حوت المحسن والمحاسن وسدادة الراى وسرعة الفطنة وهى معدومة المثل

<sup>1</sup> MS. سبك.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. for فحلا; colloquial *fahlain* or *fahlen rumman*.

في مثل هذا الزمان فلها على الجميل وهي عندى اعز من البنت  
فانظر يا سيدى الى جمال وجهها ورشاقة قدما وحسن رقصها وظرف  
حزها ولطف حركتها واما هو فكان غير واعى لكلامه ولا صاغى لحديثه  
بل غايب عن وجوده من شدة غمه وغيظه على دخول هذين  
الشخصين الذين افسدا عليه ما اعد من سوء على اهل المنزل  
وما اضره من الغدر والخيانة ثم ان مرجانة رقصت رقصة حسنا  
يضاهى [f. 107a] رقص اهل الصناعة وغلت فيه الى ان جذبت  
خاتجرا كان على منطقتها ورقصت به وهي ماسكاه<sup>1</sup> في يدها كما  
هى عادة العرب فتارة تضع نصله على صدرها وتارة على صدر على  
بابا وتارة تقربه من صدر ابنه محمد وتارة تجعله على صدر القايد  
ثم اخذت الطبل من يد عبد الله وقدمته لعلى بابا واشارت  
عليه ان يعطيها شيئا فارمى لها دينارا ثم انتقلت بالطبل لعند ابنه  
محمد فرمى لها دينارا اخر ثم دنت من القايد بالخنجر من  
يد والطبل من يد فاراد ان يعطيها شيئا ولذلك وضع يده في جيبه  
فبينما هو على هذه الحالة ملهى باخراج ما تيسر من الدراهم ان  
غرزت الخنجر في صدره فشقق شهقة عظيمة [f. 107b] ومات  
وعجل الله بروحه الى النار وبُيِس القرار فلما شاهد على بابا وابنه  
ما فعلت قاما مسرعين ووقفوا مفزعين وصرخا عليها قائلين لها  
يا خايئة يا بنت الزانية يا عاهرة يا قليلة الاصل ما سبب هذا  
الغدر الفزيع وما احوجك الى هذا الفعل الشنيع قد رميتينا في  
بلوة لا ننجو منها ابداً وتكونين سبب هلاكنا وقد ارواحنا لكن اول  
ما تعاقب<sup>2</sup> انت يا ملعونة وان سلمت من يد الحكم لا تسلمى

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for ماسكته ; colloquial ; see *Willmore*, § 116, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> MS. يتعاقب .

من ايدينا فقامت لهما من غير رجل ريشا<sup>1</sup> نفسكما واسكنا روعكما  
 ان كان هذا جزا من تفديكما بروحها فما بقى احد يتصدر لفعل  
 الخير فلا تعجلا في بسوء الظن ليلا يعاقبكما الندامة [f. 108a] بل  
 اسمعا حديثي ثم اقضيا علي بما شئتما هذا الرجل ليس هو تاجر  
 كما يزعم وكما تظنان بل هو قايد لصوص الغابة الذي ادعى اولاً انه  
 بيع زيت. وادخل الرجال الكثيرة في منزلكما في باطن القرب  
 لقتلكما وخراب دابركما فلما افسدت عليه مكيدته وخاب امـله  
 وامنيته لزم الفرار وخلا الديار فما اعتبر بذلك ولا ارتدع بل ازداد  
 حنقاً وحقداً علي وعليكما وصمم على نيته الخبيثة فلاجل محصيل  
 مناه وادرات رجاء فتح حنوتاً في سوق التجار واشحنه بالبضائع  
 الفاخرة النفيسة ثم استعمل المكاييد الخفية والحيل المخفية  
 والدسائس الكفرية حتى احتال على سيدى محمد وخادعه  
 [f. 108b] باظهار المحبة الكاذبة والمودة الباطلة وما زال وراه  
 بالمخادعة حتى امكنه الدخول في منزلكما والجلوس بينكما على  
 مايدة واحدة وحينئذ كان منتظراً انتهاز الفرصة ليغدر بكم ويقتلكما  
 اشرقتله ويمحى اثركما معتمداً في ذلك على حدة سلاحه وقوة  
 عضده وساعده ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم والحمد لله الذى  
 عجل عليه بالعطب والدمار على يدي فانظرا الى وجهه وافترسا فيه  
 فيبان لكما صدق مقالى ثم كشفت عن ردايه واورتهما<sup>3</sup> الخنجر  
 المخفى تحت ثيابه فلما سمعا جوابها وما شرحت لهما في خطابها  
 وميزا تمييزاً بليغاً وجه التاجر الكذوب الغدار [f. 109a] عرفاه جيّد  
 المعرفة وتحققا انه بيع الزيت بعينه وبروية الخنجر علما صريحاً ان

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for روضا .

<sup>2</sup> MS. ازدا .

<sup>3</sup> So in MS. for وارتهما, cf. n. 1 on p. 370.

الجاهما الله من خطر عظيم ومن عطب جسيم بوسيلة جاريتهما  
مرجانة وحققا صدق مقالها وعظمت لديهما جرأة قلبها وافعالها فعند  
ذلك شكرها على فعلها الحميد ومدحا جود رأيها السديد ثم  
ان قال لها على بابا لما اعتقتك سابقا اوعدتك على اكثر من  
ذلك فيقتضى في هذه الساعة ان اوف بعهدى وانجز بوعدى وان  
ابتن لك ما كنت اغمرته في مقابلة ما صنعتيه معنا من الخير  
واجازيك على حسن فعلك وهو ان زوجتك بابنى محمد فما  
تقولان في ذلك فاجابه محمد [f. 109b] قايلاً لك السمع  
والطاعة فبما دبرت ورسمت ولا اخالفك فيما نهيت واقسمت  
ولو كان شئ يضجرنى او يقلقنى اما زواج مرجانة فهو غاية مرادى  
ونهاية مقصودى وذلك لانه كان يعشقه من زمان وشغفه فيها وصل  
الى الغاية وادرك النهاية لما كان فيها من المحسن والجمال والبهاء  
والكمال ولما حوت من جودة القريحة وحسن الاخلاق ولما جمعت  
من كريم الاصل وطيب الاعراق ثم شرعوا في دفن القايد فحفروا له في  
البستان حفيرة واسعة قبرود فيها ولحقوا بصحابه المحرومين الكفرة  
الملاعين وما شعرا احد من خلق الله بهذه الامور الغريبة والاتفافات  
[f. 110a] العجيبة واما بما كان من امر حنوته انه لما غاب عنه مدة  
مستطيلة من الزمان وما ظهر عنه خبر وما بان له اثر استولى بيت  
المال على ما كان يحويه من المتاع وعلى غير ذلك من امواله  
ومتروكاته ثم لما استكتوا واطمأنوا وفي اوطانهم ارتكنوا<sup>1</sup> وراقت الامور  
وظهر السرور وارتفع الشرور تزوج محمد بالجارينة مرجانة وكتب عقد  
نكاحها عند قاضى المسلمين ودفع لها صداقها والتزم بما تأخر منه  
وجمعوا الناس واقاموا الافراح وسهروا في الليالى الملاح وعملوا الولائم

والضيافات وجمعوا ارباب المالهى والمغانى واهل السخريات الى  
ان جلوها عليه وخلا بها [f. 110b] وازال بكارتها ودام الفرح ثلاثة  
ايام ثم لما مضى سنة كاملة من بعد هذه الامور نوى على بابا  
الذهاب الى الكنز وكان امتنع من ذلك بعد موت اخيه خوفا  
من غدر اللصوص فلما اباد الله منهم ثمانية وثلاثين رجلا على يدي  
مرجانه وهلك بعدهم القايد ظن ان الباقي منهم رجلان لان كان  
عدهم في الجبل ووجدهم اربعين شخصا فلذلك توقف عن الذهاب  
هذه المدة كلها خوفا من غدرهم فلما عدم خبرهم ولا ظهر لهم اثر  
تيقن بفقدهم وتجاسر على التوجه فاخذ معه ابنه لاجل يريه الكنز  
ويعلمه سر الوصول اليه والدخول فيه فلما قاربا من الكنز وجدا  
العشب [f. 111a] والعوسج والشوك قد تكاثف قرب الباب  
وسد الطريق فعلما من ذلك ان من مدة مستطيلة لم دخل في  
الكنز انس انيس ولا حس حسيس فعند ذلك تيقنا بهلاك اللصين  
الباقين وزال خوفهما وتجاسرا على التقدم والعبور فاخذ على بابا  
فاسه وقطع العشب والشوك حتى اتسع له المنهج وملك الوصول  
الى الباب ثم قال يا سمسم افتح بابك فانفتح الباب ودخل منه  
هو وابنه ففرجه على ما يحويه من الاموال والغرايب والتحف  
والعجايب فبهت من روية ذلك وتعجب غاية العجب فلما جالا  
في الكنز ودارا وشقا في قاعاته وسارا واكتفا [f. 111b] من تقليب  
الجواهر والمعادن عزموا على الرجوع فعند ذلك اخذا ما عجبهما  
من لطائف الكنز وهو ما حُفَّ حمله وغلى ثمنه وعادا الى منزلهما  
مسرين ولكسب الاموال فرحانين وما زالوا ينقلون من الكنز ما  
يريدون وهم في ارغد عيش واهناه الى ان اتاهم هادم اللذات ومفرق  
الجماعات ومخرب القصور ومعمر القبور وهذا اخر ما انتهى اليه من

حديثهم وغاية ما بلغنا من اخبار قديمهم وحديثهم من خط العبد  
 الفقير الراجى غفران مولاه العلى القدير يوحنا بن يوسف وارسى  
 تجاوز الله عن زلاته وسيئاته واجزل ثوابه وحسناته وجعل  
 [f. 112a] الفردوس مشواه ودار الخلد مأواه انه على كل شى قدير  
 وبالإجابة

## X

### SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIGNS ON THE NORTH-WEST AND HIS WORK AT NINEVEH

By T. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

THE British Museum having been fortunate enough to acquire a new historical document from Assyria of considerable importance, it has been thought that (notwithstanding that an excellent translation and commentary upon it, from the pen of the copyist of the text, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, has been published) a few notes concerning it would not be without interest to the readers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and more particularly those whose studies deal with the pre-Christian Semitic East, especially the tract lying north-west of the Persian Gulf.

The inscription referred to is one of the large cylinders, or rather prisms, which the Assyrian kings were accustomed to use for the recording of the events of their reigns; and, incidentally, their own military glories, and their architectural works. The occasion of their composition was generally the last-named, and the king made use of the opportunity thus offered to give an account of his achievements on the field of battle. Warlike by nature, the Assyrians regarded military prowess as being of the greatest importance. After that came the building or rebuilding of the temples of their gods, who gave them the victories of which they boasted; and hardly second to this was the building of palaces, the outward and visible sign of their own power.

This newly-acquired prism-cylinder, which closely resembles many others from the same country, is of baked clay, and has, upon its eight faces, an inscription of

740 lines devoted to the campaigns and the architectural work of Sennacherib, king of Assyria from 704 to 681 B.C. Though all the campaigns recorded here are given by other texts, and are therefore well known, the inscription upon this cylinder is a document of the first importance, in that it not only treats of two campaigns in which he did not personally take part, but it throws fresh light on the personality of that remarkable and somewhat ruthless king, who, whatever he may have been to those who saw in him a merciless enemy, was for his own countrymen a wise and beneficent ruler, advancing the welfare of his subjects by every means in his power.

There is no need to go through the history of the reign of Sennacherib further than to say that the present text gives, in the selfsame words as the other inscriptions of his reign,<sup>1</sup> the usual honorific introduction; his first campaign, which was against Merodach-baladan; his second, which was directed against the Kassites and the Yašubi-galleans; his third, which was against Hatti, the object being to chastise Hezekiah and set things right, in accordance with his own views, at Ekron; his fourth, which was against the Chaldean state of Bît-Yakin; and his fifth, undertaken to subjugate certain cities occupying the mountain fastnesses of Mesopotamia. It is after these narratives that the sections containing the account of certain important campaigns not conducted by himself, but by his generals, begin. The following is the text of these in transcription, with translation appended (Col. IV, ll. 61 ff.):—

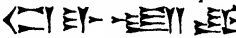

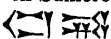
61. *Ina limu Šul-mu-bēli ša-kin ál Ri-mu-si*
62. *m. Ki-ru-a am.bēl-āli ša ál Il-lu-ub-ri*
63. *am.ardu da-gil pa-ni-ia ša iz-zi-bu-šu ilāni-šu*
64. *ba-hu-la-te ál Hi-lak-ki*
65. *uš-bal-kit-ma ik-su-ra ta-ḥa-zu*
66. *nāšē a-ši-bu-ut ál In-gi-ru-a u ál Tar-zi*

<sup>1</sup> The Bellino-cylinder, Taylor-cylinder, and other texts.

67. *i-da-a-šu is-hu-ru-ma gir-ri māt Qu-e*  
 68. *iš-ba-tu ip-ru-su a-lak-tu*  
 69. *am.Šābē iṣuqāšti na-ši tuk-ši ū as-ma-ri-e*  
 70. *ṭunarkabāti sisē ki-ṣir šarrū-ti-ia*  
 71. *u-ma-'ir ṣi-ru-uš-šu-un*  
 72. *ša ba-hu-la-te ál Hi-lak-ki*  
 73. *ša i-da-a-šu is-hu-ru*  
 74. *i-na ki-rib šad-ī mar-ši iš-ku-nu taḥ-ta-šu-un*  
 75. *ál In-gi-ra-a álú Tu-ar-zu ik-šu-du-ma*  
 76. *iš-lu-lu šal-la-su-un*  
 77. *ša-a-šu ki-rib ál Il-lu-ub-ri át dan-nu-ti-šu*  
 78. *ni-tum il-mu-šu-ma iš-ba-tu mu-ṣu-šu*  
 79. *i-na qur-rub šu-pi-e nam-gal-li dūri*  
 80. *ū lab-ban-na-te miṭ-hu-ṣu zu-uk ēpē*  
 81. *tap-da-a-šu iš-ku-nu-ma iš-ba-tu álú*  
 82. *m.Ki-ru-a amēluḥēl-āli a-di šal-lat ālāni-šu*  
 83. *ū nišē ál Hi-lak-ki ša i-da-a-šu*  
 84. *iš-hu-ru a-di ēmere ālpe ū ṣe-e-ni*  
 85. *a-na ál Ni-na-a a-di mah-ri-ia ūb-lu-ni*  
 86. *ša m.Ki-ru-a ma-šak-šu a-ku-us*  
 87. *u-tir-ma ál Il-lu-ub-ri a-nu eš-šu-te aš-bat*  
 88. *nišē mātāti ki-šit-ti qātē-ia i-na lib-bi u-še-šib*  
 89. *iṣukakki ūAššur belī-ia ki-rib-šu u-šar-me*  
 90. *abunarrā-a ša abunparāli u-še-piš-ma*  
 91. *na-har-šu ul-zi-iz.*

61. In the eponymy of Šalnu-bēli, governor of the city of Rimusu,  
 62. Kirua, prefect of the city of Illubru,  
 63. an official dependent upon me, whose gods forsake him,  
 64. caused the people of the city Hilakku  
 65. to revolt, and gathered an army.  
 66. The people inhabiting the cities of Ingirā and Tarsus  
 67. rallied around him, and the road of the land of Que  
 68. they occupied—they stopped the way.  
 69. The bowmen, shield (?) and spearmen,

70. chariots, (and) horses of the army of my kingdom,
71. I sent against them.
72. As for the people of the city of H̄ilakku
73. who had rallied to his side,
74. they accomplished their defeat among the difficult mountains.
75. They captured the cities Ingirâ (and) Tarsus, and
76. carried off their spoil.
77. Him within the city of Illubru, his fortified city,
78. they surrounded with a barrier, and took his exits.
79. With advance of engines, catapults, fortifications,<sup>1</sup>
80. and earthworks, attack of foot-soldiers,
81. they accomplished his overthrow, and took the city.
82. Kirua, the governor, with the spoil of his cities,
83. and the people of the city H̄ilakku who had
84. rallied to him, with asses, oxen, and sheep,
85. they brought to Nineveh to my presence.
86. I flayed off the skin of Kirua.
87. I returned and took the city of Illubru anew.
88. I settled therein the people of the countries, the conquests of my hands.
89. The emblem of Aššur my lord I set up within it—
90. I caused my memorial-slab of alabaster to be made, and
91. set it up before it.

<sup>1</sup> The characters which I have translated "catapults, fortifications"—a provisional rendering—are , *numgalli dūri*, translated by King "‘great flies’ of the wall", though he further suggests that they were siege-engines, "probably with an armoured roof expanding rearward like a fly's wings." As all Assyriologists know, the character *num* ("fly") is used, in the Flood-legend, to indicate something corresponding with the rainbow in the Biblical account, and a great cross-bow or ballista may have suggested, to the imagination of the Assyrians, a giant fly with outspread wings. It is also noteworthy that the word for "lightning" in Sumero-Akkadian is , *num-gir*, "fly-sword." Cf. also  = *zumbi-abni*, "the fly of stone," perhaps a catapult or ballista for throwing great pebbles. In Boissier's *Divination*, p. 6, this group should be followed by ZA-GIN, Semitic *zumbi dūnu ukū*, "lapis-fly," a name probably due to its colour.

From this campaign we learn that "the city of Hilakku" (from which the name of Cilicia apparently comes) was the capital of the district known as Que, a tract often invaded by the Assyrian kings; and it is therefore probable that Que was the Assyrian designation of the district known classically as Cilicia, though there is naturally doubt whether the boundaries coincided, even approximately. The residence of the governor was called Illubru. The name of the governor, Kirua, suggests that he was not an Assyrian, which would explain how it was that he desired to throw off the Assyrian yoke. To accomplish this, he persuaded the people of the city of Hilakku to revolt. Having been joined by the people of Ingirâ and Tarzu (Tarsus), Kirua seems to have felt himself strong enough to resist the forces which, as he expected, Sennacherib would send against him. Being a mountainous region, they thought they could hold the Cilician way (*girri mât Que*), and thus stem the tide of invasion. In this they were disappointed, however, for after defeating the united forces, in the difficult mountainous country (where the Cilicians naturally expected to be successful), the Assyrians captured Ingirâ and Tarsus. Kirua was then besieged within his capital Illubru by the Assyrians, with all their warlike devices (for at this time they apparently aimed at efficiency, and evidently with much success). The end was what a governor who had turned traitor might expect, for he was brought to Nineveh on the capture of his city and flayed, in all probability alive. The wording of the record leads one to think that the Assyrians had to abandon the city, probably for fear of being cut off from their base. A second expedition was therefore sent to retake it, and to settle therein captives from other lands which the Assyrian arms had conquered.

According to Alexander Polyhistor, it was in consequence of having received a report that the Greeks had made a descent upon Cilicia that Sennacherib marched against

them. He fought with them a pitched battle, in which, though he suffered great loss, he nevertheless overthrew them, and erected upon the spot a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, ordering his prowess to be inscribed thereon "in Chaldean characters", in order to hand down the record to posterity. Sennacherib does not claim to have set up an image of himself, but only a symbol of his god Aššur. He placed there, however, a memorial-slab giving an account of the conquest, and though it is not mentioned, there may well have been a bas-relief, representing the king, above the inscription. Polyhistor states that Sennacherib marched to the conquest of Cilicia in person, but the cylinder indicates that this was not the case, so that he did not in reality know what his generals there had done in the matter of memorials of the exploit.

Polyhistor also states that Sennacherib built (better rebuilt) the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon, and called it Tharsis.<sup>1</sup> If this were really the case, excavations on the site might result in the discovery of a record of the fact that the Assyrian king had become a creator rather than a destroyer, for Babylon itself suffered greatly at his hands in consequence of his resentment at the opposition to his rule which it had offered, and which his son Esarhaddon's mildness and favours towards the city were powerless to remove. Perhaps, however, it was rather to make a rival than a counterpart of Babylon that Sennacherib desired. With regard to the change of name, that the new inscription does not throw much light upon—perhaps it was at a later date that the change took place. The spelling on the cylinder is 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Tar-zu*, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, *Tu-ar-zu*, both of which were read in the same way,

<sup>1</sup> So according to the Armenian text—cf. Schoene's Eusebius, col. 27, and *Eusebii Pamphili Chronicon Bipartitum*, by P. Jo. Baptist Aucher, Venice, 1818, p. 21.

namely, *Tarzu*, or, possibly, *Tharzu*. The presence of *z* for Armenian *s* is in accordance with the spelling which was common among the Semites, the Phœnician form of the name being תרז.

The name of the city is found as early as the time of Shalmaneser II, who, in his Black-Obelisk Inscription, states that, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, having crossed Mount Amanus for the seventh time, he went for the fourth time against the cities of Katî, ruler of the Qauians (people of Que or Cilicia). After subjugating Tanakun, a fortified city belonging to a chieftain named Tulka, and ravaging the land of Lamena, Shalmaneser marched against Tarzu (Tarsus), which submitted, and paid tribute in silver and gold. Katî, the ruler of the city, was deposed, and his brother Kirri raised to the sovereignty over the people in his stead.

Though this is the only previous mention of Tarsus, it is not the only mention of Que or Qau, as Cilicia was called, in the Assyrian inscriptions; and there is no knowing at present how far back their connexions with, and consequently their incursions into, that district go, for the Cappadocian inscriptions, which are essentially Assyrian, show that Assyrian influence had reached that point, and probably gone even farther west, about 2000 years B.C. or earlier. Tukulti-Ninip (Tukulti-En-usâti), about 1275 B.C., warred in the same direction, but it is doubtful whether he went so far as Cilicia. Among the predecessors of Sennacherib who warred in that part of Asia Minor, however, may be mentioned Tiglath-pileser III, who received tribute from Urikku or Uriaiku of Que, and Sennacherib's father Sargon, who seems to have taken a city in that province whose name begins with Ab- . . . , which had been already captured by Mitâ, king of Muski or Mesech. Other cities of Que, which Sargon afterwards refers to as having been annexed by Mitâ, are Harrua and Ušnanis, which had been in his possession some time. These were

restored to their original province, probably under an Assyrian governor—to whom, indeed, Sargon refers; and it is to his efforts that the success of the Assyrian arms seems to have been due.

The second additional campaign contained in the new text took place apparently during the following year, and follows immediately upon that translated and discussed above. It refers to operations in Tubal, but is unfortunately not so well preserved, though several of the lines can be restored from duplicate texts:—<sup>1</sup>

1. *I-na li-mu Aššur-bêl-ušur awêluša-kin . . .*
2. *a-na āli Til-ga-ri-[im-mu]*
3. *a-lum ša pa-a-ti māt Ta-[ba-li]*
4. *ša m. Hi-di-i šarru-tu-[us-su]*
5. *ir-ku-su iṣṣukakk[ē-ia]*
6. *as-su-uk-ma awêlušabē gišgāšta na-ši [tuk-ši]*
7. *ū as-ma-ri-e iṣṣunarkabati si[sē]*
8. *ki-šir sarru-ti-ia u-ma'-ir ši-ru-uš-šu*
9. *ālu šu-a-tum ni-i-tum al-mu-na*
10. *i-na maš-pak e-pi-ri ū kur-ru-u[h šu-pi-i]*
11. *mit-lu-šu zu-[uk šépē i]š-ba-[tu ālu]*
12. *nišē a-di ilāni [a-sib lib-bi-su am-nu šal-la-ti-iš]*
13. *Alu šu-a-tum [ iḡ-qu-ru]*
14. *a-na tili [ū kar-me u-tir-ru]*
15. *i-na šal-lat mātāt[i (pl.) šu aš-lu-lu]*
16. *šelašā le'im [iṣṣugāšti . . . a]-ri-t[u]*
17. *i-na [lib-bu-šu-nu a]k-šur-ma*
18. *ē[li ki-šir sarru-ti-ia] u-rad-di*
19. *[si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu*
20. *[a-na gi-mir karāši-ia] bēl-pihāti (pl.)-ia*
21. *[u nišē ma-ḥa-za-ni-ia] rabūti*
22. *[kima ši-e-ni lu-]u-za'-iz*

1. In the eponymy of Aššur-bêl-ušur, prefect of . . .

2. to the city Til-garimmu,

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted the restorations given by Mr. King in the British Museum publication referred to.

3. a city of the borders of the land of Tubal,
4. whose kingdom Hidi
5. had consolidated, my weapons
6. I sent down, and bowmen, bearers of shields
7. and lances, chariots, horses,
8. my royal force, I sent against him.
9. I surrounded that city (with) a wall, and
10. with heaping-up of embankments, and advance of  
siege-engines,
11. attack of infantry, they took the city.
12. The people with the gods dwelling within it I courted  
as spoil.
13. That city they destroyed ;
14. to a mound and heaps they reduced (it).
15. Among the spoil of the lands, which I carried off
16. 30,000 [bows and . . .] shields
17. I collected among them, and
18. added to the (military) store of my kingdom.
19. [The rest of the] heavy [spoil of the enemy]
20. [to the whole of my camp], my provincial governors,
21. [and the people of my] great [cities]
22. like sheep I distributed.

Til-garimmu has been identified with the Biblical Togarmah, but it cannot be said that the two forms afford satisfactory material for a philological comparison, at least in the present state of our knowledge. Sennacherib had already made an expedition into the neighbourhood of Tubal, when he went against Tumurru, Šarum or Šarma (𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶), Ezama, Kipsû, Halbuda, Qûa, and Qana, "whose situations are placed, like the nest of an eagle, the prince of birds, upon the height of the land Nipur, a difficult mountain." The king complains of the difficulties and fatigues of the march, and of having to rest sitting upon a stone, and drink cold water from a bottle of skin. On this occasion

he attacked also the cities of Maniae of the city of Ukku, which he captured, carrying off their spoil, together with the plunder of thirty-three cities of the neighbouring district. Sennacherib's bull-inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 3, speak also of a march to Hilakku (Cilicia), whose people dwelt in lofty wooded heights; but he slaughtered them "like lambs". To this he adds (as also in the text of his memorial-slab) that he captured and reduced to ruins the city Til-garimmu, on the borders of the land of Tubal. It seems not improbable that this latter reference, which is tacked on to the end of the account of the expedition to the mountain-cities, is the same as that of which a longer account is given in the new cylinder-inscription.

But the longest section of the text on this new and exceedingly interesting cylinder is that recording Sennacherib's work at Nineveh, in the walls of which the monument in question is supposed to have been found. This portion of the text, which occupies no less than three-quarters of column v, and the whole of columns vi, vii, and viii (345 lines), gives an idea of the importance which Sennacherib attached to the work. Whether the length of this part shows he had recognized that he would be remembered as a builder rather than as a conqueror, or that he desired to be so remembered, is doubtful, but fate had ordained that he should go down to posterity as the ruthless and rapacious ravager, who more than once felt the heavy hand of the vengeful and jealous God of the Hebrews.

The introduction to the account of the work done at Nineveh, which occupies twenty-nine lines, gives a general description of the Assyrian capital as the city beloved of the goddess Ištar, wherein exist all the shrines of the gods and goddesses. It is described as the eternal ground-work, the everlasting foundation, whose design had been fashioned and whose structure shone forth from of old with the writing of the (starry) heavens. It was a place

craftily wrought, wherein was the seat of the oracle, and all kinds of art-works, every kind of shrine, treasure, thing of delight (?). It was there that all the kings his fathers had ruled the land of Assyria before him, and had directed the followers of the god Enlil.<sup>1</sup> None of the kings, however, had turned his mind, as Sennacherib had done, to the widening of the city's area, to building the city wall, to straightening the streets, and none of them had had his attention directed to digging a canal, nor planting a plantation. Nor had he set his mind upon the palace therein, the lordly habitation, whose site had become too small, and whose construction was not artistic. It was to all these things that Sennacherib, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, turned his mind and his attention, according to the will of the gods.

. For this purpose he set the people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Mannites or Armenians, Que and Hilakku (both mentioned as countries, though in the historical part the latter appears as a city), the land of Pilišti (Philistia), and the land of Tyre. All these nationalities, who had not submitted to his yoke, he carried away, and placed them in servitude, and they made the bricks for the extension and beautifying of the city. The former palace, which extended to 360 cubits in length and 95 in breadth, he found too small for his needs, and also too plain in its architecture for his taste, notwithstanding that they had had alabaster (?) quarried in the city of Tastiati on the Tigris, and brought down on rafts (literally "ships") for the winged bulls and lions which ornamented the gates of the palace. For these rafts they had cut down great trees throughout their land. It was at the time of the spring floods in the month of Iyyar that they brought them over with difficulty to the Nineveh side of the river. "At the crossing of the quay walls,"

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Babylonians in general, in which case "the older Enlil" may not be intended, but Bel-Merodach.

Sennacherib says, "the great boats [*gišma-gula*] sank deep, their crews groaned, their bodies were distressed ; with hardship and labour, toilingly they brought them, and set them up in their gates."

This palace, however, was doomed to disaster, for the River Tebiltu, a violent stream, had since remote days sought to reach the palace, and in its flood had caused damage to the foundation, and destroyed the platform or terrace. This small palace Sennacherib pulled down entirely, turned the course of the Tebiltu from the middle of the city, and directed its outflow to the district behind. With the aid of great blocks of stone, reeds, and other material, Sennacherib reclaimed from another river, the Khosr, a piece of land 340 cubits in length by 289 in width, taking also a portion of ground belonging to the city, in accordance with the plan. This was added to the extent of the former platform, and its surface was raised to a height of 190 *tipki*. In order that this sub-structure should not be weakened in course of time by the violence of the current, the terrace-foundation was faced round with great blocks of stone. The palace itself was enlarged to a length of 700 great *suklum* and a width of 440, and palaces (that is, separate sections or divisions of the whole structure) were then built, and adorned with gold, silver, bronze, *santu*-stone, *tur-mina-banda*-stone,<sup>1</sup> white limestone, ivory, *ušu*-wood, *urkarinnu*-wood, palm, cedar, cypress, *burašu*, *ēlammaku*, and *sindā*-woods. He then caused a gateway to be made after the likeness of that of a Hittite palace. Beams of sweet-smelling cedar and cypress, the produce of Amanus, and Sirara of the white mountains, were then set up over them, and doors of cedar, cypress, *burašu*, and *sindā*, covered with a plating of copper, were hung in its gateway. Some of these details are naturally difficult to understand, because there are no remains of the superstructure of the palace ;

<sup>1</sup> King : *breccia*.

but excavations have shown that the Hittite palaces, like those of Assyria, were decorated with winged bulls and lions, and it would seem, therefore, as though the Assyrians borrowed the style from them. This probability, moreover, is all the more worthy of notice, because Assyrian sculpture seems to be midway between that of Babylonia and the Hittites, the Assyrians having apparently come into contact with the nations to the north and west of them at an early date (it is known that there was an Assyrian colony at Kaisarieh about 2000 years before Christ) and absorbed many new ideas upon art and other things, whilst still keeping, however, their own national characteristics.

In the shrines which were within the royal chambers, Sennacherib opened *apti birri*, regarded as meaning "light-holes", or windows. This is followed by a description of certain female winged colossi of a white stone and ivory, which, he says, carried *illuru*, possibly columns placed upon their backs as an artistic support for the top of the shrine or recess. These female colossi are described as being mantled in the power of life with strength and lustiness, and curving their fingers (or talons), as Meissner and King seem rightly to translate. "I set (them) up in their gates (entrances) and caused (them) to pass as a wonderment," says the king. If one might make a suggestion with regard to these interesting decorative statuettes (for such they seem to have been), they were probably the same as, or similar to, the beautiful winged lioness found by the late George Smith in 1873-4. "A very curious and beautiful little specimen [he says], discovered at Kouyunjik, is a small model in fine yellow stone of a winged cow or bull, with a human head, the neck adorned with a necklace, the head surmounted by a cylindrical cap adorned with horns and rosette ornaments, and wings over the back. On the top of the wings stands the base of a column, having the uniform pattern found on Assyrian

bases."<sup>1</sup> He gives the dimensions as being 3 inches long, present height (the feet being broken off) 3 inches, probable original height  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, height of base of column three-quarters of an inch; total breadth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The object found by George Smith might also be regarded as a winged lioness-sphinx as well as a human-headed cow, there being no indication of the udder whatever. The nearly cylindrical hat is adorned with three horns springing from each side (six in all) and terminating in front. The rosettes at the top are surmounted by a row of feathers, and the feathers of the wings extend down as far as the thighs of the fore-legs.

Architectural details concerning the newly-erected palace follow. He speaks of the lighting of the recesses of the chambers, which he made "like the day", and the interiors he surrounded with decorative ornaments of silver and copper (is this the Assyrian for bronze made with an alloy of silver?). They were also decorated with burnt brick and valuable stone, one of the kinds mentioned being lapis-lazuli. Some of the great trees used for the decoration and building of his palace, Sennacherib says, were planted in secret places among the mountains within the land of Sirara, and their position—the place where they grew—was revealed to him by his gods Aššur and Ištar, lovers of his priesthood. The stone (marble or alabaster) used was that regarded in the times of his fathers as precious for the decoration of the sheath of a sword. This was discovered in the land (or mountain) of Ammanana, and the *tur-mina-banda*-stone used for the great receptacles of the palace, which had never been seen before, occurred in the city of Kabri-dargilâ, on the boundary of Til-barsip (identified with the modern Birejik). The white limestone used for the winged bulls and lions, and the sculptured images of alabaster, which was found in abundance, came from the district of the

<sup>1</sup> *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith (2nd ed., 1875), pp. 430-1.

city of the Balatians near Nineveh. The bulls and lions were made in a single block of stone, and it is noteworthy that the transportation of these, probably for the palace in question, is represented more than once on the slabs from Sennacherib's palace, which were discovered by Layard and are now in the British Museum. Everyone recognizes in them wonderfully instructive illustrations of the way in which the great Assyrian palaces were constructed—how the mounds were raised by the forced labour of many captives, and how the unfinished colossal bulls were dragged up to their places on the platforms. The king speaks of the female colossi as being perfect in form, and their bodies as shining like the bright day—words doubtless intended to describe the brilliant effect which they must have had when first set up in all their original and pristine newness. The slabs used in the construction of the palace were cut off on both sides whilst still “in their mountain”, detached, and transported to Nineveh. Some of the winged bulls, lions, and female colossi, however, were completed in the district of the Balatians, and brought to Nineveh (to all appearance) afterwards.

At this point Sennacherib touches upon another subject, namely, the casting of bronze. He says that when in earlier days the kings his fathers desired to make an image of themselves in bronze to set up within the palaces, they caused all the artisans to groan in their reproduction, and from want of instruction and comprehension of the matter, poured out oil, and sheared sheep in their land for the work of their desire. Whether this refers to divination by means of oil and the making of offerings, as King suggests, I am unable to say, but it seems very probable. Sennacherib, however, “the chief of all kings, who has knowledge of work of every kind,” through the clever understanding which the (divine) prince Nin-igi-azaga (the god Êa) had conferred, by his own research,

he took into deep consideration, and by the counsel of his understanding and the inquiry of his mind, he constructed the bronze-work and produced it artistically. By his superior science, therefore, he was able to make great columns of bronze, and colossal lions "open of knee"—that is, in all probability, with the legs separated from each other, and not joined by the core of metal which the kings preceding him had to content themselves with when they caused similar work to be executed. Of great beams and smaller woodwork he made, therefore, the framework for twelve great polished lions, with twelve glorious (bull and lion) colossi, which were perfect in form; and twenty-two female colossi mantled with glorious strength and benevolence, and abounding in exuberant force.

According to the command of the god, then, Sennacherib made moulds of clay, and poured the bronze within them; and as in the casting of half-shekel pieces, he made their form perfect. Two of these brazen colossi were overlaid with what is suggested to have been gilding, and were placed, with others of limestone and male and female colossi of alabaster, in the gates of his palaces. The king then speaks of the "sublime columns of copper", with the great columns of cedar, the produce of Mount Amanus, which he covered with copper and lead (probably an alloy formed with these two metals), and erected upon lion-colossi, setting up beams as a framing for their doorways. Then upon female colossi of alabaster, with those made of bronze, which were covered with gilding (?), and yet others made of a substance called *gu-anna* (possibly a kind of zinc), whose forms were brilliant, he erected columns of all the kinds of wood regarded by the Assyrians as precious—*ušu*-wood, cypress, cedar, *duprānu*, pine, and *sindā*, on which a plating of *pasalli*-metal and silver was placed, and erected as the colonnades (?) of "his lordly dwelling".

To this point the text agrees with that of Meissner and Rost in their *Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, taken from texts

already well known. The references to images of mountain-wethers which that edition contains are omitted, but the great slabs of *tur-mina-banda*, alabaster, etc., for the walls of the chambers are referred to, though in a somewhat shorter form than in Meissner and Rost. In both texts the slabs are described as being produced wonderfully, from which may be gathered that the king refers to the bas-reliefs with which they were sculptured. Next comes his account of the irrigation-works which he instituted. In order to have water daily in abundance, he caused swinging beams and buckets of bronze to be constructed, and set up the necessary framework over the wells—a description of the *shadouf*, with which many travellers in the East are well acquainted. “As for those palaces,” says Sennacherib, “I caused them to be produced beautifully—the surroundings of the palace I made delightful as the wonderment of multitudes of people—I called its name ‘The Palace which has no rival’.”

The next thing described by Sennacherib is the great park, “like Mount Amanus,” which he planted, wherein were all herbs and fruit-trees, trees produced on the mountains, and in the land of Chaldea, with trees bearing wool. This, as Mr. L. W. King points out,<sup>1</sup> must be a reference to the growing of cotton, as is shown by the statement that the material was used for clothing (see below). Here, again, the text differs from that translated by Meissner and Rost, which also refers to the park (or, rather, plantation) in question, but omits the description of the wool-trees.

And now we come to Sennacherib's work upon the city of Nineveh, that great city concerning which there is still so much mystery—mystery which will continue to exist until not only the ruins of the site in its narrowest

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December, 1909, pp. 339 ff.

sense, but all the outlying districts, including the suburbs incorporated as time went on, shall have been explored.

From ancient times, the king says, the area of the city had been 9300 cubits in its circuit (*tišit li'im šalšet meat ina išten ammat šubat limēti-šu*), and he makes the rather surprising statement that the princes going before him had not caused the inner and outer walls to be constructed, which, if true, shows how confident they were that the place would never be taken by an enemy, at least in their time. This, however, must have made it all the easier for the king to add the extra 12,515 (cubits) by which he claims to have enlarged its extent. This text also gives us the important information that the *suklum*, a measure of which the equivalence has been hitherto unknown, is the same as the  $\text{𒍪𒍪𒍪}$ , which is generally read *ammāt*, or cubit. The great wall of which he records the laying of the foundations was called *Badimgala-bi-lu kurra-šušu*, which he translates as *dāru ša namriru-šu nakiru salpu*, "The wall whose glory overthrows the enemy." He made the brickwork 40 (? cubits) thick, which would probably not greatly exceed the estimate of the late George Smith, who reckoned it to have been about 50 feet, but added that excavation would probably decide that point—it would certainly decide the length of the measure designated  $\text{𒍪𒍪𒍪}$  or *suklum*, as used in Assyria. The height of the walls he raised to 180 *tipki*, which, according to Diodorus, should amount to a total of about 100 feet. In this great wall he caused to be opened "to the four winds" fifteen gates—"before and behind, on both sides, for exit and entrance." He then proceeds to give their names:—*Libur-iššak-Aššur*, "May the viceroy of the god Aššur be strong," was the name of the gate of Aššur of the city of Aššur; *Sapin-gimir-nakiri*, "the overwhelmer of the whole of the enemy," was the name of the gate of Sennacherib of the land of Halzi; whilst *Enlil mukin-paltā*, "Enlil

establisher of my rule," was the appellation of the gate of Šamaš of Gagal. *Ša-Sin-ahē-ēriba itti manzalti-ērikki kinni-pasi-šu*, "Establish the reign of Sennacherib with the constellation of the coat-of-mail," was the long name of the gate of Enlil of the city of Kar-Ninlil; whilst the covered gate had the comparatively short name of *Mušēsat-šir-āsakki*, "Sender forth of the flesh of the fever." The gate of the city Šibaniba was called *Dumuq ašnan ū rubši (?) kirib-ia káan*, "the choice of wheat and cattle remains within it;" whilst the gate of Ḫalahhi (Halab) in Mesopotamia—probably not Cilicia, which is Ḫilakku—was called *Babilat hizib ḫuršāni*, "the bringer of the produce of the wooded heights." These were the gates looking towards the sunrise, facing the south and east.

Turning to the other side, *Adad šarik hengulli ana máti*, "Hadad, bestower of abundance on the land," was the name of the gate of Adad as god of richness of vegetation; *Ura šāgiš zamāni* (var. *a(y)abi*)-*ia*, "Ura, destroyer of my enemies," was that of the gate of Hadad of the city of Tarbišu; and *Nannaru našir āgi bēlūti-ia*, "Nannar, protector of the crown of my dominion," was the name he appropriately gave to the gate of Sin, the moon-god. This made a total of three gates facing the north.

The third and final section gives the names of the five gates on the west. *Éa mušēšir kappi-ia*, "Ea, the director of my water-springs," was the name of the gate of the watering-places; *Mušēribat miḫirti dadmi*, "the bringer-in of the tribute of the peoples," was that of the Quay-gate; *Katrē Sumu'ili ū Tēme kirib-ša irrub*, "the presents of the Sumu'ilites and the Tēmites enter within it," was the name of the gate of the land of Bari. *Pakidat kalama*, "the guardian of everything," was the gate of the tribute palace or armoury—possibly a museum of all that the Assyrians considered as curious and precious in the way

of tribute, gifts, and trophies. Finally, there was *Šar-ur mušamqit a(y)ab šarri*, "Šar-ur, who overthrows the foe of the king," which was the name of the gate *handūri*, a word of doubtful meaning. "Altogether five gates of the direction of the west."

Here Sennacherib gives an account of the outer wall, named *Bud-nig-erim-haluhha*, "that which terrifies the enemy," as he translates it. The depth of the foundations of the wall was for the purpose of frustrating any attempts at undermining. Digging down 54 *gar*, the workmen reached "the waters of the underground courses", and at that point blocks of stone were placed as a foundation, and it was then carried up to the height fixed upon for the coping with further massive blocks. *Unakkil šipir-šu*, "I made skilful its work," the king concludes. He then repeats that he enlarged the area of Nineveh, the city of his dominion, broadening its open spaces, and making it bright "like the day"—an improvement which Oriental cities often want even more than Occidental ones. The outer wall, which he had caused to be constructed, he made high like a mountain. Above and below the city he constructed plantations, setting therein the vegetation of the mountains and the countries around—all the (sweet-smelling) herbs of the land of Heth (Palestine and Phœnicia), and plants called *murri*, among which, more than in the homeland, fruitfulness increased. Every kind of mountain-vine, and all the fruits of the nations, (sweet-smelling) herbs, and *sirdū*-trees Sennacherib planted for his subjects (*ba'ali*: probably the higher classes of the people—lords or chiefs—are meant).

And this naturally leads the king to speak of the arrangements he made for the water-supply, which was of the utmost importance, not only for his parks and plantations, but also for the city in general. The water of the Khosr, an important stream flowing through

Nineveh, had taken a low level for a considerable time, and "among the kings my fathers no one confines them, and they flow into the Tigris", he adds, using the present tense to give greater vividness to the narrative. To increase the sources of supply, therefore, he dug and caused a watercourse to be carried from the borders of the city of Kisiru, through height and lowland, and made the water available for the district of Nineveh, conducting it among those orchards by means of irrigation-channels. For the purpose of arranging the work and seeing for himself, he made a journey to a place called Bit-rênâme, at the foot of Musri, a mountain, and ascending to the city of Elmuna-qinnâ with some difficulty, found wells above the cities Dûr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu. The springs of these he enlarged, and turned into a reservoir. Difficult mountains and steep places were cut through with pickaxes, and the outflow was directed to the land around Nineveh. "I strengthened their channels like the heaping up of the hills," the king says, "I placed those waters within them—according to the plan I added them to the waters of the Hûsur (Khosr) for ever." With these, apparently, he watered all the people's orchards, and in winter a thousand cornfields above and below the city.

To stop the force of the current the king created a swamp, and planted reeds and rushes within it, and let loose there wild-fowl, wild-swine (lit. swine of the reeds), and some kind of forest-animal, possibly deer. In accordance with the word of the god (of the place), the vines, all the fruit-trees, the *sirdû*-trees, and the herbs, thrived considerably more than in the homeland; the cypress, palm, and all the trees flourished, and produced shoots plentifully. The reed plantations prospered, the birds of heaven and the wild-fowl of distant places built their nests, and the wild-swine and forest-creatures spread abroad their young. The trees useful for building,

which grew on the spot, he used in the construction of his palaces. The trees bearing wool they stripped, and beat out for garments.

The completion of the work upon the palace was marked by a great festival, worthy of such a king, who, whatever may have been his conduct with regard to other nations, was at least mindful of the welfare of his own people. The gods and goddesses of Assyria were assembled in the palace, and victims in great number were sacrificed, and there the great king offered his gifts. There was oil from the *sirdû*-trees (which must therefore have been the olive, or something similar), with produce from the plantations more than in the lands whence the trees therein came. At the dedication of the palace, he says, he saturated the heads of the people of his land, probably with the oil of those trees, and he filled their bodies with wine and mead. The inscription ends with the usual exhortation to those "among the kings his sons" who should come after:—

"For after days, among the kings my sons, whose name Aššur shall call for the shepherding of land and people—when this wall grows old and decays, let him renew its ruin, let him find the inscriptions written with my name and anoint them with oil; let him sacrifice a victim, and restore them to their place. Aššur and Ištar will hear his prayers."

After a double-ruled line comes the date—

"Month Ab, eponymy of Ilu-itti-ia, governor of Danascus."

A duplicate text gives another date, containing the day of the month (8th, 18th, or 28th), in the eponymy of . . . -uṣur, probably Nabû-bêl-uṣur, governor of a place ending in . . . -nunna. This official was eponym for the preceding year, so that the inscription was written in the year 696 B.C., and the cylinder itself a year later, namely, 695.

How many modern rulers could say that they have done as much for the capital of their country as Sennacherib claims to have done for Nineveh? He probably did not do it with his own money, but he saw to the work, and seemingly superintended it. The labour, too, was cheap, for it was that of the men captured in his wars, and tells, as only too commonly in those barbarous days, of the infliction of unspeakable hardship and misery on many of those unfortunate men, as may be judged from the representations of the taskmasters over them, who, it is clear, were not sparing of the whip. We see the winged bulls, of colossal dimensions, sometimes lying down on the sledges (which are in the form of a boat or Assyrian ship), sometimes standing up, carefully propped so as to prevent breakage, being dragged and forced forward, upon rollers, by means of ropes and enormous levers. In the background are the soldiers of the guard, and behind them extensive wooded hills. In other sculptured pictures, however, it is apparently the pleasure-grounds of the palace which we see, with a background showing an avenue of trees, alternately tall and short, on the banks of the river, whereon are boats, and men riding astride on inflated skins. At what is apparently yet another stage of the journey, we see the great king himself in his hand-chariot superintending the work. The background consists of reeds and rushes, wherein are deer and a wild sow with a litter of young. One of the slabs copied by Layard he describes as "Obelisk or stone in boat". This is apparently floating in the water, and being dragged by long rows of labourers, who tug at the ropes attached to it. Many of them are naked, and all seem to be toiling in the water. The ropes attached to the boat-like sledges or rafts are excessively long, and even in the incomplete state of the slabs as Layard saw them, thirty-six men to each may be counted. The great pioneer of

Assyriological exploration gives an excellent drawing of a winged bull and winged human figure from one of the gates in the old wall of Nineveh, showing how very excellent the work of Sennacherib's stone-carvers was. It is said that some of these sculptures have of late years been destroyed, and if this be the case it is an irreparable loss. Fortunately, we have Layard's drawings of this and other monuments, but though really excellent they are but a poor substitute for the colossal originals.

When this paper was read before the Society some interesting points were raised in the discussion, and it has been thought that it would be useful to refer to the following among them :—

*The size of Nineveh.*—According to George Smith, the west face of the wall is over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, the north about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, the east about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles, and the south rather more than half a mile. The inscriptions seem not to recognize any extension of the city outside the walls, except that portion which was called *Rébit Ninua*, which probably means “the extension of Nineveh”, and is identified with the Biblical Rehoboth-*Ir*. As an explanation of the expression in Jonah that it was an exceedingly great city of three days journey, it has been suggested that we should include Nimroud on the south and Khorsabad on the north, a distance of about 30 miles, which, at a speed of about 10 miles a day, would take three days to traverse. For further details, see *Murray's Illustrated Bible-Dictionary*, pp. 599–604.

*The currency used in Assyria.*—To all appearance, the Assyrians had no coinage, but used pieces of gold and silver of the weights required, and perhaps marked with their value. Coined money seems to appear only in the reign of Cambyses, and is referred to on tablets from Babylon. Unless Sennacherib confuses the two processes

of casting and striking (which is not likely), the pieces of precious metal used as a medium of exchange were cast.

*Were the winged bulls a Hittite design?*—As far as we know, the winged bulls were wholly Assyro-Babylonian—it was only their arrangement as the decorations of the gates which was of Hittite origin, and if this be the correct explanation it is confirmed by recent discoveries (see Garstang in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, December, 1908, pls. xl, xli). It is to be noted, however, that Aššur-našir-āpli, king of Assyria 885 B.C., also placed winged lions or bulls at the entrances of his palace.

*The Arameans.*—These people probably settled first in the Aramean states, the positions of which are well known (Aram Naharain, Aram Zobah, etc.), and only migrated to Babylonia at a comparatively late date. They spoke several slightly-varying dialects, that of Sam'alla (Zenjirli) being one of the most interesting.



## XI

### BUDDHIST NOTES

#### THE "FIVE POINTS" OF MAHADEVA AND THE KATHAVATTHU

By LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

WHILE preparing an article on Buddhist Councils for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I came to identify the so-called "Five Points" of Mahādeva with some "heretical" tenets of the Kathāvatthu. If I am right in this identification, and I believe I am, the fact cannot be without importance, for it establishes a link, hitherto wanting, between the Cingalese tradition of the Third Council and the Northern traditions concerning councils and the origin of the Mahāsāṃghikas. I do not intend to draw the conclusions that can be derived therefrom, namely, as concerns the redaction of the Kathāvatthu: this book, one of the richest of Buddhist antiquity, has not yet been studied enough, and its interpretation is beset with many difficulties. Careful comparison with "Northern" documents on sects would prove very useful, and, to say the truth, much help will be derived from the forthcoming translation of the Kathāvatthu itself.

What I shall try to do is (1) to "situate" the problem, and in doing so I shall refer to the excellent article of Mr. V. A. Smith: "Identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems" (JRAS., 1910, p. 827)<sup>1</sup>; (2) to show that the author(?) of the

<sup>1</sup> The title is somewhat misleading; therefore Professor R. O. Franke ("Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī": JPTS., 1908) and myself ("Buddhist Councils": *Museon and Indian Antiquary*, 1908) may be excused for having ignored Mr. V. A. Smith's original and persuasive views.

Kathāvatthu has dealt with the "Five Points" styled "Mahādeva's Points".

I

1. According to Bhavya (Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga-vyākhyāna),<sup>1</sup> there is a tradition—which we know from elsewhere to be a tradition of the Sammitīyas<sup>2</sup>—that a council was held at Pāṭaliputra, 137 A.B., under the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma.<sup>3</sup> The controversy seems to have been concerned with the Five Points [of Mahādeva]; and to have resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism.

2. Again, according to the same Bhavya, professing to follow the Sthaviras' tradition, a council was held at Pāṭaliputra, 160 A.B., under Dharmāsoka, on some controverted points (*vivādavastu*), and resulted in the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism.

3. According to Vasumitra (Samayabhedoparacanacakra),<sup>4</sup> a council at Pāṭaliputra, 100 A.B., under Aśoka, on the Five Points [of Mahādeva]: Mahāsāṃghikas' schism. The same tradition *apud* Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i, p. 150), who knows Mahādeva by name, but does not allude to the Five Points.

To sum up, several traditions indicate that there was a council concerning the Five Points, and that this controversy was the origin of the Mahāsāṃghika sect.

Concerning Mahādeva—

1. Bhavya mentions two originators of the Five Points. We may summarize his narrative as follows:<sup>5</sup> "In the

<sup>1</sup> See Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 181 ff. I have used the "red" edition of Tandjur, *Mdo*, vol. xc.

<sup>2</sup> Mañjuśośahāsavajra's Siddhānta, the treatise quoted by Wassilieff, p. 260 (287), fol. 133<sup>b</sup> of my copy, a precious gift of M. de Stcherbatskoï.

<sup>3</sup> See V. A. Smith, JRAS., 1901, p. 851. The Tibetan has "King Nanda and Mahāpadma"; but the remarks of Rockhill, *Life*, p. 186, note, do not seem conclusive.

<sup>4</sup> See Wassilieff, p. 223 (245) ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the words of Mañjuśośahāsavajra; Rockhill's translation seems to be inaccurate. On Mahādeva, see Professor Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1892, p. 9.

year 137 after the Nirvāṇa, at the epoch of the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, in Pāṭaliputra, Māra the wicked, (under the name) 'Bhadra' (*bzan-po*), wearing the cloth of a monk, exhibited manifold miracles, and owing to the Five Points created a great division of the Church . . . [These Points are part of the doctrine of the Mahā-sāmghikas.<sup>1</sup> For, later,] from a branch of the Gokulikas, the sthavira named Caitika. This man, an ascetic named Mahādeva, became a monk, resided on the mountain 'where is a caitya', and professing the [Five] Points of the Mahāsāmghikas, created the sect named Caitika."

2. More details in Tāranātha (pp. 41 = 51), where occurs Mahādeva as the originator of the Five Points :

3. And in Yuan-Chwang (Beal, i, p. 117). See Watters (i, p. 267), who refers to the Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-sāstra. Mahādeva, a parricide, a matricide, an arhateide, committed schism with equal success and perversity. He defeated his adversaries in the council and established his doctrine in Pāṭaliputra ; while the orthodox (500 arhats), embarked in rotten boats on the Ganges, were going to Kaśmir by aerial ways.

4. Whether, as pointed out by Watters, our schismatic has something to do with the Mahādeva of Buddhaghosa, a saint and a missionary (Samantapāsādikā, Pāli Vinaya, iii, p. 316)—whether he is merely an incarnation of Śiva, as suspected by Professor Kern—we confess we do not know. It is safer to believe that there was a schismatic Mahādeva.

## II

Concerning the tenets of Mahādeva, we possess, from Pāli and Tibetan sources, short "formulas" or points (*gzhi* = *vastu*), which are very like some other "aphorisms" of Buddhist antiquity ; for instance, the "points" of the

<sup>1</sup> "In den chinesischen Memoiren Tschu-san-thsang-ki heisst es sogar dass die Anhänger Mahādeva's sich Mahāsāmghikas benannt hatten" (Wassilieff, *apud* Tāranātha, p. 293).

Council of Vaiśālī and the rules of the Prātimokṣa as given in the Mahāvvyutpatti. These formulas may be the actual words of the schismatic (or the schismatics), the "phrases" or "idioms" into which the sectarian tenets were embodied.

We possess also some more explicit documents, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese, which seem to be commentaries or rather glosses on the "points". These commentaries do not always agree, and there are also discrepancies in the wording of the "points" themselves.

Let us begin with the sources which explicitly refer to Mahādeva—sources to be compared with the Pāli documents which profess to refer to the Third Council; and to make the reading easier, let us begin with two documents *en language clair*, two Chinese "commentaries" on the "points".

1. According to the Abhidharmanamahāvibhāṣāsāstra, the five tenets of Mahādeva, as translated by Watters,<sup>1</sup> are—

(1) "An arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation."

(2) "One may be an arhat and not know it."

(3) "An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine."

(4) "One cannot attain arhatship without the aid of a teacher."

(5) "The 'noble ways' may begin with a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such exclamation as 'How sad!' and by so doing attain progress towards perfection."

2. According to Palladius<sup>2</sup>—

(1) "Obwohl die Arhants sündlos sind, giebt es solche, welche sich Schwächen zu Schulden kommen lassen."

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio, No. 1263, a commentary on Jñānaprasthāna (see Takakusu, JPTS., 1905, p. 129). See Watters, I, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Arbeiten der Peking Mission*, ii, p. 122, quoted *apud* Tāranātha, p. 293. As appears from (4), the source of Palladius is not the source of Watters.

(2) "Ein Arhant kann sich auch nicht als Arhant anerkennen, obwohl er in der That ein solcher ist."

(3) "Der Arhant kann Zweifel und Missverständnisse haben."

(4) "Der Arhant kann sich von seiner Würde durch Versicherungen anderer überzeugen."

(5) "Die Stimme (die Ausrufungen) kann als Hilfsmittel bei der Vervollung dienen."

3. According to Vasumitra<sup>1</sup>—

(1) "Gzhan-gyis ñe-bar-bsgrub-pa."

(2) "Mi śes-pa."

(3) "Som-ñi."

(4) "Gzhan-gyi rnam-par-spyod-pa"

(5) "Lam sgra-lbyin-pa dan bcas-pa."

4. According to Bhavya (fol. 179<sup>a</sup>) and to Tāranātha (p. 41. 20-52)—<sup>2</sup>

(1) "Gzhan-la lan gdab-pa."

(2) "Mi śes-pa."

(3) "Yid gñis-pa."

(4) "Yonś-su b[r]tag-pa."

(5) "Bdag-ñid gso-bar byed-pa ni lam yin-te."

5. According to Vinītadeva—<sup>3</sup>

(3, 2, 1) "Som-ñi dan mi śes-pa yod-de bstan dgos-so."

<sup>1</sup> See Wassilieff, p. 223 (245) ff. The Points are quoted—(1) As the origin of the Mahāsāṃghikas' schism; (2) as adhered to by the Mahāsāṃghikas: "In the Arhats, there is *gzhan-gyis* . . ."; 2 and 3 wanting; (3) as adhered to by the Bahuśrutīyas and the Haimavatas.

<sup>2</sup> The Points are quoted by Bhavya (see Rockhill, *Life*, pp. 181 ff.) (1) as the origin of the schism; (2) as adhered to by the Ekavyavahārikas (with variants, a. *dgra-bcom-pa-rnams kyan gzhan-dag-gis bstan-pa bsgrub-par byed-do* . . . e. *sdug-bśial spoñ-baḥi lam yod-do*); (3) on the Bahuśrutīyas: *dgra-bcom-pa-rnams-la gzhan-gyis ñe-bar-bstan-pa bsgrub-paḥo . yan-dag-par bsyags-paḥi lam yañ yod-do . mīam-par bzhaḡ-pa-la yañ-dag-par hjug-pa-la (?) yod-do*; (4) the "Pūrvasthāviras" deny the Five Points; the first one = *dgra-bcom-pa-rnams-la gzhan-gyi[s] ston-ñiñ bsgrub-pa ni [med-do]*.

<sup>3</sup> Nikāyabhedopadeśanā nāma saṃgraha(?), fol. 188<sup>a</sup> (Tandjur, *Mdo*, xc)—doctrine of the Lokottaravādins.

## THE FIVE POINTS OF MAHADEVA

(4) "Hbras-bu-la gzhan-gyi brda-sprod dgos-so."

(5) "Sdug-bsñal smos-ñin sdug-bsñal tshig-tu brjod-pas lam skye-bar lgyur-ro."

6. Mahādeva, according to Tāranātha (p. 41. 14–51), first proclaimed his heresy in the following stanza :—

"Lha-rnams ma-rig-pa-yis bslus  
lam ni sgra-yi rgyun-las byun  
the-thsom can-rnams gzhan-gyis hjug  
lhi ni sañs-rgyas bstan-pa yin." <sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that the heretical tenets in the Kathāvatthu, ii, 1–5 (6),<sup>2</sup> agree with the Tibetan and Chinese "points", sometimes in meaning, sometimes in wording, sometimes in both.

*First Point.*—The reading of Vasumitra may be translated [*arhataḥ*] *pareṇa upahāraḥ*. *hāra* is doubtful; *sgrub* is one of the words which cannot be safely "transposed" into Sanskrit; one has the equivalents: *sadh*, *yam*, *arj*, *anuṣṭhā*, *vidhā*, *upapad*, *har*. This last (*mñon-par bsgrub-pa* = *abhinirhāra*) is far from being the most common, and I only claim for provisional acceptance of the translation *pareṇa upahāra*.

If it turns out to be right, we have to recognize here Kathāvatthu, *atthi arahato parūpahāro ti*.

The reading of Bhavya and Tāranātha is translated by Schiefner "der Antwort", by Rockhill, "answer to another," or "advice to another". But our Lexx. give the equivalence *lan-hdebs-pa* = *visarjayati* = (1) "answer questions, so the Pāli *visajjeti*" (Divyāvadāna, p. 162. 20, and Index), (2) "to emit, to create," etc. There is, therefore, a curious analogy between Bhavya's lesson

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> These figures refer to the sections in Kathāvatthupparakāṇa (PTS., 1894–7); the Atthakathā (JPTS., 1889) differs, 2, 3, and 4 forming § 2. The reader will, of course, compare Professor Rhys Davids' article, "Schools of Buddhist Belief," JRAS., 1893.

and another reading of the Kathāvatthu, [*asuci sukka*] *visatthi* = *visṛṣṭi*.<sup>1</sup>

From the other variants *apud* Bhavya, it follows that there has not been unanimity in the exegesis of this Point, which is made by several additions to "clearly" refer to the teaching necessary to an arhat (as heretics say).<sup>2</sup> To say the truth, the Pāli interpretation is far from being conclusive.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Tibetan wording of the *Second Point* is clear: *mi śes-pa = ajñānam*. The Kathāvatthu has "*atthi arahato aññānaṃ ti*" (ii, 2).

But the meaning cannot be as easily ascertained. With what sort of ignorance are we concerned? It happens that an arhat is ignorant of the names of men or women, of herbs and trees, of the direction of a road (ii, 2, 22-3).<sup>3</sup> But according to the orthodox author of the Pāli treatise, an arhat is not unaware of [his possessing] the fruits of Srotaāpatti . . . of arhatship.<sup>4</sup> Compare the translation

<sup>1</sup> Kathāvatthu: "Atthi arahato asucisukkavisatthi" (ii, 1, 1) . . . "Handa hi Mārakāyikā devatā arahato asucisukkavisatthim upasaṃharanti" (ii, 1, 3) . . . "Atthi arahato parūpahāro ti" (ii, 1, 23). In the words of Professor Rhys Davids, "Can an arahat be guilty (unwittingly and through the action of Māra) of indecency?" Succubus deities are here intended. The Kathāvatthu denies, against the Seliyas (comm.), the possibility of such an event, and refers to a formal assertion—too formal!—of Buddha himself (ii, 1, 21); it admits *parūpahāra* in this sense only that "others" (*pare*) may "take away" (*upasaṃhareyyum*) the robe of an arahat, etc. (ii, 1, 23).

<sup>2</sup> Addition (?) of *batan-pa* and *ston-sin* (see p. 417, n. 2: *Arhantaḥ parair* (or *pareṇa*) *deśitāḥ śūdhyaṃti*).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Milinda, pp. 266-7 (Rhys Davids' translation, ii, p. 100). Ignorance concerning such trivial matters even in a Buddha, see the rather heretical assertion, JRAS., 1894, p. 372, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> One may refer to Professor Rhys Davids' excellent article on Arhat in Hastings *Encyclopedia*, I, p. 774 (quoting Majjhima, III, p. 100; see also Aṅguttara, V, pp. 155, 162), and to the delicious Psalms of the Early Buddhists (Sisters), PTS., 1909. The history of Ānanda clearly shows that a clever man is well aware of his spiritual deficiencies (Culla, xi, 1, 6), but it may be said that Ānanda is not an ordinary "ordinary man" (*prthagjana*) (Aṅguttara, I, p. 225).

of Watters and Palladius. Last, not least, the ignorance may be the ignorance of the Law.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Third Point.*—The *som-ñi* of Vasumitra is *kāṅkṣā*; the *yid-gñis* of Bhavya, etc., is *vimati* (*mati-dvayam*). The Kathāvatthu has *atthi arahato kāṅkhā ti* (ii, 3, 1), *atthi arahato vimatīti* (ñ, 1, 5).

Doubt can be understood as bearing on the names of men, women, etc. (ii, 3, 21), on arhatship: “Am I an arhat?” (ii, 3, 22). But there is a third “edge” to the problem: “Does an arhat have any doubt on the Teacher, the Law, the Congregation, the rule, the past, the future, the past and the future, the things produced by dependent-origination?” (ii, 1, 5). Thus understand Watters, Palladius, and possibly Vinitadeva too, for his Lokottaravādins seem to say: “As there are ignorance and doubt, in the arhat, teaching is necessary.”<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

*Fourth Point.*—We have now some reasons to suppose that the Mahādeva’s Fourth Point will be found in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4: *atthi arahato paravitāraṇā ti*.

Vasumitra’s [*arhataḥ*] *parasya*(?) *vicāraḥ* (°*caranam*)(?) and Bhavya’s *paricintanā* (or *parīkṣā*) are not clear by themselves; but Vinitadeva’s gloss agrees with the original Pāli commentary. It may be translated: *phale paravyākaraṇaprayojanam* = “Another must say [to the arhat] that he has acquired the fruit”.<sup>2</sup> Thus Palladius and Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 22: “Do others teach an arhat that he has obtained the fruit of Srotaāpatti . . . of arhatship” ( . . . *soṭāpattiphalaṃ pare vitāreyyum* . . . ). Wassilieff quotes an instance to support the affirmative (heretical) answer: in the Mahīśāsakas’ Vinaya, the heroes of the Vaiśālī’s Council, Revata and Sarvakāma, ask

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 417, under 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Vyākaroṭi* is the phrase used in Pāli for “declaring” one’s spiritual progress (*aññā*) (Aṅguttara, V, p. 155, etc.).

one another whether they are arhats or not (*ad* Tāranātha, p. 293).

But Watters has: "One cannot obtain arhatship without the help of another;" and *vitāraṇā* seems to be understood as meaning "leading over", "bringing across" in Kathāvatthu, ii, 4, 1 ff.: "Is an arhat to be led by another, dependent on another, etc.?"<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, there are three possible translations of the "Points" 2-4, namely, (1) an arhat may be ignorant of the names of men . . . ; he has doubts on such matters . . . ; he learns them from others; (2) an arhat may be unaware of his arhatship; he doubts whether he is an arhat; he gets certitude from the asseveration of another; (3) being ignorant and subject to doubt, an arhat ought to receive instruction.

The last interpretation gives us probably (?) the original meaning of Mahādeva. His śloka<sup>2</sup> is somewhat obscure, but the general import seems to be a strong depreciation of the arhats — if arhats are really concerned: "Gods (arhats?)<sup>3</sup> are deceived (or beguiled) by ignorance; Path is produced by the stream of voice; who doubt, enter [into the Path] through others: such is the teaching of Buddha."

\* \* \* \* \*

*Fifth Point.*—The Tibetan tradition shows a great variety of forms.

(1) Vasumitra: *mārgo vāg-udīraṇena sahitaḥ* (or *śabdodīraṇena*, in Pāli *vacībhedenā*), "Path is accompanied by emission of voice." That is a tenet of the Mahāsāṃghikas,<sup>4</sup> and Vasumitra adds that they affirm: "Suffering causes Path; to say 'Suffering!' is useful; in order to abandon suffering, wisdom is of use (?)."

<sup>1</sup> But, again, the "crossing over" may refer to doubt: *vitipñakankha* is a well-known phrase, see Childers.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> Arhats are *visuddhivedas*, kings *sammativedas*, and gods *uppattivedas*, in Vibhaṅga (PTS., 1904), p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 417, n. 1.

(2) Vinitadeva, instead of the "Point", gives us a gloss : "Saying 'Suffering!', pronouncing 'Suffering!', Path is born." Compare Watters and Palladius.

(3) Bhavya is obscure, and, I may say, troublesome. It is difficult to guess what is meant by Rockhill's "restoration of the self" or Schiefner's "Wiederherstellung der Selbstheit", and how such "restoration" may be said to be the "Path". The Sanskrit rendering seems to be something like *ātmapoṣaṇam mārṇaḥ*. *Gso-ba = puṣ,* "to feed,"<sup>1</sup> may be connected with the *āhāra* of the Pāli tradition *dukkhāhāro maggaṅgam*, for one of the meanings of *āhāra* is "food": but *bdaḡ-nīd* (*ātman*) cannot be an equivalent of *dukkha*, which we want in this place (?).

(4) The following tenet of the Lokottaravādins (*apud* Vasumitra), *saṁāhito pi vācaṁ bhāṣate*,<sup>2</sup> "one speaks even in trance, during *saṁādhi* or *saṁāpatti*," is not reckoned as one of the "Points", but, as it will be seen from the Pāli sources, it is not here without interest.

(5) The Mahāsāṃghikas seem to maintain the contrary. They say, concerning Buddha: *neti (nāstīty) api na vadati nityaṁ saṁāhitatvāt* = "he does not say even 'no', for he is always concentrated".<sup>3</sup>

The Kathāvatthu deals (ii, 6) with the *dukkhāhāra-kathā*, "problem concerning the exclamation 'Suffering!'" and (ii, 5) with the *vacībheda-kathā*, "problem concerning voice-bursting-out."

*Āharati*, "to tell, to relate;" therefore *āhāra*, "naming, pronouncing;" at least, the author understands the heretical tenet, *dukkhāhāro maggaṅgam maggaparyāpannam*, as meaning "the phrase 'suffering!' is a limb

<sup>1</sup> Also *cikīṣe*, "to cure."

<sup>2</sup> "Mñam-par bzhaḡ-pa yaṅ tshig smraḡo."

<sup>3</sup> "Med ces kyaṅ mi gsuṅs te rtag-tu mñam-par bzhaḡ-pa ñid-kyi phyir." On that doctrine of the "silence of Bhagavat", see JRAS., 1902, April, p. 374, and my *Bouddhisme* (1909), p. 253.

of the Path". "Not so!" answers the Pāli orthodox; "whosoever says 'suffering!' (*ye kesi dukkham ti vācam bhāsanti*) does not cultivate or produce the Path (*maggam bhāventi*)."<sup>1</sup> Compare Vinitadeva, Watters, and Palladius.

Emission of voice is not possible during dhyānas; such is the import of Kathāvatthu, ii, 5: *sumāpannassa atthi vacibhedo ti*. Compare the opinion of the Lokottaravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas.

We opine that, as a matter of fact, Kathāvatthu, ii, 1-5 (6), forms the Pāli counterpart of the Northern Mahādeva's "Points". Whether these tenets—four concerning Arhatship, one concerning Samādhi or Path—are rightly styled Mahādeva's, whether they were the leading motive of the Mahāsāṃghika schism, is an altogether different question. Again, one may maintain that this strongly tied group of points seems to be *en place*, as geologists say, in the Northern tradition, whilst it looks in the Pāli treatise like a *bloc erratique*. But we said at the beginning that we should abstain from concluding. There are so many "points" in the Kathāvatthu that any judgment on his value as a Tissan work would appear presumptuous. As has been well said by M. A. Foucher, Indian history is too often "un exercice de philologie à l'usage des indianistes avec des règles du jeu connues des seuls initiés".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exclamation "Suffering!" does not always imply the notion of the Noble Truth of suffering; in the same way, one may realize the notion "space (*ākāśa*) is infinite" without being a saint. On the importance of such exclamations, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 71, note. Compare Kathāvatthu, ix, 9; xi, 4; xviii, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Compare JRAS., 1909, p. 577, n. 1.



## XII

### MAHISHAMANDALA AND MAHISHMATI

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.F.

THE Dipavaṃsa tells us (8. 1, 2) that :—"The far-seeing Moggaliputta, having by supernatural vision beheld the establishment of the [Buddhist] doctrine in the future in the border-land, sent out the Thēras Majjhantika and others, each with four (*companions*), to establish the doctrine in the border-land for the enlightenment of sentient beings." And it tells us in verse 5 that the Thēra Mahādēva was thus sent to the Mahisa country, Mahisarattṭha, = Mahisharāshṭra. The Mahāvaṃsa, in its account of the same matter, calls this territory (12. 3, 29) Mahisamaṇḍala, = Mahishamaṇḍala. Buddhaghōsha, dealing with the missions in his Samanta-Pāsādikā,<sup>1</sup> quotes a verse, very similar to that of the Dipavaṃsa, which mentions it as *rattṭham Mahisam*, but uses in his own prose the forms Mahisakamaṇḍala and Mahimsaka°; in the latter case, with the insertion of a nasal in a manner which is not uncommon in Pāli. And this last form is also found in the Jātaka and its commentary.<sup>2</sup> We adopt the form Mahishamaṇḍala, because it is the one which, in its Pāli shape, has been habitually used by other writers.

Some comments must be made on the passage in the Dipavaṃsa thus cited :—

(1) The sending out of the missions took place just after the Third Council. The Dipavaṃsa, 7. 37, 44, places this Council 236 years after the death of Buddha. The Mahāvaṃsa, 5. 280, places it in the seventeenth year of Aśoka. Both authorities, and Buddhaghōsha, agree that

<sup>1</sup> See the Vinayaṭṭaka, ed. Oldenberg, 3. 314 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Fausböll, 1. 356; 5. 145, 162, 337.

it lasted for nine months. And the Mahāvamsa adds (12. 2) that the missions were sent out in the month Kārttika. We understand the Dipavamsa as referring to the end of the Council, and the Mahāvamsa to the commencement of it. And we thus gather that the Council began about the middle of January, B.C. 247, and ended about the middle of October, and that the arrangements for despatching the missions were made before 6 November.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The Dipavamsa, Buddhaghōsha, and the Mahāvamsa all agree that the Council was convened and the missions were sent out by the great priest Moggaliputta-Tissa; not by Aśōka, as is asserted by lax writers.<sup>2</sup>

(3) The name of the place or territory to which the Thēra Rakkhita was sent is not stated by the Dipavamsa; unless, in verse 6, we may amend *vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvāna*, "having risen into the air (so as to travel through it)", into *Vanavāsaṃ abbhāgantvāna* or *gantvā*, "having gone to Vanavāsa"; or unless *vehāsa* is a corrupt reading of some name (? Vērāta) for which Vanavāsa was afterwards substituted. This name is supplied as Vanavāsī by Buddhaghōsha, and as Vanavāsa by the Mahāvamsa.

(4) The words which we have rendered by "in the border-land" are *pachchantamhi* in verse 1 and *pachchantē* in verse 2: in both cases the locative singular. Professor Oldenberg has rendered them by, respectively, "in the neighbouring countries" and "in foreign countries". In deviating from his choice of words, we have been guided by the point that the term *pachchanta*, = *pratyanta*, 'bordering on, adjacent or contiguous to, skirting',<sup>3</sup> is practically the same with that which we have in the expression *pachchantimā janapadā*, presented in, e.g., the Vinayapitaka, Mahāvagga, 5. 13. 12, in defining the limits

<sup>1</sup> See my table in this Journal, 1909. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 493.

<sup>3</sup> Monier-Williams: and compare Childers.

of the Buddhist Madhyadēśa or Middle Country, and appropriately translated there by "border countries".<sup>1</sup> In the accounts of the missions, the Mahāvaiṃsa has *pachchantēsu*: Buddhaghōsha has *pachchantimēsu janapddēsu*.

(5) Altogether nine missions were sent out. The name of one of the territories is (as we have said) apparently wanting in the Dipavaiṃsa. And another territory, called Gandhāra by it, is called Kasmīra - and - Gandhāra by Buddhaghōsha and the Mahāvaiṃsa. Otherwise, however, the three accounts all agree. The order in which the missions are named is the same in all three. And in the terms of the Mahāvaiṃsa (ed. Geiger, 12. 3-8) the full list of the territories is:—

- |                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1, Kasmīra and Gandhāra. | 5, Mahārāṭha.         |
| 2, Mahisamaṇḍala.        | 6, Yōnalōka.          |
| 3, Vanavāsa.             | 7, Himavantapadēsaka. |
| 4, Aparantaka.           | 8, Suvannabhūmi.      |

9, Laṅkāḍīpa, i.e. Ceylon.

Now, No. 9, Ceylon, is distinctly not a border-land of any Indian Middle Country. But it was hardly possible to avoid including the mission to Ceylon along with the others. Though, however, that was the most important of all the missions, it is mentioned last; which tends to exclude it from the same category with the others. We therefore separate the other territories from Ceylon, and consider how far they come under the definition of border-lands; that is, of countries more or less adjacent to the Buddhist Middle Country.

We easily recognize what may fairly be called border-lands of that country in No. 1, Kashmīr and Gandhāra, the latter being, roughly, the modern Peshāwar and Rāwal Pinḍi Districts; in No. 4, Aparānta, 'the western ends', the Konkan, with (we hold) also northern Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ, Cutch (Kachchh), and Sind; in No. 5,

<sup>1</sup> For translations of this passage see SBE., 17. 38, and this Journal, 1904. 84. Regarding the impossible dimensions assigned to the country in other works, see my remarks in this Journal, 1907. 653, note 3.

Mahārāshtra, the Dekkan; in No. 6, Yōnalōka, 'the region of the Yavanas', taken as meaning the Greek settlements in the Panjāb and its western neighbourhood; and in No. 7, the Himālayan region.

There remain Nos. 2, 3, and 8. As regards No. 8, the case seems fairly clear. Suvaṇṇabhūmi, = Suvarṇabhūmi, 'the gold-land', is understood by the Burmese to be what is also called by them Rāmaññadēsa: namely, Lower Burma between the rivers Sittaung and Salwin, with also parts of Pegu and Moulmein.<sup>1</sup> And it has been generally believed, until recently, that that territory is really the Suvarṇabhūmi to which the mission was sent.<sup>2</sup> This belief, however, is now abandoned, in view of the position, which appears to be well established, that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was Mahāyānist, and reached Burma from China and only in the fourth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> We would supplement that by suggesting that the real Suvarṇabhūmi is the country in Bengal which is mentioned by Hiuen-tsiang as Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, = Karṇasuvarṇa; or else the country along the river Sōn (Śōṇa), also known as Hiraṇyavāha, 'the gold-bearer'.

No. 3, Vanavāsa, can hardly be regarded as a borderland if it really means, as is usually supposed, the territory that belonged to Banawāsi in North Kanara. That understanding, however, is open to question, in view of

<sup>1</sup> For a map of the Rāmañña country see *Ind. Ant.*, 22. 328.

<sup>2</sup> It has also been understood to be the Golden Khersonēsē of Ptolemy: see, e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, 13. 372.

<sup>3</sup> See Taw Sein Ko in *Ind. Ant.* 1906. 212, and Report on Archaeological Work in Burma, 1905-6. 8.

This change of view, of course, does not in any way impeach the credit of the Ceylonese chronicles: quite the reverse. The supposed fact of an introduction of Buddhism into Burma in the time of Aśoka does not rest on either them or the Samanta-Pāsādikā: it rests entirely on the mistaken identification of the Suvarṇabhūmi mentioned by them: they do not say anything to locate that country in Burma.

The Burmese have taken over the names of many Indian countries and places. Notably, in addition to a Suvarṇabhūmi they claim a Vanavāsi, an Aparantaka, a Mahārāṭṭha, and even a Mahimsakamaṇḍala.

the point that Vaijayanti seems better established than Vanavāsi as the more ancient name of Banawāsi. But we must set this detail aside for future consideration.

That No. 2, Mahishamandala, was a border-land, we propose to show now.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Imperial Gazetteer of India says that the Mahishamandala, thus mentioned as one of the territories to which Moggaliputta-Tissa despatched his Buddhist missions, is the modern Mysore.<sup>1</sup> And this has certainly been the belief for a long time past. We do not know exactly with whom it originated. Turnour, in 1837 entered Mahishamandala as "one of the ancient divisions of India, not identified":<sup>2</sup> and in 1854 Cunningham said "this country is not known: it may be Maheswara, on the Narbada".<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Wilson, at some time before 1860, explained the Māhishakas of the Mahābhārata as "the people of Mysore".<sup>4</sup> And the identification of Mahishamandala with Mysore was presented in 1874 as an established point, needing no citation of authority, by the editor of the *Indian Antiquary* (3. 273). It would seem, therefore, that the belief is based on something which was advanced conjecturally between 1854 and 1860, and was gradually converted into a supposed certainty in a not infrequent manner. And the identification is given as a certainty in two other recent works which are intended, like the Imperial Gazetteer, to be authoritative guides. It is asserted by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Asoka* (2nd ed., 1909), p. 44; where, by the way, the first component of the name is shown in the mistaken form *mahīśa*, 'lord of the earth'. And, to the extent that Mahishamandala means, not the whole of the Mysore

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 18 (1908), pp. 162, 169, 253, 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāwanso*, index and glossary, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, 117.

<sup>4</sup> Vishnu-Purāṇa, translation, 2. 178, note 6.

ritory, but "the country round [the city] Mysore", it is presented on p. 14 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, which book, "published for Government" in 1909, puts forward (we regret to have to say), as sober history for the period before A.D. 750, much fabulous matter which has no basis except in spurious records dating from the tenth century and onwards, in late chronicles which display great ignorance of the real facts of early times, and in legends which we cannot even dignify by calling them traditions.

Support of the views thus expressed has been found in the fact that we have two Aśoka edicts engraved on rocks at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore: it being also asserted, on the same basis, that Mysore was included in the Maurya empire. That, however, has nothing to do with the case. We cannot here elaborate the history of what is now the Chitaldroog District: but the following brief statement may be made. It was only about A.D. 950 that the Chitaldroog territory first passed into the hands of any ruler who held also the southern part of Mysore, where the modern name-giving capital is. It subsequently developed into a separate petty state, under Poligars: and it was only in A.D. 1779 that it was annexed to the territory of the present rulers of Mysore.<sup>1</sup> It was certainly foreign territory as regards the dominions of Aśoka and his line.<sup>2</sup> And there is every reason for believing that Isila, the ancient town at which there resided the officials to whom the edicts in question were transmitted from Suvarṇagiri in Magadha, and in the neighbourhood of which they were published on the rocks by them, was at that time, and probably for many centuries afterwards, a subdivisional town of the great kingdom of Vanavāsī,

<sup>1</sup> See the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291; and compare Mr. Rice's *Mysore* (1897), 2. 500-4.

<sup>2</sup> See, fully, my remarks in this Journal, 1909. 997.

or more strictly Vaijayantī: it was at any rate not in any territory bearing the name Mysore; no such territory existed then. Further, according to our own view, the first of these two edicts embodies the dying speech of Aśōka, and they were framed some twenty years after the Council and the sending out of the missions: while, according to another view, these two edicts were framed in the thirteenth year of Aśōka, four or five years before the Council, and were probably the very first of his proclamations. From either point of view, these edicts have no connexion with either the Council or the sending out of the missions: except that we believe that Isila was selected as one of the places to which the last words of Aśōka should be communicated, because a Buddhist settlement had been established there as a result of one or another of the missions sent into the territory on the south of the Narbadā.

\* \* \* \* \*

In looking into this belief that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist books is Mysore or some part thereof, the first points that suggest themselves for consideration are:—To what date can we carry back the existence of the name Maisūru, Maisūr (the original of the anglicized Mysore), in its present or any previous form? And what can be the connexion, if there is any, between that name and Mahishamaṇḍala or any such appellation?

An inscription at Nandigunda in the Nañjangūd tāluḳa of the Mysore District,<sup>1</sup> dated in A.D. 1021, mentions a territorial division named the “Maysunnāḍ”, and places in it Nandigunda itself, which is about twelve miles south-east from the city of Mysore. And the spurious

<sup>1</sup> *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Nj. 134. The text in roman characters gives to the name which I quote the form Mayasun-nāḍ; the translation gives Maysūr-nāḍ; and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maysun-nāḍ. As the Kanarese texts are the bases of what is published in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, I adopt the last form.

record on the Tanjore plates,<sup>1</sup> which purports to have been framed in A.D. 248 but was fabricated not earlier than the tenth century, claims to convey a village, situated in the "Maisunāḍu seventy", named Oṛekōḍu, which is shown by the full details given in the record to be the 'Wurcode' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60 (1828) and the 'Varkod' of the quarter-sheet No. 60, S.W. (1892), about seven miles east-by-south from Mysore. These two records locate the territorial division thus mentioned. The second of them marks it as a group of seventy villages. As we know that any such group usually included a leading town or village bearing the same name with the group itself and as the Kanarese word for 'village, town', is *ūr*, *ūru*, we may venture to assume that the two names thus presented are carelessly written forms of Maysūr-nāḍ and Maisūr-nāḍ : especially because in this group of seventy villages we certainly have the original of the present Mysore tāluka, one of the subdivisions of the Mysore District,<sup>2</sup> and because an inscription, which is attributed to about A.D. 990, at Kuppehālu in the Kāḍūr District,<sup>3</sup> appears to mention, among the witnesses to the grant registered by it, "the (officials of the) Maysūr-nāḍ seventy", with reference to probably the same group of villages. And we may thus carry back the existence of the name Mysore in the form Maysūr, and of the city Mysore as a village bearing its present name, to the tenth century. But that is all that we can do.<sup>4</sup> And it is sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 8. 212: and see my list of spurious records in *id.*, 30 (1901). 215, No. 10. Spurious records, though mostly valueless for chronological purposes, are frequently of considerable use from the geographical and other miscellaneous points of view.

<sup>2</sup> That the Mysore tāluka now includes one hundred and fifty towns and villages, is of course immaterial. The numbers in the territorial divisions of India have been altered and are still altered from time to time; for improved administrative purposes, as well as because of new villages growing up, and old ones becoming deserted.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, 6 (Kāḍūr). Kd. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Pending the issue of a proper index to the volumes of the *Epigraphia*

obvious that the place was then nothing but a small one, which had not given its name to even the area which makes up the present Mysore District, and was quite incapable of providing an appellation for the entire territory in which it was situated. This position is borne out by every other consideration; even apart from the point that no remains or other tokens of antiquity are found there, which indicates plainly that we have not even the case of an ancient city sinking into insignificance and then rising again.<sup>1</sup>

The territory now known as Mysore, and the district now known as the Mysore District, owe their appellations simply to the accident that the village Mysore has developed into a modern capital. The Mysore territory is composed of provinces and districts which in ancient times had their own quite different names. In the north it includes part of a province known as the Nōḷambavāḍi 32,000, and part of the Vanavāsī kingdom generally known in later times as the Banavāse 12,000. The rest of it consists mostly of districts and provinces such as the Kuvalāla 300, the Eḍetore 1000, the Pūnāḍ or Punnāḍ 6000, the Gaṅga 6000, and the Koṅgaḷnāḍ 8000, which were massed under one name as the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, meaning "the territory of the Gaṅgas comprising

*Carnatica*, it is not practical to use them exhaustively. But the above-mentioned three records give the only references that I have been able to find for the Maysūr or Maisūr seventy, and the earliest instances of the existence of the name: and Mr. Rice himself does not claim to have done more; see, e.g., his *Mysore* (1897), 2. 280:—"We find Maisu-nād or Maisur-nād mentioned in inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries."

A group of villages known as the Mayse-nāḍ appears to be mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1136, and in another which is referred to about A.D. 1200: *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Bl. 17; Hn. 139. And the same seems to be mentioned as the Maise-nāḍ in inscriptions of A.D. 1117 and 1174: *ibid.*, Bl. 58, 59, 71. But that is marked by the records as a different group, close to Belūr in the Belūr tāluka of the Hassan District.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Mr. Rice's remarks in *Mysore* (1897), 2. 280, 281:—"The present town of Mysore cannot perhaps boast of much antiquity . . . Here a fort was either constructed or repaired in the year 1524."

(according to tradition or conventional acceptance) 96,000 cities, towns, and villages".<sup>1</sup> The city Mysore is situated in the southern part of the ancient Gaṅgavāḍi country, the connected authentic history of which, as established by the inscriptions, dates from closely about A.D. 750, when there arose a Gaṅga prince, Śivamāra I, whose descendants ruled till about A.D. 1000.<sup>2</sup> The first mention of the 96,000 province is found in the inscription of the first year of the rule of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, son of Śivamāra I,<sup>3</sup> which speaks of "all the subjects of the 96,000", apparently as witnesses to the act recorded in it. The earliest known instance of the use of the full appellation "Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000" seems to be found in an inscription of Ereyappa, of the period about A.D. 908 to 938,<sup>4</sup> which describes that prince as "governing the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 as a united whole (lit., in the shade of one umbrella)." And it remained in use, even when the Gangas had passed away, until at least A.D. 1200. For the Gaṅga period, the only recognizable capitals are, as Mr. Rice has told us,<sup>5</sup> Kōlār and Talakāḍ. And during that period, and for six centuries after it, no mention of the name Mysore in any form, and no allusion to the place, can be found, except as stated on pp. 431-2 above.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be clearer than the proof that this is the meaning of these numerical designations: yet Mr. Rice in his recent publication has repeated prominently an old mistake in asserting (p. 174) that the numbers denote the revenue values; and the mistake has found its way, from his previous writings, into the Imperial Gazetteer, 10. 291, note 2. I shall hope to give a separate note on this matter.

<sup>2</sup> There were, indeed, Gaṅgas in Mysore before A.D. 750, in the sixth and perhaps even the fifth century. But no authentic details are known about them.

<sup>3</sup> At Talakāḍ, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). TN. 1.

<sup>4</sup> At Bēgūr, *Epi. Carn.*, 9 (Bangalore). Bn. 83: previously edited by me in *Epi. Ind.*, 6. 48. The Maḍivāla inscription, *Epi. Carn.*, 10 (Kōlār). Kl. 79, is probably also of the time of Ereyappa: if, however, it might really be referred to Raṇavikrama, then the full expression is carried back to about A.D. 810 to 840.

<sup>5</sup> *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 29.

After the period marked by the Nandigunda and Kuppehālu inscriptions and the record on the Tanjore plates, the town Mysore commences to figure only in connexion with its present rulers, who trace their line back to a certain Hire-Bettada-Chāmarāja to whom the date of A.D. 1513-52 is assigned.<sup>1</sup> Their ancestors first came to the front in the person of Rāja-Wodeyar, who in 1610 overcame the Vijayanagara viceroys, and established himself at Seringapatam. They appear to have been members of a local family residing at Mysore. And the inscriptions describe them in the simplest terms as belonging to the Ātrēya gōtra, the Āśvalāyana sūtra, and the R̥igvēda śākhā.<sup>2</sup> But, as they rose to increased prominence, they required, like other great families of Southern India, a Purāṇic pedigree connecting them with either the Solar or the Lunar Race. The latter was chosen. And the account devised for them<sup>3</sup> says that some members of the line of Yadu in the Lunar Race went from Dvārakā (in Kāthiāwād) to the Karnāṭa country to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa at Yadugiri, —Mēlukōṭe in the Seringapatam tāluka, Mysore District, about twenty-five miles north of Mysore; and, seeing the land to be a beautiful one, they settled at Mysore, protecting the people, and doing service to the goddess who guarded the city and whom they adopted as their own deity. In their line there seems to have been born a Chāmarāja; then a son of him, also named Chāmarāja; and then his son, the Hire-Bettada-Chāmarāja mentioned above. He, it is said, had three sons, amongst whom he

<sup>1</sup> See the table in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., a copperplate record of A.D. 1614 from Mēlukōṭe, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Sr. 157.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., records of A.D. 1647 at Mattigōḍu, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Ag. 64; of 1662 at Hālagere, vol. 12 (Tumkūr). Kg. 37; of 1675 at Chāmarājnagar, vol. 4 (Mysore). Ch. 92; and of 1686 at Seringapatam vol. 3 (Mysore). Sr. 14. And compare Mr. Rice's book, p. 124 ff.

divided his principality while he was still alive. Two of them died without male issue. And so the whole went to the remaining son, Bōl-Chāmarāja, to whom he had given Mysore itself. The family thus commenced ruling at Mysore. As has been said above, in A.D. 1610 Rāja-Wodeyar made a step in advance, and established himself at Seringapatam. From 1760 to 1799 the family was under the domination of Haidar Ali and Tipū Sultān. Then, on the defeat and death of the last-mentioned, the British Government placed Mummaḍi-Kṛṣṇarāja-Wodeyar on the throne, and the court was removed back to Mysore, which has continued to be the dynastic capital.

The name Mysore figures freely enough in the epigraphic records of this period; especially in the standing expression “(so-and-so) of Mysore”: with reference to the place of origin, which was used even when Seringapatam was the capital: for instance, *Maisūra Chāmarāja-Wodeyaru* in a record of A.D. 1633,<sup>1</sup> and *Mahīśūra Kṛṣṇarāja-Wodeyar-aruru* in one of 1717.<sup>2</sup> In Kanarese prose passages it is found in the various forms of Mahīśūr or Mahīśūr (A.D. 1614), Mayisūr (1625), Maisūr (1633), and Mahīśapura (1672).<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit verses it is found as Mahishāpur (A.D. 1639), Mahishī and Māhishipuravarā (1647), Mahishanagara (1662), Mahīsūra (1663), Mahishapuri (1666), Māhishapura (1675), and Mahīśūrapura (1679); but we do not trace any use of the name Māhishmati, to which we shall come farther on. And the goddess, whose shrine appears to be on the

<sup>1</sup> At Talakād, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). TN. 13.

<sup>2</sup> At Belūru, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Bl. 29.

<sup>3</sup> I can, of course, only quote the forms as they are given in the texts in roman and Kanarese characters in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; and the readings do not always match each other. I have preferred, as a rule, to follow the Kanarese texts, because they are the bases of the others. For the reason stated in a previous note (the absence of a proper index), I cannot guarantee that I have exhausted all the forms: I give only each form, and the earliest instance of it, that I have detected.

Chāmūṇḍibetta hill close on the south-east of the city of Mysore, is mentioned as Mahishāsūramardini in a record of A.D. 1639,<sup>1</sup> and Mahishāsūramardini-Betta-Chāmūṇḍēśvari-Amma in one of 1673:<sup>2</sup> she is to be regarded as a local form of Chāṇḍā, Chāmūṇḍā, Durgā, as the destroyer of the buffalo-headed demon Mahishāsura.<sup>3</sup> We note the occurrence of the expression *Mahisūra samsthāna*, "the Mysore State", in an inscription of A.D. 1852,<sup>4</sup> and perhaps of *Maisūra samsthāna* in one of 1672-73.<sup>5</sup> But we do not find any indication of the name Mysore in any form, Kanarese or Sanskrit, having been used to denote either the whole territory or even that portion of it which is now the Mysore District: the application of the name in this way seems to be of purely modern and official origin.

\* \* \* \* \*

In view of all the facts set out above, it must be clear that any such appellation as Mahishamandala to denote the Mysore territory or even the country round the city Mysore itself —(assuming that such a term has ever been used at all in that sense, of which there is no evidence)—could only have come into existence after A.D. 1600, when the occasion arose, in devising the Purāṇic genealogy, to Sanskritize the vernacular name, of a place rising to importance, which presented a certain adaptability.<sup>6</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> At Gajjiganahalli, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Nj. 198.

<sup>2</sup> At Bīrasandra, *Epi. Carn.*, 12 (Tumkūr). Tp. 106.

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions do not seem to show how Yādavas who had come into Mysore to visit their family-god Nārāyaṇa became Śaivas with Durgā as their tutelary deity: and the "tradition" reported by Mr. Rice (his latest book, p. 125) does not furnish any clear explanation.

<sup>4</sup> At Belagōḍu, *Epi. Carn.*, 5 (Hassan). Mj. 40.

<sup>5</sup> At Mañchanahalli, *Epi. Carn.*, 3 (Mysore). Ml. 60.

<sup>6</sup> The suggestion (*Epi. Ind.*, 4. 58, note 2) that Mysore is mentioned as Māhishavishaya in the inscription A. of A.D. 945 at Sālōṭgi in the Inḍi tāluka, Bijāpūr District, cannot be accepted. This "Māhisha district" is certainly to be located somewhere not very far from Sālōṭgi: and the village Kāñchana-Muduvōl or Kāñchina-Muduvōl, which the record places in it, is perhaps the modern 'Kanchināl' in the Inḍi tāluka.

we can hardly avoid noticing, before we go farther, two observations attached by Mr. Rice to his assertion that the Mahishamandala of the Buddhist books is the country round the city Mysore.

He has said in the first place:<sup>1</sup>—"Mysore, (properly Maisūru, derives its name from *mahisha*, Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prākṛit to *mahisa* and in Kanṇaḍa to *maisa*, and *ūru*, Kannada for town or country". On the last point we must observe that the Kanarese *ūr*, *ūr eu*, does certainly mean 'village, town', but never 'country'.<sup>2</sup> For the rest, does the word *maisa* really exist in Kanarese? It may perhaps be assumed to exist, because Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, though not giving it, does give *maisi*, from the Śabdamanidarpana (thirteenth century), as the *taḍbhava*-corruption of the feminine *mathishī*. But no instance is adduced of the actual use of even *maisi*. And the facts set out above make it plain that the Sanskritized forms of the name Mysore were based on the form Maisūr, instead of the reverse being the case. We do not believe that the name even means 'buffalo-village': the Kanarese people have their own words, *kōṇa*, 'a male buffalo', and *emme*, 'a female buffalo', and would naturally have used one or other of them to form any place-name connected with the idea of 'buffalo', and would have given us Kōṇanūr or Emmeyūr. We may suggest that the name may just possibly be connected with the Kanarese *mē*, *mēy*, *mēyu*, 'to graze', *mēyisu*, 'to cause to graze'. But we do not put forward even that with any confidence. We prefer to take this name, just as we have to take so many others, as one for which no certain origin can now be found.

Mr. Rice has further said (loc. cit.):—"Mahisa-maṇḍala

<sup>1</sup> *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 14, note 1. From an earlier writing by him, this derivation is given in the Imperial Gazetteer, 18. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice seems to have been thinking of the Sanskrit *uru*, 'wide, broad', whence we have *urri*, 'the earth'.

appears in the Tamil form *Erumai-nāḍu* in *Māmūlanār's Aganānūru*, which is of the second century." Here, several points arise. In the first place, it does not seem correct to ascribe the *Aganānūru* to *Māmūlanār*, and to assign it to the second century: we are told elsewhere that the *Aganānūru* is an anthology on erotic subjects, consisting of stanzas composed by about a hundred and sixty poets (of whom *Māmūlanār* is one), and that it was compiled by *Uruttiraśanmī* under the auspices of a *Pāṇḍya* king named *Ugrapperuvaḷudi*:<sup>1</sup> and an indication has been given to us that it cannot be placed before the close of the eighth century. Secondly, in view of the inference which is plainly intended, we should like to know exactly what *Māmūlanār* has said about the *Erumai-nāḍu*, and why his 'buffalo-district' is supposed to be *Mysore*: but the vague reference that is given hardly helps us to find the passage. Thirdly, if the name *Erumai-nāḍu* ever existed as an established name of *Mysore*, it is strange that it is not found so used in any of the Tamil historical poems published in the *Indian Antiquary*; nor in any of the numerous Tamil inscriptions which exist in *Mysore* and have been published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; nor in any of the Tamil inscriptions from other parts which mention the *Chōla* conquest of *Mysore*; the term used in the latter is always *Gaṅga-pāḍi*, = *Gaṅgavāḍi*. But we may be sure of one or other of two things. Either *Māmūlanār's Erumai-nāḍu* is to be located somewhere in the *Madras Presidency*, where *erumai* is a not infrequent first component of place-names in the *Coimbatore*, *Madura*, *Tinnevely*, *Tanjore*, *Salem*, *North Arcot*, and *Chingleput Districts*.<sup>2</sup> Or else, in view

<sup>1</sup> See *M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for the year 1893-4*, No. 2, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> The *Village Postal Directory of the Madras Circle (1893)* shows, under *e* and *y*, eighteen such names, and is suggestive of there being also others, not correctly spelt there. And, judged by maps, this compilation is not exhaustive.

of the particular nature of the Aganānūru, it denotes the territory with which we shall now proceed to identify the country in which we are interested.

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The Mahishamaṇḍala to which Moggaliputta-Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions is distinctly not the modern Mysore territory or any part thereof. As our first step to its real identification, we take the first component of its name as denoting, not the idea of 'buffalo', but a people whose name is found in the various forms of Mahisha,<sup>1</sup> Mahishaka,<sup>2</sup> Māhishaka,<sup>3</sup> and Māhishika.<sup>4</sup> The passage in the Bhishmaparvan of the Mahābhārata classes the Māhishakas as *janapadā dakṣiṇāḥ*; and the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa calls them *dakṣiṇāpatha-vāsinaḥ*; this means that they dwelt anywhere on the south of either the Vindhya range or the river Narbadā, whichever is taken as the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India: it does not mean that we must look for them in the extreme south. And we may note here that the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, in its account of the various hells and the people who go to them, mentions, amongst those who are doomed to the Rudhirāṇḍha, certain persons to whom it applies the term *māhishika*: here the commentary explains that a wife who dispenses her favours at random is termed *mahishī*, 'a female buffalo', and a husband who condones such conduct is styled *māhishika*.<sup>5</sup>

We will not venture to decide whether the Mahishas, Mahishakas, Māhishakas, Māhishikas, derived their name from being special breeders of buffaloes, or from a laxity

<sup>1</sup> Brihat-Saṁhitā, 9. 10 : Harivaṁśa, 782.

<sup>2</sup> Brihat-Saṁhitā, 17. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhārata, e.g., 6 (Bhishma). § 9. 366 : Vishṇu-Purāṇa, book 4, chap. 24 (Bombay text, 1866, p. 42a) : Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind.), chap. 57, verse 46.

<sup>4</sup> Matsya-Purāṇa (Calcutta, 1876), chap. 113, verse 47; text in the Ānandāśrama series, 114. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Book 2, chap. 6 : Bombay text (1866), p. 14b.

of morals which led them to connive at free-love on the part of their wives. But, taking the word as the name of a people, we locate the Mahishamāṇḍalā, "the territory of the Mahishas", by recognizing as its capital a city Māhishmatī, which was of considerable antiquity and repute.<sup>1</sup>

This city is mentioned by Patañjali in his comments on Vārttikas 10 and 15 under Pāṇini, 3. 1. 26, where he introduces it in illustrating a use of the causal to indicate something remarkable:—"Setting out from Ujjayini, he makes sunrise (sees the sun rise) at Māhishmatī": he thus indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could, as a special feat, be covered between sunset and sunrise. It is mentioned as Māhissatī in inscriptions at Sāñchi, in which visitors to the Stūpas are described (in somewhat misspelt terms) as coming from Maḥisatī, Māhasatī, Māhisatī.<sup>2</sup> And it was still flourishing in the thirteenth century: the inscription on the Māṇḍhātā plates of the Paramāra king Dēvapāla<sup>3</sup> tells us that in A.D. 1225, when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Māhishmatī, and (we may add) that he made the grant after bathing in the Narbadā.

Some references to this city in the Mahābhārata are as follows:—In 2 (Sabhā). § 30. 1124-63, we are told that the Pāṇḍava prince Sahadēva, in the course of his tour to subjugate the countries of the south (*dakṣiṇa*) for Yudhishṭhira, went to Māhishmatī, and there fought and conquered king Nīla: and a story is introduced (1130-43) narrating how the god Agni had conferred on the women of the city the boon of being allowed to behave just as

<sup>1</sup> From *mahisha* we have *mahishmat*, 'possessing buffaloes'. The name Māhishmatī is explained by the St. Petersburg Dictionary as being the feminine of *māhishmata* from *mahishmat*. There are indications that in some of the passages presenting the name Mahishaka, etc., there are various readings which give *shm* instead of *sh* in the third syllable.

<sup>2</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, 2. 109, No. 111; 389 f., Nos. 313, 314, 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, 9. 108.

they might like.<sup>1</sup> In 13 (Anuśāsana). § 2. 89, Daśāsava, one of the hundred sons of Ikshvāku son of Manu, is mentioned as a king of Māhishmatī. And in the same book, § 152. 7187, we are told that the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya, reigned over the whole earth at Māhishmatī.<sup>2</sup>

The city is also mentioned in the Harivaiṃśa. We are there told in one place (1846-7) that it was founded by king Mahishmat, the heir (*dāyāda*) of Sāhañja who was descended from Yadu through Haihaya:<sup>3</sup> but in another passage that the founder of it was king Muchukunda. This last-mentioned person is there treated as a son of Yadu: but elsewhere in the same work (711-14, 6464) he is mentioned as a son of Māndhātṛi.<sup>4</sup>

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Regarding the identity of this city Māhishmatī there have been for a long time two views.<sup>5</sup> One is that it is Mysore. This had its origin in a conjecture put forward by Wilson in 1822 in the *Calcutta Annual Register*.<sup>6</sup> It has been asserted recently by Mr. Rice.<sup>7</sup> So also the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the explanation, mentioned above, of the term *māhishika* as used in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this, certain princes in Southern India, of the 11th and 12th centuries, who claimed to be of Haihaya extraction, used the title "lord of Māhishmatī the best of towns", to indicate their place of origin: see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, part 2, pp. 439 and note 2, 450, 451, 457, 523; also *Epi. Ind.*, 4. 86.

<sup>3</sup> On the descent compare Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 4. 53 f.

<sup>4</sup> So also in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 3. 268.

<sup>5</sup> There has also been a third view, which, however, we need not consider; namely, that Māhishmatī is 'Mandlā', the head-quarters town of the Mandlā District, Central Provinces: see Sleeman in JASB. 6 (1837). 622, and Cunningham in *Ancient Geography*, 488.

<sup>6</sup> See Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, 2. 166, note 8.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., his *Mysore* (1897), 1. 280; 2. 280. He has said that Sahadēva crossed the Kāvērī to reach Māhishmatī. I do not find any mention of a Kāvērī in connexion with Māhishmatī in the Calcutta text of the epic. But, in case such a statement is really made anywhere else, it may be noted that the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery R.' flowing into the Narbadā from the south about a mile above the place which really is Māhishmatī.

Imperial Gazetteer says (18. 261) that Mysore appears as Māhishmatī in the Mahābhārata. We need say no more about that, beyond making one brief remark. The Mahābhārata tells us that Sahadēva subjugated, next after Nila of Māhishmatī, the king of Tripura. This place, as is well known, is Tēwar, in the Jabalpūr District. And the statement about Tripura should have been sufficient, for many years past, to prevent any repetition of the idea that Māhishmatī is Mysore.

The more general view has identified Māhishmatī with a town named Mahēshwar, on the north bank of the Narbadā, in the Nimār Zillah of the Indore State, which is shown as 'Mahesar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 37, N.E. (1892), in lat. 22° 10', long. 75° 38'. This identification was stated—apparently as an already accepted point—by Wilford in 1807.<sup>1</sup> And it has been last repeated in the Imperial Gazetteer.<sup>2</sup> The residents themselves seem to believe that Mahēshwar is Māhishmatī; since we gather from the Imperial Gazetteer that they recognize the Māhishmatī-Māhātmya as their local Purāṇa. And, though the names do not match, —Mahēshwar being plainly Mahēśvara, and having no connection with *mahisha*,—support for the view has been found in a passage in the Suttanipāta which tells us that, when the disciples of Bāvari, the hermit dwelling on the bank of the Gōdhāvari (*sic*) in the neighbourhood of Aḷaka in the territory of Assaka (verse 997), journeyed to the north to look for Buddha, they went (verse 1011) to Patitṭhāna on the east of Aḷaka, then to Māhissatī, and then to Ujjēni, Gōnaddha, Vēdisā, Vana-Kōsambī, Sākēta, Sāvattthi, and so on.<sup>3</sup> This places Māhishmatī between Paithaṇ,

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, 9. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 17, p. 9; vol. 21, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 1011 ends with *Vana-savhayaṃ*; and verse 1012 begins with *Kōsambīm ch = āpi*. The translation (by Fausböll, SBE., 10. part 2, p. 180) says:—" . . . Vedisā, Vanasavhaya, and also to Kosambī, Sāketa, . . . " *Vana-savhaya* means 'having the appellation *vana*'. It might of course be taken as denoting some place bearing any such

which is the ancient Pratiṣṭhāna, on the Gōdāvarī, and Ujjain. And Mahāśhwar answers well enough to such a location: it is closely about 185 miles north of Paīṭhan and 70 miles south of Ujjain, and is almost on the straight line between the two places. It has, however, been lately shown that this identification is not the correct one.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to two instructive statements about Māhishmatī.<sup>1</sup> One is in the Raghuvamśa, in the account of the *scayamvara* of Indumatī. When the chief portress, who introduces the various suitors, comes to Pratīpa, king of Anūpa, a descendant of the thousand-armed Kārtavīrya, she says (6. 43) “Be thou the Lakshmi on the lap of this long-armed (*king*), if thou dost wish to see through the windows of (*his*) palace the Rēvā (Narbada), charming with rippling waters, which is a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of (*his city*) Māhishmatī.” As Mr. Pargiter has observed, this distinctly

name as Vanapura, Vananagara, or even Vanavāsa: and the division of the verses may be adduced in support of that. But the whole passage is little more than prose, with the addition here and there of suitable words to make it scan. And I venture to take it as speaking of “Kōsambī which had the appellation Vana”, that is “Kauśāmbī in the Forest”, on the strength of the *gana* attached to Pāṇini, 4. 2. 97, which gives the name Vana-Kauśāmbī: it may be mentioned that the *Nara*-Kauśāmbī of the Benares text of the Kāśikā, 2nd edition, is a mistake; all the other versions have *Vana*°. The *gana* presents, in fact, two names; Kauśāmbī and Vana-Kauśāmbī. But we seem to be justified in taking them as denoting one and the same place by what Hsien-tsiang says: after his description of Prayāga, he continues (Beal, *Lijé*, 90, and compare *Si-yu-ki*, 1. 234):—“From this, in a south-west direction, we enter a great forest, in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at Kiau-shang-ni.” Also, the Antagaḍa-dasāo mentions Kōsambakāṇaṇa, “the Kosamba forest” (translation by Barnett, p. 81), though it may not place it in the same locality.

At the beginning of the passage in the Suttanipāta, the words are:—*Alakassa Patitṭhānaṃ purimaṃ*. Here, also, I venture to differ from Fuusböhl, who translated:—“To Patitṭhāna of Alaka first, then to Māhissatī, . . .”

<sup>1</sup> See his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, p. 333, note ‡, (issued in 1896), and introd., p. 9 (1905).

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### PARALLELS TO THE LEGENDS OF CANDRAHĀSA

The European literature is full of parallels to the history of Candrahāsa (No. 31). Not only is it found in many modern collections of fairy tales, as will be seen later on, but it appears already in mediaeval tales and legends, nay, is one of the German epic tales. As told by ancient chroniclers the history of the Emperor Henry III, of the eleventh century, is almost a copy of that of Candrahāsa. It occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 20 (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 315), *De miseria et tribulatione*, and in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus à Voragine, Latin edition by Greasse, No. 181 (not 171 as given by Oesterley), pp. 840–1, in the history of the Pope Pelagius. In the annotations to No. 20 (pp. 715–16) Oesterley has given a long list of parallels in the mediaeval literature, notably in Latin and German chronicles, most of them identical with the list in the *Kaiserchronik* (ed. H. F. Massman, Quedlinburg, 1854), vol. iii, pp. 1094–5, and in note 2, the full bibliography, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, a fact not so well known as it ought to be. The history, then (*Gesta Rom.*, 20), is briefly as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Conrad there lived a certain Count Leopold, who, for some reason or other, fled from the Court and hid himself with his wife in a hovel in the woods. By chance the emperor hunting there lost his way and came to the hovel to spend the night. The same night the hostess was delivered of a son. Suddenly the emperor heard a voice saying: "Take, take, take." Then again: "Restore, restore, restore." A third time the voice said: "Fly, fly, fly; for the child that is now born shall become thy son-in-law." The emperor, terrified, ordered in the

morning two of his squires to take the child forcibly away and to kill it. Moved by pity through its great beauty they placed it upon the branch of a tree, so as to save it from wild beasts, and killing a hare they brought its heart to the emperor. Soon after a duke, travelling in the forest, discovered the child, took it in the fold of his mantle, and brought it to his wife to nourish it as their own, and he gave it the name of Henry. The boy grew handsome and eloquent, and became a general favourite. The emperor, learning of the quickness of the youth, desired his foster-father to send him to Court, where he resided for some time, and was held in great esteem by many people. (Some versions of the legend then tell that the emperor having learned that the child was not the son of the Duke Henry of Suabia, but a foundling, recognized him to be the child whose death he had encompassed in consequence of the prophecy he had heard on the occasion of his birth) According to the *Gesta*, the emperor, afraid lest he be the child he had commanded to destroy, now wanted to make sure of his death. So he wrote a letter with his own hand to the queen to the following purport: "I command thee on pain of death, as soon as this letter reaches thee, to put this young man to death." The young man who was to bear this letter to the queen by chance passed a church, and setting himself upon a bench fell asleep. The letter was enclosed in his purse. The priest of the place, impelled by curiosity, opened the letter and read the contents. Horrified, he cunningly erased the writing, and wrote instead: "Give him our daughter in marriage." The queen, seeing the emperor's writing and the impress of his signet, called together the princes of the empire and celebrated the nuptials with great pomp. The emperor hearing of it was first greatly afflicted, but on hearing afterwards all the miraculous circumstances from the esquires, the duke, and the priest, acquiesced in it and resigned himself to the dispositions of God. So he

confirmed the marriage, and appointed the young man heir to the throne.

This mediaeval legend, or cycle of legends, agrees almost in every detail with the first part of the story of Candrahāsa. All goes well so far up to the marriage, to which the father is finally reconciled in the history of Henry and in its numerous parallels in European chronicles. But the Indian story has a sequel. The father, far from resigning himself to the inexorable destiny of fate or to the dispensations of God, still harbours evil feeling and plots the final destruction of his son-in-law. In the end he falls a victim to the very plan which he had invented for the death of the innocent. In some modern fairy tales we find now the whole story, with a similar ending, the death of the scheming father-in-law who would defy destiny. In each of the parallels it is always a foundling. The child, whose future greatness had been overheard by the man on the night of its birth, is therefore exposed by him or by the murderers he had hired, and is found by some one else, who brings it up as his own child. He is therefore known as the Foundling. I start with "Naidis the Foundling" in the most recent collection of tales from Macedonia (G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 129-34). After the wedding the man, whose daughter he had married through the change of the wording in the letter by the miraculous intervention of an old man, instructs his wife to call Naidis the next morning early and to send him with another letter to the shepherds tending his flocks. In that letter he writes to the shepherds to cut the bearer in pieces and to fling him into the well. The mother-in-law seeing him sleep sweetly in her daughter's arms was sorry to wake him and went instead and woke her son, whom she thus sent to the doom prepared by his father for Naidis. Hearing of it the distracted father runs after the son, but is too late; he had been cut in pieces according to his instructions, and the body thrown into the well. Full of

despair he kills himself, and thus the prophecy comes true, the youth becomes his heir.

Almost identical with this Macedonian version is the Greek tale No. 20 in Halm's collection. Here, however, it is the father-in-law himself who is killed in accordance with the instructions he had sent through the young man. For he writes to the guardian of the vineyard to shoot the man who would come into the place at such and such a time. The young man, eager to fulfil his master's wish, runs very fast and reaches the vineyard long before the fatal hour. Then he lingers a little on the way back. The father-in-law, impatient to know what had happened to the young man, whether he had at last succeeded in destroying him, goes to the vineyard to be killed by the guardian. The same occurs in the Albanian tale of the Foundling (Dozon, No. 13, "L'enfant vendu, ou la Destinée"). Here it is the pasha who overhears the prophecy. After the marriage he orders the smith to kill the young man with his hammer. In this tale it is again a son (that of the pasha) who is anxious to go first, and the young man then brings back what the pasha had wished, viz. the head of his own son. Finally, the pasha himself is killed, for he is impatient and goes first to the coachman to see whether his instructions have been carried out. Among the South Slavonian tales published by Jagić (*Archiv f. Slav. Philologie*, vol. i, etc.) Nos. 14 and 56 belong to our cycle. Reinhold Kochler, than whom there was no greater authority in the comparative study of fairy tales, has added there a large number of parallels from the world's literature. His remarks and references have been reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften zur Maerchenforschung* (ed. Bolte, Weimar, 1898), pp. 417, 466. In the latter cycle of tales the young man, instead of being sent straight to be killed by means of a letter or a peculiar message, is sent on perilous errands, from which he is not expected to return safely, but he succeeds in overcoming all difficulties

## PARALLELS TO THE LEGENDS OF CANDRAHASA

and slays his enemies. The Rumanian parallels have been studied by L. Sainéu, *Basmele române* (Bucuresti, 1895), pp. 142-3.

The second episode then branches off, and at an early period becomes an independent tale. The first, or Henry, cycle starts with a prophecy at birth, or at some early period in the life of the youth, and finishes, as a rule, with his marriage; the second cycle, which I will mention now as briefly as possible—though there is nothing in it of “predestination” and it lacks the change! letter—has, none the less, some traits in common with the Indian story, and must be an old variant. It is also found in one of the legends of the *Gesta Romanorum* among the “additional” tales published by Oesterley, but found already in the English version: the story of Fulgentius. The motive for sending the young man to what looks a positive death, is envy on the part of a steward, or some other courtier, who wishes to get rid of his rival in the favour of the king. He resorts to a stratagem which is the same in most of the parallels. He tells the emperor that the youth had told the people that his, the king’s breath, was foul (either through leprosy or through some other fell disease), and that it was death to him to serve the cup. Then the emperor asks the steward first whether it is true, and on his denying that there was anything amiss with the breath of the emperor he is asked how he, the emperor, might bring this thing to good proof. The steward answers: “To-morrow next when he serveth the cup the young man will turn his face away from the emperor.” He then goes to the young man, and tells him that the emperor feels very sore on account of his stinking breath, which makes his drink to do him no good. Fulgentius (this is the name of the youth) asks the steward to counsel him what to do, and he advises him to turn his face away from the emperor whenever serving him with the cup. He does so and is turned out of Court. The emperor then decides

to punish him, and again, upon the advice of the steward, orders him to go to the brickmakers at the emperor's limekiln, whither he should send the order to cast into the furnace whoever came and asked whether they had fulfilled the king's will. Fulgentius, on his way, passing a church, hears the bell tolling for service. So he goes in, attends service, and falls into a profound sleep. Meanwhile, the steward, impatient to know the fate of Fulgentius, proceeds to the limekiln, asks the fatal question, and is forthwith bound hand and foot and thrown into the furnace, just before Fulgentius arrives, who hears the news and is told of the command of the emperor. He returns, to the great surprise of the emperor, who, by questioning, finds out the truth, and recognizes in Fulgentius' salvation divine intervention and the triumph of truth. To this story (No. 283) Oesterley gives a full parallel literature (p. 749), without noticing the connexion with No. 20 (and pp. 715-16). From that list it will be seen how widespread this version of the legend had been in the Middle Ages, and also that it had entered into the literature of fairy tales and ballads, the best known being Schiller's *Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*. It is also found in the East in the *Persian Mesnevi*, in the *Forty Viziers* (German, by Bernauer), in the *Somadeva*, and partly also in some additions to the *Pancha-Tantra* (Benfey, i, 321). To these parallels I will add now only two more, hitherto unknown. They are found in Hebrew MSS. The first, in a MS. of the xiii-xiv cent. (Bodl. 1466, ed. Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 308, pp. 207-8); and the other in my possession, Cod. 130, No. 38a f., 100a ff. In the former it is a young man to whom the father leaves on his death-bed the wish never to pass the synagogue when service is held without going in and taking part in it.

The young man went to Court and served as cup-bearer and page to the king and queen. Being favoured by

them he roused the envy of the steward, who, taking advantage of the fact that favour was shown to him by the queen, told the king that she was bestowing her love on the young man. The king would not believe it, until at last he allowed himself to be persuaded, and decided to destroy the page. So he commanded the brickmaker to throw into the limekiln the first man who would come to him and ask whether he had fulfilled the king's command. And he ordered the young man to go early next morning to the limekiln. On the way he passes a synagogue, and hearing the service going on, he dismounts from his horse, goes into the synagogue, and tarries there until the end. The king, after waiting for a while, sends the steward to the kiln to inquire what has happened. He is thrown into the burning furnace. Meanwhile the young man comes to the place, and seeing them throwing the steward into the burning furnace remonstrates with them, but they answer: "Such was the command of the king, and he (the steward) was the first who came." The young man returns to the king and asks him why he has ordered them to burn the steward. The king, being greatly surprised at the turn of events, tells him all that the steward had spoken against him, and adds that he is now fully convinced of his innocence. And the "Moralizatio", quite in the style of the *Gesta*, is: "This shows how necessary and beneficial it is not to pass divine service."

The point to be noted in this variant, and in the subsequent, is the importance attached to the synagogue or church, and the "Moralizatio" that the salvation of the young man is due to his tarrying at that place for devotional purposes. This point has become obscured in the first cycle of legends, the Henry cycle, though a remnant of it is found in Henry resting in the church where the inquisitive priest changes the writing of the letter. The significance of the stopping at the church for religious

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purposes, which is obliterated in the other variants, appears prominently in this second cycle of legends. It occurs also in the story of Maimonides, who is the hero of a tale found in my MS. 130 (of the sixteenth to seventeenth century). He was a favourite at the Court of the King of Spain, and became the object of envy to the other courtiers. The oldest among them then decides to bring about his destruction by the scheme of insinuating an evil smell of the breath of the king, and of Maimonides, advising the latter to cover his mouth with his hand when addressing the king. Greatly incensed at this public insult, the king orders the baker to heat his furnace and to throw into it the first man who would ask for the king's message. Maimonides, of course, is sent. On his way to the furnace Maimonides is stopped three times to take part in a religious ceremony, once by being asked to be present at a circumcision, the second time at a wedding, and the third time at a funeral. The king's counsellor, impatient to know of the result, reaches the furnace first and is thrown in, and Maimonides is thus saved by having been stopped on his way in the performance of religious duties. The king then learns the truth, and he recognizes that a just punishment has overtaken the wicked counsellor.

It would be easy to increase the number of parallels; they are mostly mentioned in the books of Liebrecht, Koehler, and Oesterley. To this large number now the history of Candrahāsa is a most welcome and important addition, for it furnishes the missing Indian link, and closes the chain.

M. GLASTER.

## THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

My paper on the Antiquity of Vedic Culture<sup>1</sup> has elicited comments from various scholars<sup>2</sup>; may I be

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1909, pp. 721 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 1095 seqq.

allowed to make a few remarks on the strictures of Professor Oldenberg and Mr. Berriedale Keith, which concern more directly the Sanskrit scholar?

According to Professor Oldenberg the Mitannian gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, are not the Vedic gods of those names, but Iranian gods partly occurring in the Avesta, partly inferred from facts contained in the Avesta. He contends that the divine pair, Ahura-Mithra or Mithra-Ahura, of the Avesta has been correctly identified with Mitra-Varuṇa of the Veda; for the Vedic Varuṇa is indeed the great Asura (— Iran. *ahura*). The Vedic Indra is concealed under Verethrajan, the god of Victory in the Avesta. And to the Vedic pair of the two Nāsatyas corresponds in the Avesta the evil spirit Nāonhaithya. Therefore Professor Oldenberg says in conclusion: ‘I never doubted that Zarathustrianism was preceded by a more ancient Iranian religious system in which occurred a divine pair, Mitra-Varuṇa, a god Indra, a pair of two Aśvins or Nāsatyas.’

This reasoning is open to serious objections. (1) A god Varuṇa is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records. We only know for certain that Mithra was associated with another great god of whose true name and functions we are totally ignorant. From the fact that both in the Veda and in the Avesta there occur a couple of gods, one of whom is Mitra, it does not follow that the second member in either couple should also be the same. For the Sun-god may be, and has been, associated with various gods, so as to form a pair with any one of them, e.g. the Moon, the Night, the Dawn,<sup>1</sup> etc. We do not know who was the companion of that Mitra who, as Professor Sayce tells us in his note, p. 1106, is “represented by ideographs which signify ‘the dawn-completer’”. (2) The Iranian god of Victory, Verethrajan, corresponds to the Indian Vṛtrahan; but in Indian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Garuḍa and Aruṇa.

mythology Vrtrahan is an epithet of Indra, while in the Avesta Verethrajan and Indra are two distinct mythological persons, a god and a demon. It is just as likely that the Indians should have fused two gods into one as that the Iranians should have split one into two. And besides the inscription names this god "Indra" and not Vitrahan. (3) The Avesta knows but one Nāonhaithya, a demon, not a divine pair of Nāsatyas, thus ignoring the most characteristic trait of the Aśvins, their forming a couple. Nāsatya is an epithet of the Aśvins, the signification of which is unknown. It may, for all we know, have been also the name of an Iranian god wholly unconnected with the Indian Aśvins. The inscription does not mention *one* Nāsatya but two, for the plural *danu* most probably stands for the dual which is wanting in Babylonian. (4) The gods mentioned in the inscription are identical in form with Vedic gods; there is not a trace of anything peculiarly Iranian.<sup>1</sup> This fact goes far to prove that the religion of the tribe who imported their gods into Mesopotamia was essentially the same as Vedic religion as far at least as concerns mythology. For the gods invoked in those treaties were, of course, the principal gods of that tribe.

Now the facts discussed under Nos 1-3 prove that Iranian mythology, as revealed in the Avesta, bears some resemblance to Vedic mythology (as far as concerns the gods under consideration), but that, on the other hand, the difference is also well marked. And this is

<sup>1</sup> Professor Oldenberg says, p. 1098, note 1. "By deriving these gods from Iran rather than from India we may possibly account for the absence of Agni. It seems probable that the prominence of Agni in the Veda is of Indian, not of Indo-Iranian, growth." In my opinion the prominence of Agni in the Veda is due to the fact that Agni (like Soma) was a god of the priests (in later times he is identified with the Brahmans), while Indra was the god of warriors or Ksatriyas. Therefore the absence of Agni from the Mitannian inscription is easily accounted for by the fact that the Mitannian kings or their predecessors were warriors and not priests.

just what might be expected in two distinct peoples derived from a common stock; we know of no instance where two such peoples, each of which, however, developed an individual language and nationality, have preserved the same gods and attributed to them the same relative importance as in the prehistoric times when the two peoples had not yet separated. For the causes which bring about linguistic and ethnical differentiation, still more powerfully affect the religious beliefs of the people and their selection of gods.<sup>1</sup>

These considerations make it highly improbable that the gods invoked in the Mitannian inscriptions should be Iranian, or, more accurately, proto-Iranian<sup>2</sup> gods. Now the obvious reason for assuming them to be Iranian is the apparently Iranian form of the names of the Mitannian kings. But according to Professor Sayce<sup>3</sup> it is very unlikely that the names of the Mitannian kings are either Indo-European or Iranian; and this eminent scholar shows that the seeming Iranian affinities of these names may just as well be explained from Mitannian and Hittite idioms. If he is right, there is no reason which could induce us to interpret as Iranian, gods who, on the face of it are Vedic gods.

<sup>1</sup> Popular gods usually vary even from tribe to tribe within the same people unless a uniform mythology is brought about by some powerful factor; as the Greek Pantheon was fixed by the Homeric poems, so the Vedic Pantheon by the Vedic R̥sis. If, therefore, contrary to my opinion, could be proved that the pre-Zarathustrian religious system of the Iranians contained the principal gods of the Veda, then indeed we should have to assume that those Iranians had, at some time, been so wholly under the influence of Vedic culture as to adopt even the Vedic gods.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Oldenberg corrects me in ascribing to Professor Meyer the opinion that those gods were Arian instead of proto-Iranian. If I must plead guilty, I may say in my excuse that the title of his paper: "The first appearance in history of the *Arians*," and some passages, e.g. the one translated by Oldenberg on p. 1096, have misled not only me but also other readers.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 1909, p. 1107.

Professor Oldenberg thinks that even if these gods should, after all, turn out to be Vedic gods, their occurrence on Mitannian inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. will make no alteration in the current opinions on the age of the Veda; and he objects to my declaration that the excavations at Boghazkiöi "give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization". But their importance in this regard will be evident to everyone who considers that till recently the oldest authentic date in Indian history was the epoch of Buddha's death, and that now the oldest certain date is pushed back for well-nigh a thousand years. The testimony which the Mitannian inscriptions bear to the existence of Vedic religion about 1400 B.C. will henceforth be the keystone of all speculations on the antiquity of Indian civilization.

I had contended that everybody would accept my interpretation of the dates brought forward by Mr. Tilak and myself in order to prove the high antiquity of Vedic civilization, if the latter could be proved by independent evidence. Mr. Berriedale Keith, however, is of opinion that the objections to my chronological arguments would remain in undiminished force, even if the Vedic culture should date from the early epoch I claim for it. And in order to make his assertion good he restates the reasons of my opponents in a condensed form. May I, therefore, be allowed to give also my version of the story?

(1) The Vedic year began with full moon in Uttara-Phalguni ( $\beta$  Leonis); our opinions are at variance about the epoch denoted by this beginning of the year. I believe that at the time when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed, the full moon in Uttara-Phalguni occurred at the winter solstice; but according to Oldenberg it marked the beginning of the hot season. He places the period of the oldest Brāhmaṇas during which the calendar may have been fixed at about 800 B.C. At that time the full moon

in question occurred, as an easy calculation shows, within a fortnight on either side of the 3rd February. Now if we place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier, as the Boghazkiöi inscriptions entitle us to do, the limits of Phālguna full moon are shifted forward to the 10th January and the 7th February. Therefore, from the assumptions of Oldenberg, Thi'baut, and others, it would follow that the Indians, when first framing their calendar, marked *the beginning of the hot season by the full moon occurring between the 10th January and the 7th February*. As such a proposition is quite unacceptable in my opinion, I think it preferable to interpret the said beginning of the year as marked by the winter solstice of a very early period. For the winter solstice was also the beginning of the lustrum and the first year of it in the adjusted calendar of the Jyotiṣam which at that time coincided with new moon in Māgha (about 1100 B.C.).

I proceed to discuss two more dates which, in my opinion, bear testimony to the existence of a polar star (*dhruva*) and the position of the Pleiades near the vernal equinox in the early Vedic age. My opponents deny that the alleged evidence contains a positive base for chronological inference.

(2) The *dhruva* (lit. the immovable one) was during the marriage ceremony pointed out by the husband to his bride as a symbol of immobility. Mr. Berriedale Keith<sup>1</sup> emphasizes the fact that the *dhruva* "among Vedic texts appears only in the marriage ritual of the Grhya Sūtras and in the late (I should say apocryphal) Upaniṣadic literature". But as the pointing out of the polar star as a part of the marriage ceremony is enjoined in *all* the principal Grhya Sūtras, it was obviously a usage prevailing all over India and, therefore not one of recent origin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.c., p. 1101.

<sup>2</sup> It is misleading when Keith says (ibid.) that the "*dhruva* is admittedly an intruder in the Vedic marriage ritual". Professor Winternitz, speaking of another detail of the marriage ritual, which is of

Now I contend that the *dhruva* was the polar star of the period in which the popular custom of showing it to the bride came into existence, for it is difficult to imagine that the Indians should have wantonly named a star immovable whose motion could not have escaped observation. It was, of course, natural for this star to retain the name once given it for an indefinite length of time, even after it had ceased to appear immovable<sup>1</sup>. The opponents of my theory seem to suppose that the ancient Indians invented, as it were, a polar star, and then fixed on a star in the vicinity of the Pole to call it *dhruva*. However, the absence of anything like astronomical theories before the Puranic period makes this assumption unacceptable, in my opinion. I am convinced that it was not the priest who invented a polar star, but that the common people, villagers and the like, had discovered it. On this assumption I identified the *dhruva* with  $\alpha$  Draconis, which star was, in 2780 B.C., only six minutes distant from the Pole, and continued for about three or four hundred years before and after that time in such vicinity to the Pole that it may have been regarded as a true polar star. Only two more stars of sufficient magnitude approached the Pole:  $\kappa$  Draconis and  $\beta$  Ursæ Minoris, the minimum

unmistakably Indo Germanic origin, points out that it is mentioned in two Grhya Sūtras only, and he adds the remark that this fact should caution us against drawing an inference as to the absence of a popular custom from the absence of a testimony for it in the oldest literature. *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell, in Denkschriften der Kaiserl Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xl, p. 177

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *dhruva-ya pracalanam* in Maitrī Upaniṣad, i, 4, has been regarded as evidence that the motion of the polar star had become known at last. But this is a mistake. The shaking of *Dhruva* is mentioned among other portents which were apparently supposed to occur at the end of a Kalpa: *śoṣanam mahānavānām, śikharinām prapātanam, irāścanam vataragjñām*. We are here already in presence of Puranic cosmology; note the cords of winds by which the stars are fastened to the *Dhruva*, see *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii, 12, 24. For the *Purāṇas Dhruva* (*Autānapada*) seems to be the Pole, as guardian of the celestial bodies; and the star near him is his mother *Suniti* or *Sūmta*, see *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, i, 12, 95.

polar distance of the former being  $4^{\circ} 44'$  in 1290 B.C., and of the latter  $6^{\circ} 28'$  in 1060 B.C. But neither could have been named "immovable", since the daily changes in the position of the one amounted to about 10 degrees, and of the other to about 13 degrees, and they increased as time drew on. These are quantities not to be overlooked by men familiar with the starred heaven, as those Indians must have been who told the day of the month and the time of the night by observing the asterisms. I have treated elsewhere<sup>1</sup> at some length the astronomical side of the question. My observations appeal to those who by a practical acquaintance with astronomy can form an adequate idea of their significance, and realize that 10 degrees make a very perceptible difference of position. Mr. Berriedale Keith, who says that my "observations on this point do not seem convincing", will give me leave to doubt his competence as judge in astronomical matters, since on p. 1102 of his paper he gives vent to the opinion that a star of 3.3 magnitude is brighter than one of "only" 2.0 magnitude.

(3) The last argument from the Kṛttikās, or Pleiades, assumes that they opened the series of Nakṣatras as standing, at that time, near the vernal equinox. With this interpretation of that well-known fact I combined two testimonies from the Brāhmaṇas: (a) in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa I, 5, 2, 6 seqq. the Nakṣatras are divided into *devanakṣatras*, Kṛttikās down to Viśākhā, and *yamanakṣatras*, Anurādhā down to Bharaṇī, the former being apparently regarded as the Northern, and the latter as the Southern, Nakṣatras; (b) in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II, 1, 2, 3, it is said that the Kṛttikās do not deviate (*cyavante*) from the East,<sup>2</sup> while the other Nakṣatras do; the meaning of this observation is that

<sup>1</sup> See *Festgruss an Rud. von Roth*, 1893, pp. 72 seqq.; ZDMG., vol. xlix, p. 228; vol. l, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Śāyana's commentary runs thus: *dakṣiṇata uttarato vā vikṣepavaśān na calanti, kiṃtu niyamaṇa buddhaprācyām evo dyanti*.

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the Kṛttikās rise due east, as was the case when they stood near the vernal equinox. To my observations on this point,<sup>1</sup> which I do not think invalidated by the remarks of Oldenberg and Thibaut, I may add that the Hindus in later times did not doubt the proposed significance of the Kṛttikās' place at the head of the Nakṣatras. For when at last they had become aware of the precession of the equinoxes, some astronomers (Sūrya Siddhanta) assumed a libratory movement of the vernal equinox, the limits of which were 27 degrees in either direction from the beginning of Aśvinī (near ♈ Perseus), thus including in the libration the Kṛttikās. Mr. Keith considers the argument from the Kṛttikās also quite unconvincing, and he lays stress on "the fact that in no other regard does the vernal equinox appear as important in Vedic literature". But does the fact that Vedic liturgy took no cognizance of the vernal equinox preclude its being known? It is further said: "We do not know the origin of the Nakṣatras, and until we do, it is hardly likely that the origin of the place of Kṛttikās will be found." If the Kṛttikās rose due east in the Vedic period—viz. if their position then was near the vernal equinox—it matters little what was the origin of the Nakṣatras.

Whatever will be the value assigned to my chronological argument by the progress of research, at the present I do not think my opponents entitled to treat it as definitely refuted.

HERMANN JACOBI.

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The importance of the question of the interpretation of the chronological data of the Vedic literature renders desirable a brief reply to Professor Jacobi's last note on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> See ZDMG., vol. xlix, pp. 220 seqq.; vol. l, p. 72.

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1. Professor Jacobi states that the Boghazkiöi inscriptions entitle us to place the first construction of the Vedic calendar 800 years earlier (than 800 B.C.), and deduces thence an argument in favour of his view that the full moon in Uttara-Phalguni occurred at the winter solstice when the oldest Vedic calendar was fixed. But the inscriptions in question say nothing about Uttara-Phalguni or the Vedic calendar, and cannot, therefore, entitle us to make any assertion as to the date of the first construction of a calendar which they neither mention nor presuppose.

2. Professor Jacobi is fully entitled to doubt my competence as a judge in astronomical matters, but not to base that doubt on a misstatement of my views. I did not assert—as reference to p. 1102 of the *Journal* for 1909 will show—that a star of 3·3 magnitude is brighter than one of “only” 2·0 magnitude. My argument, which was condensed, but I think readily intelligible to anyone familiar with the question, was that the star  $\kappa$  Draconis might well be identified with the *dhruva* of the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, and have been regarded as the Pole Star both about and for long after 1290 B.C., when it was at its minimum distance ( $4^{\circ} 44'$ ) from the North Pole, because its only probable rival,  $\beta$  Ursæ Minoris, while it was only 2·0 in magnitude, and therefore not very greatly more conspicuous than  $\kappa$  Draconis,<sup>1</sup> was never at a less polar distance than  $6^{\circ} 28'$ , and thus was much less likely than  $\kappa$  Draconis ever to have been chosen as the Pole Star. But, as I said then, I see no reason at all for any definite identification of the star, but if we must have one  $\kappa$  Draconis appears to me infinitely more likely than  $\alpha$  Draconis. A date of the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. is much more likely to be found as a survival in a *Gṛhya Sūtra* than one of the third millennium.

3. Stress must be laid on the fact that even if we were to assume, in the face of all probability, that *Kṛttikā*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Oldenberg, ZDMG., l, 450, 451.

only marked the vernal equinox, none the less the date so indicated would be vague in the extreme. Whitney,<sup>1</sup> Weber,<sup>2</sup> and Thibaut<sup>3</sup> have shown with perfect clearness how utterly vague are the dates which can be ascribed to this event, or to the coincidence of new moon in Māgha with the winter solstice in the *Jyotiṣa*. The arguments of these scholars have not been refuted or apparently adequately considered by Professor Jacobi, though in one place<sup>4</sup> he appears to accept the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. as the date of the latter event, while in his last note the date is given at about 1100 B.C. But so long as their arguments stand, all speculation rests on an absolutely insecure basis.<sup>5</sup>

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APASTAMBA MANTRA BRAHMANA, ii, 8, 4

In this verse occurs—

*priyaṃ mā devesu kuru*  
*priyaṃ mā brahmane kuru |*  
*priyaṃ viśyesu sūdresu*  
*priyaṃ rājase mā kuru ||*

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., i, 316 seqq. ; Colebrooke's *Essays*, i, 126 seqq. : *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii, 380 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Indische Studien*, x, 234 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> IA., xxiv, 98 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> IA., xxiii, 157, where he seems to admit a possible error of ten centuries in the fixing of the vernal equinox at Kṛttikās ! It should be noted that both Whitney (*Studies*, ii, 383) and Thibaut (IA., xxiv, 97) are prepared to accept the view that the presence of Kṛttikās at the equinox is merely another form of the datum of the *Jyotiṣa* ; this would reduce indefinitely the importance of the Kṛttikās theory.

<sup>5</sup> Shamasastri's effort (*Gavām Ayana*, pp. 132 seqq.) to refute Whitney must be regarded as quite inadequate. The references to Baudhāyana establish nothing that was not known before. Whitney was acquainted with the Brāhmana references to the holding of certain festivals on certain dates, but he laid stress on the fact that there is no evidence to show how the *Jyotiṣa* and the sacrificial ritual were connected. It may be remarked that the evidence of the *Jyotiṣa* so far as it goes is very unfavourable to Shamasastri's theory of *yo* as "intercalary day".

In *Hiranyakeśin Grhya Sūtra*, i, 10, 6, *inter alia* the reading of Pāda b is: *priyaṃ mā brahmaṇi kuru*. This is, of course, much easier, and not unnaturally Winternitz, in his edition,<sup>1</sup> while accepting *brahmaṇe* as the *Āpastamba* text from all his MSS. and Haradatta, regards it as either Prākritic or an error for *brahmaṇi*.

It seems to me at once simpler and more satisfactory to assume that we have here a change of construction simply, the dative being substituted for the locative<sup>2</sup> of the other Pādas. The use of the dative with *priya* is not common, but cf. RV., v, 51, 4: *priya Indrāya Vāyave*, where the dative seems most naturally to be connected with *priya*, though it might also be construed with the preceding *parisyate*, and especially *Atharvaveda*, xii, 2, 34: *priyaṃ pitṛbhya ātmane brahmabhyaḥ kṛṇtā priyam*, which affords a precise, and in my opinion conclusive, argument for the dative *brahmaṇe*. The sense, of course, is different, but that is merely because in the one case the object is masculine, in the other neuter.

Interchanges of case of this kind are not rare in Sanskrit: e.g., in *Manu*, iii, 84 seqq., we have: *ābhyaḥ kuryād devatābhyo brāhmaṇo homaṃ anvaḥam || Agnes Somasya caivādaṁ tayoś caiva samastayoḥ | viśvebhyas caiva devebhyo Dhanvantaraya eva ca || 85 ||*. Or again, *ibid.*, ii, 79, there is: *mahato 'py enaso māsāt tvacevāhir vimucyate* | with which cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 16, 14. Or in *Manu*, iv, 128, the accusative and locative of time alternate in the same sense. Again in RV., x, 76, 5, we have: *divas cid ā vo 'navattarebhyo vibhvanā cid āśvapastarebhyah | vāyoś cid ā somarabastarebhyo 'gneś cid arca pitukṛttarebhyah ||*. It is here clear that *vibhvanā* must have the same sense as the ablative, and Delbrück's<sup>3</sup> doubts as to the possibility of the use of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Mantrapāṭha*, i, pp. xxiv and 44.

<sup>2</sup> For the locative, cf. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 138.

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instrumental for the ablative in such cases cannot be maintained against the evidence adduced by both Pischel<sup>1</sup> and Geldner,<sup>2</sup> so that we need not read *vibhvanah* as Roth<sup>3</sup> suggested. For other examples of interchange, cf. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 23, and Oldenberg's note on RV., i, 55, 3; a good instance in Prākṛit is that in *Mṛchakaṭikā*, i, 30, 9: *śavāmi-śīsāmpādehim*,<sup>4</sup> which is certainly to be taken as two variant constructions with the same sense.

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### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The accepted use of *me* and *te* as personal pronouns in Sanskrit is as dative and genitive, and it is as well to be slow in ascribing to these forms any other significance without very convincing evidence. I consider it therefore desirable to analyse the proofs of other usages alleged for the *Rāmāyana* by Dr. Michelson in an article in the JAOS.<sup>5</sup> He finds *me* as instrumental singular in iv, 14, 14, and in a number of other passages like *me śrutas*, iii, 7, 10; in all the latter, however, he himself admits the possibility of their being genitives, and I have no doubt whatever that this is the case. The former case, however, is more important, as it is *anṛtaṃ noktapūrvam me ciraṃ kṛchre 'pi tiṣṭhatā*, when the instrumental of the participle is important. But it is as simple to assume a double construction; *uktapūrvam* can quite correctly be construed either with instrumental or genitive, and we have both, the genitive being, no doubt, preferred *metri*

<sup>1</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1884, p. 513; ZDMG., xlii, 303; *Ved. Stud.*, i, 309; i, 71, 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 32.

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG., xlviii, 677, i.e. *vibhvanas ā* by hypersandhi. Cf. Oldenberg, *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 355.

<sup>4</sup> JAOS., xxvii, 423.

<sup>5</sup> xxv, 116, seqq.

*causa*. For parallels, due to the same state of affairs, cf. Mbh., iii, 54, 5: *tato Vidarbhapataye Damayantīyāḥ sakhiṇaḥ | nyavedayat tām asvathām Damayantīm nareśvare ||* when *nareśvare* cannot refer to Nala as in Milman's translation. The reason here for the locative is metrical. Or again in R. i, 12, 22, we have<sup>1</sup> *gatanām tesu vipṛeṣu*, which is not half so easy as *me-tiṣṭatu*. Or in v, 25, 9,<sup>2</sup> where *rudantīyāḥ-Sītayā* is a combination of "Sītā's lock" (*venī*) and "agitated by Sita" (*hampita*), and is not merely metrical. The examples of *te* as instrumental are merely of the type *buddhīr anyā na te kāryā*, and are all obvious genitives. It is, of course, impossible to accept *te* or *me* as instrumental when they only occur in senses when the genitive is perfectly appropriate; and it is significant that even in Pāli the use of *me* and *te* as instrumental is by no means certain; though in any case arguments from Pāli or Prākṛit syntax to Sanskrit are apt to be quite unscientific and lead to unsound results,<sup>3</sup> and the notorious irregularity of Avestan syntax is not cogent for Sanskrit syntax.

But Mr. Michelson finds also *me* as ablative and perhaps as locative. As ablative he renders it in vi, 19, 20: *na me jīvan imoksyate*, and in vii, 10, 17: *varam anyam vruṣṣu me*. In both cases the use is no doubt dative, as in the Homeric *τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο*, "took away from them" (Od., i, 9), or *Θέμιστι δέκτο δέπας*, "received the cup from" (Il., xv, 87).<sup>4</sup> As locative he thinks its use unlikely, as the only case is ii, 85, 10, where *buddhīr anyā na me kāryā* has a variant *te* (much more likely),

<sup>1</sup> Bohtlingk, ZDMG, xli, 187.

<sup>2</sup> JAOS, xlv, 107. Cf. also AV, i, 7, 39, as explained by Hopkins, JAOS, xxviii, 367, n 1, and RV., i, 31, 12, as explained by Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, iii, 193; and cf. the citation from the Bower MS. in Hoernle's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 352.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JRAS., 1906, pp 722, 993; 1909, p. 155, n 6. For the genitive with participle, cf. Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, pp. 45, 46; Delbruck, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, pp. 135, 136.

and where in any case *me* might be genitive and not instrumental.

For *te* both Professor Hopkins<sup>1</sup> and Mr Michelson find a use as accusative in *apāpāṇi vedmi Sīte te*, which is the reading of the Bombay edition in vii, 49, 10. But Gorresio's edition has *tvām*, and the corruption is obvious, by an error, which is one of the commonest in Sanskrit MSS., *sīte te tvām* was written, and the next step was to eject the offending extra syllable as a gloss on *te* (the commentary actually glosses *te* by *tvām*).

After this we will hardly be inclined to take very seriously the use in vii, 53, 21 *sa te mokṣayitā śāpāt*. The sense is clearly either dative "for thee", or genitive "of thee", not an accusative at all<sup>2</sup> In vii, 47, 9, the last example, *aham ājñāpayāmi te*, *te* is a legitimate variant, and to us a more natural one, from the *tvām*, which is also possible. The dative is the natural construction of *ā-jñāpayāmi*, though the accusative is intelligible, and the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* quotes without remark, vi, 103, 10 *na kimcid asyā vrjnam aham ājñāpayāmi te*.

In *tubhyam* Mr Michelson finds an instrumental in a variant mentioned by the commentary of the *tvayā* of the text, and calls it an *ārsa* usage. The text is (Bombay edition, not in Gorresio) —

*naiva vārayituṇi śakyaḥ tvayā hrūro viśacarah |*

I quite agree that *tubhyam* may well be the correct reading, instead of the obvious *tvayā*, which could hardly ever be corrupted, but *tubhyam* is a mere ordinary dative<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> JAOS, xx, 222 Cf JAOS, xxviii, 388, n 1, where he suggests that *te* in the Epic *śape te* is accusative, but the dative is perfectly plausible, cf *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xii, 7, 3, 1

<sup>2</sup> Contrast the same dative but in a contrary sense; Mbh, iii, 279, 4 *na hi me mokṣyaḥ jīvan*, and 282, 16 *na me mokṣyaḥ karhicit*, where on Mr Michelson's principle we would equate the dative and the genitive.

It is worth noting that Franke (*Die Casuslehre des Pāṇini*, pp 20, 21) suggests that in similar cases the dative is original and the genitive is due to the popular dialects. But this is hardly necessary as the genitive

"this harsh one is not for thee to restrain," and to take it as instrumental is merely to make nonsense of grammar.

No more convincing is the evidence for the use of *mahyam* or *tubhyam* as genitive. At i, 13, 4, *suhṛn mahyam* is a clear case of dative, as in RV., ii, 2, 8: *atithir cārur āyave*,<sup>1</sup> though the other editions read *caiva*. In v, 36, 39; 37, 20, occurs *śrutvaiva ca vaco mahyam kṣipram esyati Rāghavaḥ*. The commentary<sup>2</sup> takes *mahyam* as *mattah* in the first place (where Gorresio, v 34, 4, has *mama śrutvaiva tu vacah*) and as *mama matta vā* in the second. I think Mr. Michelson misunderstands him in thinking that he meant to construe *mahyam* with *esyati*; he renders *mahyam* either as *mama*, adjective with *vacas*, or as *mattah* with *śrutea*. But the dative is clearly, if it goes with *śrutvā vacas*, ethical, and if with *esyati*, it means "starts towards".<sup>3</sup> In vii, 49, 9, the dative is also perfectly in place, and in the only case of *tubhyam* as genitive, i, 54, 15: *aprameyam balaṁ tubhyam*, the dative is clearly right.

There remains of the misuse of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons in the *Rāmāyana* only that of *yūyam* as acc. pl.<sup>4</sup> in v, 64, 17: *ayuktāṁ kṛtakarmāṇa yūyaṁ dharsayitūṁ balāt* |. Mr. Michelson also suggests<sup>1</sup> that *kṛtakarmāṇo*, which is, of course, a nominative form may be vocative. Yet the explanation seems very obvious we have here a clear case of the neuter use of the predicate

is naturally found adnominally with gerunds and participles. The use, however, of the dative in Sanskrit confirms Monro's view (*Homeri Grammar*, p 136) that its use in Greek was not instrumental in origin cf. also Delbruck, *Vergl. Synt.*, i, 300; Hopkins, *JAOS.*, xxviii, 371-4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf Delbruck, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 146, 147, and perhaps in RV., i, 34, 7 *sūre duhitā* (contra Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, iii, 192, and cf. Oldenberg *Rigveda-Noten*, i, 37); Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 96, does not illustrate this use, and Speyer, *Vedisch und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 14 regards them as genitive in use.

<sup>2</sup> How far he meant his interpretations to represent his views on Syntax one cannot say.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, *JAOS.*, xx, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *JAOS.*, xxv, 119.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

in *ayuktam* as often with *śakyaṃ*, a usage duly recorded in the grammars and plentifully illustrated by Bollensen on the *Vilcramorvaśi*.<sup>1</sup> We thus rid ourselves of two grammatical monstrosities.

Another anomaly is *asyā* as a loc. sing. fem in place of *asyām*. The verse is v, 16, 11: *asya nimutte Sugrīvaḥ prāptavāṇl lokaviśrutah*, where *asyā* refers to *Sitā*, who led *Sugrīva* to attain the *aśvaryaṃ vānarānām*. The commentator explains it as a genitive for a locative, but common sense demands that if it is a locative we must insert the *anusvāra*, and read *asyām* in apposition: no one who knows Sanskrit MSS. will hesitate for a moment to do this. The same remark applies to *Śrāvastyā viharati* in the Bower MS, where Dr. Hoernle<sup>2</sup> sees an instrumental used for a locative.

It may be added that the argument available from the use of *me* and *te* as accusative found by Pischel<sup>3</sup> in the *Rgveda* has not been overlooked. But I do not think that this argument is of any weight. Even assuming that its use is *Rgvedic*, nevertheless there is a great gulf between *Rgveda* and Epic, and again, the evidence for the *Rgveda* is not over-convincing. In i, 30, 9, *yaṃ te pūrvaṃ pitā hure* is an apparent case, but *te* may be a mere error (I cannot hold any Vedic text in great reverence) for *tvā*, or even (which is easier) for *tam*, or it may be, as Ludwig thinks, a dative, or even, as Oldenberg takes it a genitive. In ii, 16, 6: *pra te naraṃ na samane vacasyuram brahmanā yāmi*, the dative is one *commodi*, and the accusative is a mere natural change of construction, both dative and accusative being natural with *pra yāmi*. No doubt the change was due to the *nāraṃ*, as the dative

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 67 and reff.; *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, vii, 22; Bollensen's ed., p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, xvi, 352, 353. Cf. Senart, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG, xxiv, 714 seqq.; *Ved. Stud.*, i, p. xxxi, n. 2. Cf. Delbruck, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, 205.

with an inanimate object is less easy.<sup>1</sup> In iv, 20, 10: *navye deshe śaste asmin te ukthe pra bravāma varīyam Indra*, the position of *te* shows the sense "in this hymn to thee". It is not governed by *pra bravāma* as Pischel assumes, though it may be genitive depending on *śaste* as taken by Oldenberg. In iv, 30, 2: *satrā te anna kṛṣṭayo viśvā cakreva vārtuḥ*, *anna* does not govern *te*, but *te* is a dative *commodi*. In vii, 12, 10: *iyam te dhātir eti*, the dative is obviously proper, nor less so is it in iii, 19, 2: *prā te Agne havismātmā iyarmi cchā sudyumnām rātīnīm ghṛtām*. The same view of *te* covers i, 30, 20; iii, 14, 3; iv, 17, 18. a genitive occurs in iv, 10, 1, and the only apparent accusative is in v, 6, 4: *ā te agna idhīmahi*, but the *Atharvaveda*, xviii, 4, 88, has the obviously correct *a tva* and we are left with another example of textual corruption to strengthen the view of i, 30, 7, taken above.<sup>2</sup> Nor can *sap* with *te* in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, i, 2, 5, 2; vi, 1, 8, 5, be considered illegitimate, though, as Oldenberg points out, the other Yajurveda texts have the more normal *tvā*, and the reading cannot be relied on.

For *me* as an accusative the evidence is totally lacking. In v, 12, 3: *vedā me deva ṛtupā ṛtūnām*, the genitive is not only natural, but is made certain by its parallelism with *ṛtūnām*. The sense<sup>3</sup> is, "the god knows of me, even as he, the guardian of the seasons, knows of the seasons."

It may here be added that *asme* as a genitive or instrumental is very doubtful. In vii, 67, 2; viii, 2, 10; i, 173, 13; 186, 11; iii, 39, 2, the locative sense is perfectly good, and so I would take *kāmo asme* in iii, 30, 19. The same sense is found in vii, 67, 4, and viii, 97, 8, while in x, 84, 3, *asme* is clearly dative, "for us" In

<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg takes *te* as the indirect object in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg here takes *ta* as dependent on *ajara*.

<sup>3</sup> See also Oldenberg, SBE., xlv, 394.

i, 165, 7: *bhūri cakārtha yujyebhir asme*, there is again a locative, not an instrumental, "among us," and so it is taken by the latest translator, von Schroeder, in his *Mysterium und Mimus*.<sup>1</sup>

All the examples cited<sup>2</sup> can either be regarded as those of the traditional cases or as misreadings. The use of these forms in other senses in Pāli and Prakrit is of no value for Vedic or Sanskrit: the degradation of syntactical distinctions is symptomatic of every popular speech. If the uses of *me* or *te* as accusative were genuine it is very improbable that we would be left to find them in a small number of dubious passages. *mā(m)* and *tvā(m)* like *me* and *te* are of frequent occurrence, and so definitely distinct are their uses that a very great onus rests on the attempt to prove that they were confused by the Rsis, however easily they were mixed by commentators like Sāyaṇa or in the popular dialects.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

## THE REVISED BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA

In JRAS., April, 1909, p. 345, Mr. Fleet surmises that the revised reckoning of the Buddhist era was introduced into Burma somewhere about A.D. 1170-80. From this period the date of Buddha's death was (he supposes) assumed to have occurred at a time corresponding with B.C. 544 of our reckoning.

I find it difficult to reconcile this view with the following facts:—

1. We have the Myazedi inscription, at Pagan, in three

<sup>1</sup> p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> The Rgvedic passages have all been dealt with by Oldenberg in his *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 25-9, who appears to accept the use of *te* as accusative in the Epic on the strength of Hopkins' remark in JAOS., x, 222; see Oldenberg, p. 25, n. 2. The explanations given of the passages in question in this article, written before the appearance of Oldenberg's book, differ somewhat from and are perhaps inferior to those given by him, but they agree in rejecting the theory of *te* as accusative.

deciphered versions, recording a date 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era as the time at which a certain king was reigning at Pagan. The Burmese and Talaing expressions (for which see JRAS, October, 1909, pp. 1019. 1023) refer in the usual way to the era intended being that of "the Religion". The Pali text, even more explicitly, says —

Nibbānā Lokanāthassa atthaviśādhike gate  
sahasse pana vassānam cha-sate vā pāre tathā.

On the ordinary computation, this apparently corresponds (the year being "expired") to A.D. 1085. For a reason which will presently appear, I am not prepared to guarantee that that is the precise A.D. year. But anyhow it must have been somewhere thereabouts, and nearly a century earlier than the period suggested by Mr. Fleet for the introduction of the revised Buddhist era into Burma.

2. A glance through the English translation of the Burmese inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (Rangoon, 1899) reveals the curious fact that for more than two centuries after the presumed date of the Myazedi inscription the initial point assumed for the Buddhist era was not a date corresponding with our B.C. 544, but varied to the extent of some years before such date. At least that seems to me at present the only possible explanation of the following statements:—

(a) "In the year 1796 of the Religion . . . the minister . . . erected a large monastery . . . The following were the slaves dedicated by the minister and his wife . . . to their monastery, which was completed on Wednesday, the 5th waning of Nadaw, 599 Sakkarāj" (p. 52). Now Sakkarāj here means the Burmese era beginning A.D. 638, so that assuming only one monastery to be referred to, which was begun and finished within the year, the initial point of the Buddhist era in this case must have been some sixteen years before the usually

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received date. I must leave it to Burmese scholars to decide whether this is a correct interpretation of the text of the inscription.

(b) "In the year 1837 of the Religion, or on Thursday, the 6th waning of Tazaungmôn, 654 Sakkarâj" (p. 63). Here, apparently, the initial point of the Buddhist era is some two years earlier than B.C. 544.

Subsequent entries (pp. 5, 63, 94, 137) from A.D. 1299 onwards show at most a discrepancy of a year, if indeed there is any at all. But it really seems as if prior to about A.D. 1300 the initial point of the Buddhist era in Burma had partaken somewhat of the nature of a movable feast. Under these circumstances one hesitates to put a date to the earliest of these inscriptions, that of the Myazedi pagoda at Pagan. The matter is further complicated by the statement contained in JRAS., October, 1909, p. 1084, that an inscription has been found dated in the year 398 of the Burmese era (= A.D. 1036) during the reign of Kyanzittha. Now this is the very king who, according to the Myazedi inscription, reigned for 28 years and died (as it seems) in 1628 "expired" of the Buddhist era. How, then, could he have been on the throne so early as A.D. 1036? And if he was, then from what B.C. date are we to suppose that the Myazedi inscription reckons its 1600-28 years of the Buddhist era, between which he is supposed to have reigned?

C. O. BLAGDEN.

### REMARKS ON THE ABOVE NOTE

I am glad to find that my article on the Buddhavarsha, the later reckoning from the death of Buddha which assumes an initial point in B.C. 544, has attracted Mr. Blagden's attention: discussion should certainly help to elucidate the matter.

I arrived at the conclusion that this reckoning was

devised in Ceylon shortly after A.D. 1165. And I suggested that it was carried from Ceylon to Burma and those parts in the decade A.D. 1170-80. But, if it can be shown that the opposite was the case, and that the reckoning had an earlier origin in Burma and was taken thence to Ceylon, I shall have no objection to accept this position instead.

Mr. Blagden suggests that evidence to that effect may be found in the Myazedi inscription, from Pagan, one text of which has been edited by him. The object of this record was to register the making of the cave-pagoda in which it was engraved, and the enshrining wherein of a golden image of Buddha. And the fact that the record was framed and engraved in four languages, Pāli, Burmese, Talaing, and an unidentified tongue, seems to mark it as commemorating an event of some very special importance. It presents according to the Talaing text the date "after the religion of my lord the Buddha had been going on for 1628 years past"; according to the Burmese text, the date "in the year 1628 of the Religion".<sup>1</sup> If they stood alone, and without some extraneous guide, these expressions might be understood to mean 1628 years after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Burma, in B.C. 308 according to the Burmese belief and chronology. But the meaning is explained by the Pāli text, quoted by Mr. Blagden, which distinctly says that the year is the year 1628 after the *nirvāṇa*, the death, of Buddha: that is, with B.C. 544 as the date of the death, A.D. 1085-86. And this places the date nearly a century before the time arrived at by me for the invention of the reckoning.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, translations (1890), p. 97. The expression "the year (so-and-so) of the Religion" is also found on pp. 5, 9, 22, 52, 63 (No. 6), 94, 137, 167, 173, 175, 176, 183; and on p. 63 (No. 7) we have "the year 2052 of the Religion of Gautama Buddha": we should like to know what the originals have for "the year of the Religion". On p. 14 we have "the year 2312 Anno Buddhae", and on p. 16 "Anno Buddhae 2307": is the term here Buddhavassa, or is it Jinachakka? The dating is expressly referred to the *nirvāṇa* in the case of the years 1986 (p. 37) and 2295 (p. 15).

It appears that this Myazedi date is the only such instance that can be adduced, for the present at least. And, looking through the book mentioned by Mr. Blagden,<sup>1</sup> I find that the next instances of the use of this reckoning are the two which he has cited: one (p. 52) is a date in the year 1796, = A.D. 1253-54; the other (p. 63, No. 6) is a date in the year 1837, = A.D. 1294-95.

But of course one thoroughly reliable instance, given by an inscription undeniably engraved before (say) A.D. 1150, would be quite enough. The present question, therefore, seems to be: is the Myazedi date such an instance?

This inscription mentions a king Tribhuvanaditya-dhammarāja, who is otherwise known as Kyanzit, Kyanzittha.<sup>2</sup> It opens by saying that he was reigning at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in the year 1628 expired. It proceeds to state that he reigned for 28 years. And it then records the acts (stated above) which were performed by his stepson when he (the king) was lying "sick well-nigh unto death". We should ordinarily take this as meaning that the acts were performed in the year  $1628 + 28 = 1656$ , = A.D. 1113-14, and that Kyanzittha died then or soon afterwards. It appears, however,<sup>3</sup> that we are to understand that Kyanzittha died in the year 1628 expired itself, = A.D. 1085-86. He began to reign, then, in or about A.D. 1058. But Mr. Blagden has drawn attention to a statement that there is another inscription, which mentions Kyanzittha as reigning in the year 398 of the ordinary Burmese reckoning, the Sakkarāj era commencing in A.D. 638; that is in A.D. 1036-37: and, as Mr. Blagden has remarked, that is incompatible with his commencing to reign in or about A.D. 1058. It is also

<sup>1</sup> The one referred to in the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> See this Journal, 1909. 1050, note 1, and Mr. Blagden's remarks above.

<sup>3</sup> See loc. cit., preceding note.

incompatible with a third inscription, framed in A.D. 1668, which<sup>1</sup> places Anawrata (the predecessor of Kyanzittha) in Sakkarāj 421, = A.D. 1059-60. But we may add that this last statement, which is accompanied by one which places Kyanzittha himself in the year 432, = A.D. 1070-71, is reconcilable with the statement in the Myazedi inscription: for, provided no later date is forthcoming for Anawrata, we may assume that he died, and Kyanzittha succeeded, in A.D. 1059, so that the latter had practically reigned for 28 years by A.D. 1086. It appears, however, that there are still other inscriptions, which show Kyanzittha as reigning in A.D. 1107.<sup>2</sup> Altogether, his date seems to be rather a mixed matter: he was reigning in A.D. 1036, but he only began to reign in A.D. 1058: he died in A.D. 1085, yet he was still reigning in A.D. 1107.

It appears to me an important point that the Myazedi inscription presents only a *nirvāṇa*-date for Kyanzittha. Nearly all the other similar dates, in the inscriptions translated in the volume which gives the translation of the Burmese text of the Myazedi record, were accompanied by the corresponding dates in the era of A.D. 638. Why did the Myazedi inscription omit to give this equivalent? It seems to me that the reason very probably is that the record is not a synchronous one; that is, that it was framed and engraved, not when the acts registered by it were performed, but a considerable time afterwards, when, having received the new reckoning, the Burmese were commencing to make out their chronology in its terms, and, in doing that, were very possibly putting up inscriptional records of some of the leading events of previous times.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blagden has said that in the next few records the equations between the *nirvāṇa*-reckoning

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19 of the book mentioned in note 1 on p. 477 above.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Archæological Work in Burma, 1905-6, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The characters of the Talaing text are described as agreeing with the date mentioned in it. But there can, I imagine, be no difficulty about accepting them equally well for a century or so later.

and the Sakkarāj era are not correct: does not that look as if the Burmese were then handling a new reckoning about which they were not quite sure? The discrepancy in the date of Kyanzittha, which exists on one side or the other, points in the same direction. And there appears to be something of the same kind in connexion with Anawrata: the *Sāsanavamsa* says (p. 61) that he began to reign in the Jinachakka year (the *nirvāṇa*-year) 1561, = A.D. 1018-19 and it gives as the equivalent, in the same sentence, the (Sakkarāj) year 371, = A.D. 1009-10, nine years earlier.

Another instructive indication, in the direction which I suggest, seems to be the point that the Myazedi inscription states only the year, omitting to give the month, fortnight, lunar day, and weekday, which details are furnished in almost every other inscription translated in the book to which I have referred above. The bare mention of the year is just what we may always expect to find in records commemorating events of previous times. And, in the same fashion, the inscription of A.D. 1668 simply tells us, without details, that the Shwezigōn pagoda was built by Anawrata in Sakkarāj 421, and the *tee* was offered by Kyanzittha in the year 432; though it gives, in the same sentence, all the usual details for the date when the *tee* was removed by the gods in order to give the reigning king the opportunity of acquiring merit by supplying a new one.

It remains to be seen what discoveries may be made hereafter. Meanwhile, we must bear in mind that the Kalyāṇī inscription of A.D. 1476 tells us plainly (see this Journal, 1909. 345) that the religion from Ceylon was established at Pagan in A.D. 1181-82. If a form of the religion was then carried from Ceylon to Burma, would not a new and interesting reckoning, just established in Ceylon, have been naturally taken with it? It may of course be argued, to the contrary, that the new reckoning

was taken from Burma to Ceylon in A.D. 1170-71, when the Mahāthēra Uttarājīva went there. But the date put forward in the Myazedi inscription seems insufficient to upset what appears to be so clear from the Ceylon records; namely, that the reckoning with the initial point in B.C. 544 was devised there, and was put together in its complete form just after A.D. 1165.

J. F. FLEET.

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE IN MARATHI

A serious study of Indian Vernaculars is very interesting and useful, not only for a Sanskrit scholar, but, I am glad to be able to show, for a comparative philologist too.

In Old Slavonic, as in Indian Vernaculars, the accusative termination of *i*- and *u*-stems and of masculine *o*-stems being dropped, the form for the accusative case was the same as for the nominative, and thus the sentence "synъ viditъ otcъ = filius videt patrem" was ambiguous, and could mean also "filium videt pater", the position of the subject being free. Therefore the language, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, used the genitive instead of accusative in the case of living beings: "synъ viditъ otcъa."

The same process is to be seen in Indian Vernaculars, and is especially clear in Marāṭhī, grammatically the most important and most interesting dialect of all Indian Vernaculars. In so far as I have read Hindi, I find that the same construction exists there also, though rather complicated; this being so, it must be treated in a separate way, which I hope to do later on.

The Marāṭhī verb पाहणे, "to see," governs the accusative case, when the object is a thing, e.g.: हे पाहून तो हरणीही सबक्तगिनाच्या मागून जाऊं लागली = "having seen *that* (= acc.), the doe began to go after Sabaktagin"; but it

governs the genitive, when the object is a human or other living being, e.g. : इतकांत त्याचा मुलगा शिवा जेवण घेऊन आला. त्यास पाहून रामजी म्हणाला = "meantime his son Śivā came with the food. Having seen *him* (= gen.) Rāmji said".

The verb घेणे (= pr. gēṇhai, s. grhāti), "to take," governs in the last sentence the accusative : जेवण घेऊन = "the food having taken"; but by living beings it governs the genitive case : तेव्हा हरणी पोरान घेऊन आनंदाने उद्या मारीत रानांत निघून गेली = "Then the doe, having taken the fawn, ran away with joy into the forest".

Now the questions are: (a) Why is this genitive construction used only in respect of human and other living beings? (b) why is the genitive only used and not, for instance, the dative,<sup>1</sup> and what is the *syntactic explanation* of it?

The first question is not difficult. So far as I am aware, all scholars are of one opinion in regard to Old Slavonic, but in regard to Marāṭhī no one seems to have as yet given a satisfactory explanation.

We know that in most cases the subject of a sentence is a human or other living being. Therefore when two names of animate objects occur in a sentence, without any distinction in case termination, the sentence could be misunderstood; that is to say, the sentence "synb viditb otcb" = "filius videt patrem" could be misunderstood (= filium videt pater), but not "otcb viditb gradb" = "pater videt arcem", because it is not possible to say "arx videt patrem".

More difficult is the second question. In the last volume of *Indg. Forschungen* (xxiv, 3-4, pp. 293-307) Professor A. Thomson treats this question as to the origin of the genitive construction in Slavonic languages. This article is, in fact, a refutation of Professor E. Berneker's theory

<sup>1</sup> This has no bearing on Marāṭhī.

expressed in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1904, xxxvii, p. 364,<sup>1</sup> that the negative sentences, in which the object must in Old Slavonic be in the genitive case, have had an influence on this construction. For example, the positive sentence runs "synъ viditъ otъcъ" (= acc.), but the negative "synъ ne viditъ otъca" (= gen.). According to Professor Berneker, the influence of the negative sentence with the genitive case brought about the use of the genitive instead of the accusative in *positive* sentences also.

But this theory cannot be applied to Marāṭhī, because in this language no such change of cases takes place. Therefore the influence of the negative sentences cannot have produced the genitive construction now existing in Marāṭhī, and in all probability the same holds good for Old Slavonic.

Professor Thomson also does not believe that the syntactic value of a genitive in negative sentences should have been the same as the accusative in positive sentences. He explains in the first part of his article<sup>2</sup> that this construction was due to a desire of repressing the psychological subject in the sentence and making it evidently into the object.

To express myself more clearly in reference to Marāṭhī, I venture to modify a little what Professor A. Thomson has so well expressed. I state that the Marāṭhī language conclusively proves that the genitive construction in question is really the outcome of nothing else than a desire to avoid ambiguity.

We see this clearly from the construction, which we call the double accusative (direct and indirect object), in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit; for instance, in Latin "puto te amicum", in Greek "φίλον Φίλιππον ἡγούντο", in Sanskrit "ná vái hatām vṛtrām vidmá ná jivám".

In Marāṭhī the direct object is *always* put into the

<sup>1</sup> The date of the article is 1901.

<sup>2</sup> He promised two parts.

genitive, not only in the case of a living being (according to the rule mentioned above), but also in that of an inanimate object, and this is done, in my opinion, simply for the sake of distinguishing it from the indirect object.

Cf. in Marāṭhī हिंदू लोकांत जातिभेद मानितात = "everyone believes in difference of castes among Hindū people"; मानितात governs the accusative (जातिभेद). Here the accusative is used, because there is only one object.

But in the sentence वैदिक धर्माचे लोक वेदांस आणि स्मृतिपुराणादि धर्मग्रंथांस प्रमाण मानितात = "the people of the Vedic religion believe in the Vedas, Smṛtipurāṇas, etc., in these religious books, as an authority", where the same verb (मानितात) with the same meaning occurs, the direct object (धर्मग्रंथांस, "they believe in . . ."), which in the former sentence is rendered by the accusative (जातिभेद), is here put in the genitive, obviously to avoid ambiguity.

All instances are taken from Marāṭhī reading-books, these two last, for example, from मराठी पांचवे पुस्तक, 1908, p. 20. Such instances are very many, and, as I said before, they go to confirm Professor A. Thomson's views on the subject with regard to Old Slavonic.

V. LESNÝ.

OXFORD, January, 1910.

### THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON<sup>1</sup>

When the Sufi martyr, Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj, was being led to execution, he cried out—

"My Friend is doing me no unkindness,  
He gives me the cup that he as the host drank,  
He invites me to taste stake and headsman's mat,  
Like one who in summer drinks wine with the  
dragon."

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS., 1908, p. 552.

And in the *Mantiq-u-l Tair* we read—

“Whoso has fellowship in sleep and food  
With the seven-headed dragon in Tamūz (July),  
In this pastime incurs dire misfortunes,  
Whereof death on the gibbet is the least.”

The dragon legend here referred to seems to be a folk-lore amalgam or ‘conflation’ of (a) the primeval dragon myth, (b) the “Arrow” demon myth, and (c) the customs of partaking of sacrifices and sleeping in temples or ‘pernoctation’.

(a) The primeval dragon myth. In his *Antichrist Legends* (translated by Keane) Bousset has traced the progress of this famous myth, rolling on through successive generations, gathering continual accretions, such as the legend of Nero *redivivus* (Antichrist), and becoming so transfigured that now its original form can only be deciphered as from a palimpsest. But most of the details of the full-blown dragon story, given in Revelation xii and xx, viz., his seven heads, his attacks on the woman, and his being bound and loosed, seem to belong not to the Babylonian dragon Tiamat, but rather to the old Persian dragon Āz or Azhidahāk. (See Mills, *Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelation*, and West’s note on p. 110, vol. xviii, of *Sacred Books of the East*.) The picture of the constellation Draco (*Al Tannīn*) in the old star maps exactly represents the conception of the dragon in the mind of the writer of Revelation xii, 4, viz., a great serpent stretching across the heavens and “drawing a third part of the stars with its tail”. The traditions collected in *Mishkātu-l Maṣābiḥ* (translation by Matthews, vol. ii, pp. 551 seqq.) give the Muhammadan additions to the portrait of Dajjāl or Antichrist.

(b) The clue to the “Arrow” demon was kindly given me by Professor Houtsma. This demon is thus described

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in Rapaport's *Tales from the Midrash*: "There is one great demon whose name is 'Arrow' (*Kative*). The Psalmist alludes to this when he says (Ps. xci, 5), 'The arrow that flieth by day.' His physiognomy is described as follows: Head similar to that of a calf, one horn rising out of his forehead in the shape of a cruse or pitcher. (Compare the descriptions of Dajjāl.) No one, man or beast, beholding him can live, but drops down dead at once. There is a certain period during which this demon has special sway, and that is the three weeks between the 17th Tamūz and the 9th Ab. The Rabbis prohibited schoolmasters chastising their pupils during this period" (p. 23). Mr. Rapaport tells me that he has not found this demon described as a dragon either in the Midrash or the Talmud, but the special mention of the month Tamūz in the passage under discussion shows beyond doubt, I think, that this demon had been identified with the dragon in the folk-lore of the time of Hallāj.

(c) The third element in Hallāj's story is probably derived from the ancient customs of eating the food offered to idols and of sleeping in the temples. The first is illustrated by the story in "Bel and the Dragon" of the priests who were "partakers of the altar" of Bel and "drank the cup of devils" (1 Cor. x, 18, etc.); and the second by the story of the Deadly Mosque given in my translation of the *Masnavi* of Jalālu-d Dīn Rūmī, p. 166.

Dr. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for much assistance, suggests that the story may possibly contain an allusion to the ritual of Tamūz worship. But all we know of that ritual is that women wailed for Tamūz, as they do now for Hasan and Husain.

E. H. WHINFIELD.

## THE KELADI RĀJAS OF IKKEKI AND BEDNUR

I have not as a rule cared to reply to criticisms levelled against mistakes or omissions in my *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, which was published twenty-five years ago, because it always seemed needless to offer an apology or to attempt to explain the reasons for errors due to the imperfect information then at our command. And if I now venture to make a few remarks on Dr. Barnett's paper in the Journal for January last (pp. 149-50) it is only because, while in the main I agree with him, I consider it necessary to ask readers to suspend judgment on at least one point.

The pedigree published by one of the Keladi Rājas was based on the account of that dynasty put forward by Buchanan in his *Mysore, etc.*<sup>1</sup> This in its turn was based on information given in A.D. 1801 to the author by Rāmappa Varmika, an hereditary accountant in the district of Barkūr. Buchanan writes that this man had "a book in Sanskrit called *Vidiarayana Sicea*; and from thence, and his family papers, he has made out a *Rayapaditti*, or succession of the *Rajas* who have governed Tuluva". My genealogical tree is correct according to Rāmappa's chronicle as described by Buchanan. There was little else to guide me when I compiled my *Sketch* in 1883.

Dr. Barnett seems to accept without question the assertion of a certain court poet, called Shaḍlakshari (whose patron Basavappa Nāyakka was, about the year A.D. 1750, ruling over the Bednūr country), that this Basavappa's grandfather of the same name, who governed that tract from A.D. 1697 to 1714, had been the legitimate son of the body of Sōmasēkhara I and his wife Channamāmbā. Rāmappa's compilation, however, asserted that this Basavappa I, or Praudha Śrī Basavappa, had been

<sup>1</sup> Madras ed. of 1870, ii, 278.

only an adopted son. He relates the story of Sōmaśekhara I's atrocities, his assassination at the hands of a Brahman named Saumya, and the assumption of the government by the widow, Channamā. Rāmappa then states that this Rānī, "having no children, adopted Baswuppa, the son of *Marcupa Chitty*, a *Banijiga* merchant of *Biderūru* (*Bednore*), where the seat of government then was. The male descendants of this adopted son also ended in *Budi Basuruppa*"<sup>1</sup> This account is very explicit. The murder of Sōmaśekhara is confirmed by Fryer (*Travels*, ed of 1698, p. 162), who was in the neighbourhood of Bednūr during the rule of Channamā. Fryer calls Basava I "son" of Sōmaśekhara and Channamā, but his evidence as to the exact relationship counts for very little. Mr. Rice, our best authority on minor Mysore principalities, states (*Epig. Carn. VII, Shimoga*, Introd., p 43) that Basavappa I was an adopted son, and he repeats this assertion in his latest volume (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p 130). I presume that he has sound reasons for the statement, though apparently we can get no information from the published inscriptions. Perhaps he will state his authority.

In the face of the clear account of the dynasty furnished by Rāmappa, in part supported by Fryer's testimony, I think that the weight of evidence is in favour of Basavappa I being an adopted, not a natural, son. Shadakshari would, of course, conceal the fact in order to glorify his patron, though, indeed, there is no necessity for us to vilify that writer, for a son properly adopted is always considered as a son in India.

As to the proper spelling of the name of Sōmaśekhara's Rānī, my own was obtained from Buchanan. *Dodda* is only an adjective, meaning "the elder". The lady was

<sup>1</sup> Shadakshari's patron (Buchanan's *Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras ed. of 1870, II, 290).

# PO-LO-HIH-MO-PU-LO AND SU-FA-LA-NA-CHU-TA-LO

probably as often called "Channamāmbā" as "Channamāji". In the Shimōga and Shikārpūr Inscription volume of the *Epig. Carn.* I find the name twice spelt "Chennamā" (Sh. 17, Sk. 213) and twice "Channamā" (Sk. 79, 82).

Śivappa Nāyaka, son of the younger Sankanna, certainly had a younger brother Venkata. Mr Rice includes him in his list as having reigned one year (*Epig. Carn VII, Shimoga*, Introd, pp. 42, 43), and Dr. Hultzsch mentions him in his *Second Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, 1896, p. xii, in connexion with a copper-plate inscription of A.D 1660-1 from Honāwar. Rāmappa omitted to notice him.

R. SEWELL.

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## NOTE ON ABOVE

- Mr. Sewell is doubtless right in maintaining that Basavappa was really an adopted son, it was not my intention to dispute the statement, but I wished to call attention to the language used by Shadakshari, who is in any case our earliest authority.

L. D. BARNETT.

## NOTE ON PO-LO-HIH-MO-PU-LO AND SU-FA-LA-NA-CHU-TA-LO

The name Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo (Hiuen Tsiang) has been correctly transcribed as Brahmapura. But the town of Brahmapura has been erroneously looked for in Garhwal. I am convinced that the ancient Brahmapura, the capital of the Chamba State, is meant. This town is now called Brahmaur. (Compare Dr. Vogel's Chamba Inscriptions.) Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo is given as one of the frontiers of Su-fa-la-na-chu-ta-lo, which has been correctly identified with Suvarnagotra (golden family), evidently the ancient name of Guge, Ruthog, and Eastern Ladakh. The name "Golden Family" was given to these countries on account

of their richness in gold. The frontiers of Suvarṇagotra are described so plainly by Hiuen Tsiang that there can be no doubt with regard to its situation. It is situated north of Brahmapura (the ancient Chamba State); south of Kustana (Khotan); east of Sānpaha (Sanpoho or Ladakh); west of Tibet.

Hiuen Tsiang identifies Suvarṇagotra with the "Empire of the Eastern Women"; but this is not agreed to by Bushell, who places this empire east of Tibet. Still, I am convinced that Hiuen Tsiang is right in his identification. But it is quite possible that there was another "Empire of the Eastern Women" farther east. The Je River of this empire, flowing to the south, would be the Jhelum, which turns to the south within its limits. "The Turks invaded the country." They could easily do so, for they were the next neighbours. "The people used the Indian characters for writing." Traces of Indian inscriptions earlier than 1000 A.D. are found everywhere in Eastern Ladakh. Grave finds in Ladakh show that the ancient inhabitants of the country had the same extraordinary kind of burial which is described in the *Sui shu* as having been practised in the Empire of the Eastern Women.

A. H. FRANCKE.

#### THE ELEPHANT STATUES AT DELHI

In the July number of the Society's Journal there appeared an interesting article on "The Elephant Statues of Agra and Delhi" from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge, in which he appears to favour the theories which derive the Delhi statues either from Gwalior or from Agra. He also introduces a new suggestion as to the origin of the elephant riders, the torsos of which were excavated at Delhi, and which are now to be seen, together with the broken fragments of the elephants, in the Museum of Archæology there.

Mr. Beveridge draws attention to a reference by the Emperor Jahangir in his *Memoirs* to certain statues of the Rana of Chitor and his son which were set up by him in the garden below the Darshan Jharoka of Agra Fort. This statement is of much interest in itself, for it affords contemporary confirmation of the legends relative to the esteem in which these noted warriors were held by their Mughal conquerors.

The royal historian, however, makes no mention of the statues being those of mounted men, nor does he indicate that there were more than two of them. But if we are to give credence to Mr. Beveridge's suggestion, that these are the very statues seen by Bernier at the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort we must presuppose that they were already mounted on elephants when they were at Agra. This being so, it seems strange that the presence of a pair of elephant statues, with their riders, on the east side of the fort, in addition to the well-known statues at the western gate of the palace, should not have called for comment, if not from Jahangir himself, then from some later writer.

There are further difficulties in the way of the proposed solution: at Delhi we have two Mahauts, of whom there is no mention in the Agra group; while Jahangir's statues are stated to have been of marble, those at Delhi are of red sandstone.

That there was a life-size statue of an elephant at the gate of Gwalior Fortress is amply testified both by Baber and Finch, but neither of these writers tells us if this statue was carved in the round, as are the Delhi elephants, or in high relief, like those at Fathpur-Sikri and elsewhere. The descriptions, however, leave no doubt that there was but one statue, while, not only does every record of the Delhi elephants refer to two of them, but the fragments excavated in 1863 proved to be portions of two figures. Mr. Beveridge inquires: "If the Queen's Garden elephant was not the Gwalior elephant, what has become

## THE ELEPHANT STATUES AT DELHI

of the latter?" If we were to assume that the writer has propounded this problem seriously, we might well ask in return: "Where are the elephants from Agra, from Mandu, and from the many other Mughal citadels, once adorned with this favourite subject?" I would still inquire of him: "Supposing that the Queen's Garden elephant be partly composed of the Gwalior elephant, from where do the parts of the second elephant come?" The fact that the elephant set up in the Queen's Gardens was composed of the fragments of *two* elephants is lost sight of by Mr. Beveridge, and also in the fallacious inscription which was attached to the reconstructed elephant.

With regard to this inscription, it may be well to point out that it dates from 1866, and that the assertion therein, that the elephant in the Queen's Gardens came from Gwalior, was due to Cunningham's first article on the subject, in which he expressed that view. He afterwards abandoned the theory, however, as is clear from his article in the *Archæological Survey of India Report*, vol. i, which was not published till 1871.

It is true that there is a superficial resemblance between the measurements of the pedestals at Agra and those of the newly erected statues at Delhi; but there are one or two points which render it most improbable that the Delhi elephants can be identified with those which once stood at Agra. The original fragments of the former show that the trunks were attached by chains to heavy blocks of stone. At Agra all the original stones of the pedestal remain in situ, but there is no trace of these blocks on them. Their absence is all the more noticeable because the existing fragments clearly show the elephant to have been built up in courses, and this would, of course, be impossible without support from the group. The traces in the Agra pedestals indicate that the diameter, or, elephants were but 5 inches to 9½ inches in diameter, or, what is much more probable, that they had

## THE ELEPHANT STATUES AT DELHI

ze which fitted into the existing sockets. The feet of the original Delhi elephants, however, average 21 inches across and have holes  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches square pierced right through them for dowels.

In conclusion, Mr. Beveridge quotes a paragraph from an article on the statues which I contributed to the Delhi Museum Catalogue, and then observes that the paragraph does not seem to be quite accurately expressed ”.

I think that Mr. Beveridge's objection to my use of the plural in this passage (which is misquoted by him) will be withdrawn when he considers the following facts : —Every description of the statues, either by court historians or European travellers, speaks of two statues ; fragments of two elephants and of four riders were discovered ; and, when the new statues were being put up, the original foundations of the two pedestals were disclosed. Perhaps I may also be allowed to point out that in the article referred to I did not mention the inscription, on which Mr. Beveridge appears to base much of his argument, as my endeavour was to give authentic references only ; and the theories to which I referred were those of the various writers—whose ranks your correspondent has joined—who desire to prove a foreign origin and a previous existence for the elephant statues which, with their riders, were set up by Shah Jahan at the gate of his new palace.

It may not be without interest to add that there has lately been found additional evidence to confound those who have questioned the accuracy of the Archæological Department in re-erecting the elephant statues at the Delhi Gate of Delhi Palace instead of at the Lahore Gate. In addition to the evidence forthcoming at the time, and detailed in an article which appeared in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1905-6, the following passage (from *Amal-i-Saleh*, MS. by Muhammad Saleh of Lahore, a court historian of the reign of Shah Jahan) is now published for, I believe, the first

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time :—" . . . and before each of the doors of the Fort which are adjacent to the above bazaar, *on the Gate towards Akbarabad*, two shade-giving statues of elephants of very great size, have been built, so correct in form and so noble in appearance that the like of these four rare pictures cannot be conceived in the mind, then how much more wonderful is it that they actually exist ! " The passage is difficult to translate, but it admits no doubt of the essential fact, that elephant statues were built by Shah Jahan at the Delhi Gate of his new fort.

The following quotation (from *Wagat Nimat Khan-i-Ali*) is also of interest :—" Why has this man, like in appearance to the Mahavat (Mahaut) of the Elephants at the Hatya Pol, stopped our pay ' "

R. FROUDE TUCKER

## AUSTIN OF BORDEAUX

In a recent article on the travels of Heimich von Poser (*Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1910) Mr. Beveridge has shown that Austin of Bordeaux, whose name is so often mentioned in connexion with the decoration of the palace at Agra and the Taj Mahal, was in India at least as early as 1621, for Von Poser states that he met at Agra, in December of that year, "Herr Augustinus Hiriart, von Bourdeaux aus Gasconien, Ingenieur des Grossen Mougouls."

May I suggest that we can probably carry the story back another seven or eight years, and identify him with the Frenchman who travelled with John Midnall (or Mildenhall, as he is sometimes called) from Persia to India, and in whose house at Ajmer Midnall died in June, 1614 ? We are told that this Frenchman was in the Mogul's service (*Letters received by the East India Company*, vol. ii, p. 105) ; and there is a letter among the India Office archives (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. lxxxiv, part i, p. 131) which gives his name as "Augustine". It

seems very improbable that there were two Frenchmen of that name in the employment of the Mogul within a comparatively short period, and I venture to think that we have here an indication of the date when Austin of Bordeaux arrived in India, as well as an incident which brings him very close to a well-known countryman of our own.

W. FOSTER.

### THE TOMB OF JOHN MILDENHALL

In March, 1909, I found a tomb in the old Roman Catholic Cemetery at Agra with the following inscription: "Joa de Mendenal Ingles morreo aos [illegible] 1614" The portion now illegible was doubtless the date and the month. I thought at the time that this must be the tomb of John Mildenhall, but I was only able to verify my guess, with the kind assistance of Mr. W. Foster of the India Office, when I came home later in the year.

John Mildenhall, or Midnall, self-styled "ambassador" of Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, left England on his first journey to the East in 1599, and returned in 1608 or 1609. He spent some time in an unsuccessful attempt to sell to the East India Company the concessions which, as he alleged, he had obtained from Akbar. He then disappears for four years, to emerge from obscurity once more in 1614. In that year the letters from English factors in India to the Company are full of references to him, and for sufficient reasons. He had been entrusted by London merchants with goods to sell in the Levant, but on arriving there he fled into Persia with this merchandise, pursued by Richard Newman and Richard Steel. They overtook him, forced him to return to Ispahan, and there made him disgorge the value of the stolen property. Mildenhall then went on to India together with Steel; but he fell ill at Lahore (according to Purchas he accidentally drank poison he had prepared for others,

but there is no evidence of this accusation); and though <sup>Gate</sup> he managed to get as far as Agra, and on to Ajmer, he died at the latter place in June, 1614

The English factors at Surat had already determined to claim his goods, and sent Thomas Kerridge to Ajmer for that purpose. Had they known at the time they sent Kerridge that Mildenhall was dead, one might have supposed that they were claiming the property (nominally, in all events) on behalf of his next of kin in England, as indeed they always did in the case of their fellow-countrymen who died in India. But Kerridge arrived in Ajmer on this mission on the very day of Mildenhall's death, so that it seems more probable that they were still in ignorance of the action taken by Newman and Steel in Ispahan, and were claiming, not on behalf of the next of kin, but of the defrauded merchants in London. In spite of opposition from the Jesuit Fathers at Agra (for as Purchas tells us, Mildenhall was a Papist), Kerridge managed to recover £500, which sum was duly remitted to England. And from a letter written later by Kerridge and Rastell we learn that the former had expended 250 rupees in legacies to Mildenhall's servants and in carrying his body to Agra and interring it there.

The old Roman Catholic Cemetery was certainly in use in 1614. It contains, indeed, a tomb (of an Armenian in the Padre Santos Chapel) which is dated 1611. We learn from the Calendar and Directory of the Agra Archdiocese 1907, that it goes back to the reign of Akbar, when a Father Joseph obtained a plot of land for a cemetery in the village of Lashkarpur, and a lady named Marian Pyari granted two groves in the same village for the same purpose—doubtless as an extension of the area acquired by Father Joseph. There were probably other Roman Catholic cemeteries in Agra. Father Hosten, S.J. in an article lent me by Mr. W. Irvine, mentions two more—one in a village a mile north of Lashkarpur

granted to the mission by Jahangir, and one in Padritola, by which he appears to mean the graveyard of the old Roman Catholic Cathedral. But of these two, nothing seems to be known now of the former, and the latter was not used till at least a century later; and it is difficult to see what possible need existed for more than one cemetery so early as 1614, or even at the end of Jahangir's reign, seeing that the cemetery in question is not by any means full even at this day. It follows that the only burial-ground which we know positively to have existed in 1614 is the one in which this tomb stands.

Mildenhall, as a Papist, was naturally buried by the Jesuits in their cemetery. That "de Mendenal" is Mildenhall there can be no doubt. There were certainly other Englishmen (factors) in Agra in 1614, but only one of them (Mitford) had a name which so much as began with M. None of them died in 1614, and all of them were doubtless of the English Church, and the Jesuits objected strongly to burying "heretics" in their cemetery, as they showed in 1613, when one Canning died in Agra and was buried there without their leave. Name, date, and religion alike point to the fact that "Joa de Mendenal Ingles" can be no other than John Mildenhall.

It was not at all unusual to transport bodies some distance for burial, especially if it ensured a resting-place in consecrated ground. We find Jesuits so brought from Lahore, Delhi, Arwar, Lucknow, and elsewhere to be interred in Agra. John Drake, a factor, who died at Dholpur in 1637, was similarly brought to Agra to be buried in the garden of the Dutch factory.

John Mildenhall was not an estimable character. In plain words, he was a dishonest scoundrel. He cheated, or tried to cheat, Akbar with an assumption of ambassadorial dignity; he tried to cheat the Company with concessions that, in all probability, he had never received; he ended by cheating his own employers, the merchants

## LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

in London. Even after his death he keeps up his evil courses ; in the pages of many historians, not to mention occasional periodicals, he still masquerades as " Sir " John, ambassador of Elizabeth. But he was of some note—of a kind—even in his own day ; he was a pioneer of Anglo-Indian enterprise, not less enterprising than his many enterprising successors. He was one of four Englishmen who spoke with Akbar face to face, and much the greatest of the four. In gratitude for the deeds he did, his memory, like his bones, may be allowed to rest in peace and the discovery of his last resting-place, which is certainly the oldest English tomb at present known in Upper India, if not in all India, may be recorded with pleasure.

E. A. H. BLUNT, I.C.S.

## LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Au mois de juillet, 1909, le Sénat de l'université de Leyde a nommé membre du conseil de la fondation M. le professeur Houtsma, à la place de M. de Goeje. Le conseil est donc composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, J. A. Sillem, Th. Houtsma, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 19,500 florins hollandais (39,000 francs) ; en outre, le 1 novembre, 1909, les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 1500 florins (3000 francs).

3. Grâce à la libéralité de M. le professeur A. A. Bevan à Cambridge et de M. H. F. Amedroz à Londres, la fondation a fait paraître, au mois de novembre, 1909, chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde une reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique de la Hamâsah d'al-Buhârî. Quelques exemplaires seront offerts à titre gratuit aux bibliothèques publiques ou privées qui semblent pouvoir y prétendre et les autres seront mis en rente au profit de la fondation.

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ANCIENT CEYLON. By H. PARKER.

Mr. Parker has in this valuable and monumental book brought together the results of his investigations during his service in the Irrigation Department of Ceylon from 1873 to 1904. He deals mainly with the history and life past and present of the more primitive inhabitants of the Island, that is to say, with the Veddas (or Vaeddās, as he prefers to write the word), and with their kith and kin among the speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil. In the first part he deals first with their ancient history, identifying them with the "Yakkās" of early legend with whom the Northern invaders had to contend, and he gives good reason for believing that they are the modern representatives of an organized and comparatively civilized pre-Dravidian race once in possession of the greater part of the Island. Their present condition, social divisions, and customs are fully described; and in part iii their weapons and tools are exhaustively dealt with, and a full account is given of their games, which are compared with those of India, Arabia, and parts of Africa, and even occasionally with those of England, as in the case of the "Gal-keliga" or stone game, which has a strong resemblance to the "Checks" or "Five Jacks" of the Midlands of England.

Part ii is mainly archæological (i.e. chaps. vi to xii). In these chapters he discusses several very important points, more or less detached one from the other. The first relates to the measurements of bricks and the important deductions to be drawn therefrom as to the age and history of the ancient buildings. He has accumulated a large body of facts, and his deductions

will probably be generally accepted by archæologists. Then follows a study on rock cup-marks. The chapters on "The Lost Cities of Ceylon" and "The Earliest Dagabas" are extremely full and interesting, and deserve independent discussion by archæological experts. It is impossible here to do more than allude to them. The same remark applies to the chapter on "The Earliest Irrigation Works", which derives an added interest from Mr. Parker's experience as a modern irrigation officer and from his personal excavations and investigations on the site of the ancient works. In estimating the age of the different works, many of which seem to go back to the third or second century before the Christian era, Mr. Parker has been able to utilize the conclusions he has come to as to the age of bricks which he arrived at in chapter vi.

In chapter xi Mr. Parker carries on the work begun by Rhys Davids, and continued by Muller, Bell, and Goldschmidt on the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, and here again his work requires the attention of experts. In chapter xii Mr. Parker deals with the earliest coins of Ceylon, most of which have come to light since Rhys Davids dealt with the subject in the *Numismata Orientalia*. These are mainly silver "puranas", or punch-marked coins of the type familiar in Northern India, and oblong coins of copper which appear to have originated in Ceylon, as most of them bear the peculiar Ceylon type of Swastika. The puranas, on the other hand, may possibly have been brought from India. The principal finds have been at Mulleittivu and Anarādhapura, and also at Tissa, where Mr. Parker himself made a discovery during the excavation of a canal. The intaglio of a seated figure found at the Yatthāla Dāgaba at Tissa is also of the greatest interest. This chapter is illustrated by some admirable plates.

Mr. Parker's discussion of the symbols on the coins requires careful attention, and the same may be said of

## TRANSLATIONS FROM HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

the full inquiry into the origin of the Cross and Swāstika with which the volume concludes.

Mr. Parker has produced a most complete and instructive work, and one which no student of the subjects dealt with, whether historical, archæological, or anthropological, can afford to neglect.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

Professor Dr. HERMANN GOLLANCZ. TRANSLATIONS FROM HEBREW AND ARAMAIC. pp. 219. London: Luzac, 1908.

In the year 1902 Professor Gollancz published the philosophical compilation of Berechyah the Puntuator. This work introduced into the West the leading principles of the system evolved by the first Jewish philosopher, the Gaon Seadyah who flourished in the tenth century. Berechyah's compilation contained the ethical portions of that system dealing with the practical duties of man in his relation to God. Berechyah left out almost the whole speculative matter. Professor Gollancz appealed then to a narrower circle of readers interested in mediæval philosophical speculations. He turns now to the wider public more interested in the poetry of those ages, and he endeavours in this small collection of translations to make a wider circle of readers better acquainted with some of the poetical and humorous productions of known and unknown authors found in the Hebrew literature of post-Biblical times.

Professor Gollancz has selected such specimens as lent themselves to popular treatment and would appeal to a large number of readers. For this very reason he has avoided any literary apparatus or any critical examination of the texts selected for translation. Not that he had not examined the originals carefully, but he gives us only the results without the apparatus. The book

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contains, in the first place, a translation of the Aramaic paraphrase of the Song of Songs. It is a pity that Professor Gollancz has dealt so briefly in his Introduction with the date and origin of the texts chosen by him. For this very Targum, or Aramaic translation and embellishment of the Song of Songs, deserves a fuller and more detailed exposition. It represents, without doubt, one of the oldest examples of allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, and carries us back to comparatively high antiquity. It is needless to point out how great the influence of such interpretation has been upon the oldest commentators of the Bible. The translation is faithful and accurate, and follows the text as closely as one could go without affecting the spirit of the English language. The same can be said of all the other pieces, for Professor Gollancz follows the original in his translation without being too literal.

The second piece is the "Book of the Apple", one of the numerous pseudo-Aristotelian compositions so prominent in the Arabic literature of the time, when, through the intermediary of the Syrians, Greek literature was made known to the Arabs. It is a short dialogue between Aristotle, on his death-bed, and his disciples, and treats, in the form of maxims and terse sentences, of eschatological problems of death and immortality. From the Arabic it had been translated and assimilated to the Jewish point of view by Abraham aben Hisdai of the thirteenth century (1230-5).

In his translation of this by no means easy treatise, Dr. Gollancz did not rely only on the printed texts, which are not free from blemishes, but made good use of manuscript material, and he has thus been enabled to clear up some obscure points found in the printed editions.

A faithful rendering, as well as a rhymed paraphrase, the latter from the pen of Professor Israel Gollancz, of

the oldest Jewish Martyrology, the death and martyrdom of the Ten Sages, is the subject of the next piece; and the book concludes with the translation of Leo da Modena's satire on "The Games of Chance". The author, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, handled the Hebrew language in a masterly manner, and, following the example of the older Spanish writers and that of Immanuel of Rome, adopts the style of the "Makame", making free use of Biblical phrases, and creating thus a mosaic not easily to be imitated by any translation. Dr Gollancz, however, has endeavoured to reproduce, as he says, "the doggerel character of the original" in the rendering of little poems inserted in the text.

A succinct Introduction giving the main points of literary interest, make this new book of Dr. Gollancz an interesting and valuable contribution to mediaeval Jewish literature in the English language.

M. G.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1640-43. By ETHEL B. SAINSBURY. With an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. Oxford, 1909.

In this volume Miss Sainsbury gives us in summarized form the Court Minutes of the East India Company and cognate documents, mostly from the Public Record Office, the period covered being the four years 1640 to 1643. At the end of the previous volume (see this Journal for 1908, pp. 915 et seqq.) we left the committees in joyous mood, with everything apparently promising well; and in the early part of the present volume the same hopeful tone is apparent. But soon clouds begin to gather, and the Company enters on troublous times. One great matter of anxiety to the Court is, that, in spite of renewed appeals, it cannot obtain the additional capital it needs. And no

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wonder ; for, as Mr. Foster points out in his Introduction, the period covered "ends (in the middle of the Civil War) with the death of Pym and the southward march of the Scottish troops to aid the forces of the English Parliament". Of the stirring events of those times we have but faint echoes in these Minutes, which are naturally very guarded in their references to political matters. Thus when after the battle of Edgehill the Royal troops marched on London the Company's ordnance at Deptford was ordered to be brought to the city, and their gun-carriages were also requisitioned. Four months later a Parliamentary committee requested the loan of the Company's ordnance to place on the earthworks which had been hastily thrown up round London. There were many Royalists, however, among the committees, and the request was twice refused, whereupon the guns were taken by force. A curious incident that bulks largely in these Minutes is the purchase, by the king, in order to supply sinews of war for his campaign in the north, of the whole of the pepper in the Company's hands. For the first time Mr. Foster gives the correct version of the transaction, and shows that Charles acted in good faith, and really intended to pay for the pepper. The story does not end in this volume, and the Company had not obtained their money when we last hear of the matter. We find the Company still trying to get satisfaction from the Dutch for the Amboyna, Pulorun, and other affairs, and we are glad to note that the reprinting of the "Amboyna Massacre" pamphlet, which the Court had taken in hand, was peremptorily stopped by Parliament and the sheets impounded. Though the Court and Parliament were not generally on the best of terms, the former occasionally received some favour from the latter, and it is significant to read of sums of £100 being twice voted for distribution amongst friendly "Parlyment men". In 1640 Portugal regained her political independence after sixty years' subjugation to Spain ; and one

## COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

of her first acts was to send an ambassador to England to conclude a treaty of peace with this country. In this volume we have a number of references to this matter.

One of the most extraordinary incidents referred to in these records is the kidnapping of the French captain Gilles R  zimont from his ship by one of the Company's captains and conveyance to England, where he was thrown into prison on an accusation of piracy, a charge for which there appears to have been little foundation. Mr. Foster, who gives details of the affair in a foot-note, says: "The kidnapping of a French captain on mere suspicion of piracy was an outrage for which one would have expected the Company to make immediate atonement and apologies, but instead of this they entered an action against R  zimont in the Admiralty Court for £50,000. After much delay, however, they consented to withdraw the charge, and the unfortunate captain was released in June, 1641." We find the King of Bantam in this volume getting his present of 300 muskets, 150 barrels of gunpowder, and 1000 iron shot. As in the last volume, so in this, Thomas Smithwick continues to worry the Court by proposing frivolous or annoying motions and once again his conduct at a court becomes so outrageous that he has to be ejected by the beadle, against whom he promptly enters two actions for damages. An "Answer of Mr. Smithwick to certain charges", printed here from the original in the Public Record Office, is a most comical document. However, at the end of 1641 or beginning of 1642 Smithwick died, and I am afraid the committees received the news with deep sighs of relief rather than of sorrow. At the end of the last volume we read how Methwold had presented to the Court the young German traveller, Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, who had been his fellow-passenger from England, and how the Court decided that he must pay for his passage. In this volume, however, we find the Court rescinding its former proposal, on the suggestion of

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Methwold, "he being a man of quality and one of whom the king had taken special notice and had private conference with." We have here the first mention of "Madraspatam", and Francis Day, the founder of Fort St. George, appears on the scene, but nothing is said of that event, which was to prove so important in the history of the Company.

An amusing incident is that in which John Woodall, the Company's Surgeon-General, is accused of reboiling the salves returned from the East and supplying them to the Company again at full prices. This he denied, "upon his reputation," but admitted that he used them at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, "for the curing of poor people." The retirement of the old man is here recorded, and also his subsequent attempt to extract money from the Company on false pretences. His death occurred soon after. Finally, I would mention two instances where the Company tried to be charitable on the cheap. In one case we read: "The trees behind the almshouses at Blackwall ordered to be lopped and the 'loppts' distributed among the almsmen, instead of the coal which is given to them each Christmas." The other case is worse: "The beef returned in the 'Mary' to be divided among the poor of Blackwall, if it is unserviceable for use in the harbour."






The extracts will suffice to show somewhat of the nature of this valuable volume of records.

DONALD FERGUSON.

HAMMURABI'S GESETZ. Von J. KOHLER, Professor an der Universität Berlin, und A. UNGNAD, Professor an der Universität Jena. Band II: Syllabische und zusammenhängende Umschrift nebst vollständigem Glossar. Band III: Übersetzte Urkunden, von A. UNGNAD. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1909.

The first part of vol. ii of this work was noticed in the Journal of this Society during last year (pp. 795-6), and

the innovation of the twofold transcription—syllabic and in words—was pointed out. This transcription goes as far as p. 100, after which comes the Glossary (pp. 109–79). This latter will be exceedingly useful, as it gives every occurrence of the words in the Code of Hammurabi, thus making it a Babylonian concordance to the whole text. The transcription in words shows clearly the roots to which they are assignable (which is not always clear from the original text) as well as the vocalization in a fuller form.

One of the first things which strike the reader on beginning to read through the Glossary is the word *ablum*, translating the well-known , generally rendered 'son'. Here however, it appears as "heir" (*Erbe*), a meaning which fits excellently in all the passages quoted. In a foot-note it is stated that the root is uncertain, *p* being possible instead of *b*, which in fact, Hebrew and Greek transcriptions favour (cf. Tiglath-pileser, the Assyrian *Tululti-apil-ēšarra*, and Nabopolassar, the Babylonian *Nabû-abla-usur*). If, however, the Sumero-Akkadian *ibila*, which translates *ablum*, be borrowed from it, the *Sumerians* would seem to have heard *b*. This agrees with the indications of the British Museum fragment K. 5422a, which, after *ûbbulu ša* (*šim*), "to grow, of grain," has the above group and  , both rendered  , *ablu*. This etymology would indicate that the "son" was regarded as the 'bairn', the one brought forth, and that the meaning of "heir" was secondary. But is the root initial *š* or initial *l*?

Our old friend, the *ēlammu* or "ghost", appears under the form of *etemmun*, and the author asks why it is written with the character GEKIM (it is glossed in the syllabaries as *gidim*) twice repeated in the Laws (col. xxvii, l. 39)? This is naturally a difficult question to answer, but it is worthy of note in this connexion,

that the word for "life" or "soul" is generally written in the plural, *napšāti*. Did more than one spirit go to form the essence of the spiritual man on the other side of the grave, just as the living man is conceived as consisting of "body, soul, and spirit"?

Another important point in the vocabulary shows that the characters 𒌦 𒌶 𒌦 < 𒌦 𒌶 are not to be read *bélutu*, "lordship," but *illilutu*, with the same meaning. This is taken from the Sumero-Akkadian *enlil* (*ellil*, *illil*)—a reading indicated by the Aramaic dockets found by the American explorers at Niffer, and referred to by Professor Clay, who has published excellent renderings of the texts in which the word is found.

Among other things, it may be noted that Professor Ungnad suggests that the reading of the enigmatical 𒌦 𒌶, meaning "priestess", should be *išuppatum*, which would be the regular feminine of 𒌦 *išuppu*, "priest." 𒌦 𒌶 𒌶, *dua* in Sumerian, is quoted from Meissner as meaning probably "baker" ("cook" in general would also be probable). The pay of a cook or a baker would then have been a thirty-sixth part of a shekel daily. Under *wabālu* is ranged the form *ibbabil*, "it was brought," for *iurwabil*, and, from the same root, also *biblum*, *bibbulum* (?). This seems correct, and may explain other forms.

Interesting, also, is Professor Ungnad's explanation of *brātum* (read by Scheil *kazzatum*) as being for *pisātum*, and meaning "whitebloodedness" (leuchæmia). This is naturally interesting from a medical point of view, especially when we consider that the disease was one which affected sheep. Veterinary doctors should be able to say whether the shepherd could justly be held responsible for it.

Whether *kanāku*, "to seal," were originally written *qanāqu* or not, it occurs most frequently with *k*, and the author is right in keeping this transcription, which

is in any case that which the Babylonians preferred. Referring to *kisallum*, he suggests that the real meaning is "bulwark", not "court", which seems probable, though the word may have meant "surrounding wall" in general. Referring to "sesame-wine" (*kurunnum*) Mr. Rassam once asked the present writer, "What kind of drink is that?" This was an embarrassing question, as he had never heard of it except in connexion with Babylonian inscriptions. Did the Babylonians really make "wine" from sesame, or is "sesame-wine" a *ruere name*, like "the Virgin's milk" (*Liebfraumilch*), the well-known Rhenish wine?








The third volume of Kohler and Ungnad's *Hammurabi's Gesetz* contains translations of documents, with explanatory text. Their number is very large, there being no fewer than 775 of them. These are classified under numerous headings, and deal with marriage, divorce, adoption, dismissal, wet-nursing; management and division of property, boundary-walls; loans, purchase and exchange, gift, hire; inheritance; lawsuits; taxes, military service, fiefs, etc. In all probability no such complete series of examples has ever before been brought together, and it is needless to say, that an enormous amount of information concerning Babylonian life, manners, and customs, is contained therein.

As to give even one example of each class would take up a great deal of space, I confine myself to two tablets only, upon which I am able to make supplementary remarks. The first is Professor Ungnad's No. 441 (redemption of patrimony):—

"7/8 of a gan, a field in the lowland (?), beside the field of Aya-kuzub-mâtim, daughter of Nûr-ili-šu, and beside the field of Amat-Anim, daughter of Sin-putram, which Beltani, daughter of Nûrum had bought from Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Sin-šemê. With Erib-Sin, son of Sin-ikišam, Anum-habil and Sin-magir, sons of

Tamšaḥum, Naram-ili-šu and Šamaš-bani, sons of Nani-manšum, and Aya-rinti-īlati (?), daughter of Sin-našir,—Sakkum, son of Nûrum, has weighed out to them  $2/3$  of a mana of silver, and freed thereby the field of his father's house. At no future time shall they make claim against each other. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."

Here follow the names of six witnesses and the date.

A fragment numbered Bu. 88-5-12, 706, is apparently part of the envelope of this document. After "field" in the first line, it has  , *nidātum*, "of neglect"—"neglected field." *Šapalu* (or *šutpalu*?) is followed by  , the plural-sign with suffix for "place", indicating that it was regarded as a place-name and was plural. Aya-kuzub-mâtum was a priestess of the sun (  ). *Amat-Anim* is given as *Amat-Aya*, and *Sin-puṭrum* as *Šamaš-puṭrum*. (There seems to have been a tendency to write the inner tablet, which was hidden, more carelessly than the outer one.)

Professor Ungnad's No. 73 (sharing of property) has some interesting words:—

" $2/3$  of a *šar*, a built house, beside the house of Sakkut-muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-tappi-wêdi: 1 female slave Zarrikum: 2 (?) oxen (instead Ili-âwelim-rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of Šamaš-šûzibanni and Uttatum, sons of Zuzanum, which they have shared with Ili-âwelim-rabi. They have shared, they have completed (the matter). Their heart is content. They have sworn by Šamaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The envelope differs somewhat, and a rendering of this may be not without its value. It reads as follows:—" $2/3$  of a *šar*, a built house, beside the house of Sakkut muballit, and beside the house of Šamaš-tappi-wêdi; 1 female-slave Zarriktum; 2 (?) oxen (instead (*kima*) Ili-âwelim-rabi has taken a female-slave). (This is) the sharing of Šamaš-šûzibanni and Uttatum, which they have shared with Ili-âwelim-rabi, their brother. They have shared. It is finished (*gamram*). Their heart

## A HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Such a work as this, which is practically a *Corpus* of the Business—and Legal—documents of the period, is a thing which has long been needed, and is exceedingly well done. The cuneiform text of the laws, which will be given in vol. i, will form a fitting completion of the work. Author and publisher may both be congratulated thereon.

T. G. PINCHES.

A HISTORY OF GUJARAT. By MĪR ABŪ TURĀB VALĪ (Persian text); edited by E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D. *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1197. Calcutta, 1909.

By the publication of this *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, Dr. E. Denison Ross furnishes one more contribution to the good work in Muhammadan history, bibliography, and lexicography which is to be placed to his credit since he went to India a few years ago. Between 1903 and 1907 he collected 1106 Arabic and Persian manuscripts on behalf of the Government of India, as entered in the hand-list issued in July, 1908: and he may well be styled "the only begetter" of Maulavi 'Abd-ul Muqtadir's *Catalogue of Persian Poets* (in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore), vol. i, also published in the same year. It is to Dr. Ross's initiative, and the training he gave, that we owe this first specimen of a *catalogue raisonné* on

is content. At no future time shall one bring action against another. They have sworn by Šanaš, Aya, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna, the king."

In the published text the words corresponding with *kima*, "like," "instead of," are *ana maki-ma*. This must be the *ammaki* or *ammaku* (*ana maki*, *ana maku*) of the Flood-tablet, lines 187 ff., where, instead of a deluge, reduction of mankind by the lion or the hyæna (?), or the destruction of the country by famine or pestilence, is recommended as being preferable. From the texts quoted, the presence or absence of the enclitic particle *-ma* would seem to have made no difference. The word-order on the tablet is *šina (?) alpē ana maki-ma Ili-āwelīm-rābi amtam ūki*, and on the envelope *šina (?) alpē kima<sub>1</sub>amtī Ili-āwelīm-rābi ūku* (for *ilqu*).

European lines prepared by an Indian scholar. We are also indebted to him for a polyglot List of Birds in Turki, Mānchū, and Chinese (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. ii, No. 9, 1909). The present work on Gujarāt by Abū Turāb is a welcome addition to that most valuable of all historical material, personal narratives by contemporaries of, and participators in, the events recorded.

The history of the Muhammadan period in Gujarāt has received a large share of attention from European scholars; it has been dealt with by Dr. J. Bird (1835), Sir E. C. Bayley (1886), and Colonel J. W. Watson in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), to which we may add Mr. A. Rogers' unpublished translation of the *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi*. Abū Turāb's narrative covers the period from 940 H. (1532), when Humāyūn quarrelled with Sultān Bahādur (1526-37), down to the year 992 H. (1584), when Akbar's authority had been established in Gujarāt for some years. As Abū Turāb died in 1003 H. (1594) he was probably a contemporary throughout the period treated of; at any rate, from 980 H. (1572-3) he had an intimate personal knowledge of all that was going on.

Our author, Abū Turāb, belonged to a family of saintly and learned men, which emigrated from Shīrāz in the year 898 H. (1492), and settled at Champāner, in the Panch Mahāls, then the capital of Gujarāt. Nothing has been learnt so far of his early life, but he was probably from the first a man of some influence, and in 980 H. (1572) we find him in the service of I'timād Khān, a man prominent in the disturbed politics of that period, in whose counsels he seems to have had a predominant voice.

'Abd-ul-Karīm, I'timād Khān, a converted Hindu slave and probably a palace eunuch, had gained the confidence of Sultān Mahmūd (1537-54), and rose about 1545 to be one of his chief advisers. Nine years afterwards

(1554) occurred the plot of the slave Burhān to seize the throne after the assassination of the king and nobles. I'timād Khān escaped the fate of the rest, and the incident is graphically described by Abū Turāb (pp. 44 to 49). I'timād Khān became guardian of the minor successor, Aḥmad Shāh II (1554–1561), and the country was divided into five satrapies, I'timād Khān and his friends obtaining ten parganahs. In 1561 Aḥmad Shāh was assassinated by I'timād Khān, and a youth of doubtful parentage was raised to the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shāh (III). Then began a very perturbed period, due to the dissensions of the nobles, an invasion from Khāndesh, and an attempt by one of the nobles to seize the throne. I'timād Khān was faced by so many foes at once that he did not know which way to turn.

In the end (1572), acting on the advice of Abū Turāb, I'timād Khān invited an invasion by Akbar, who had come to the borders of Gujarāt in pursuit of a fugitive kinsman. Akbar responded to the invitation, soon overbore all opposition, and occupied Aḥmadābād, Cambay, and Sūrat. At first I'timād Khān was well received by Akbar but one of the chief nobles having fled, Akbar grew suspicious and withdrew his favour. Abū Turāb stood up manfully for his master, who was soon received back into Akbar's good graces. But Mirzā 'Aziz, Kokaltāsh, was left as governor of Gujarāt.

The arrangements made by Akbar for the government of the newly-acquired province failed to restore order, and in 1573, on the urgent entreaties of the viceroy, the king made his famous nine days' ride from Fathpur Sikri to Aḥmadābād, dispersed the malcontents, and incorporated Gujarāt into the empire. Abū Turāb was appointed chief leader of the Mecca pilgrimage in 985 H. (1577–8), and I'timād Khān went with him. They brought back a stone bearing on it the *qadam-i-rasūl*, or impression of the Prophet's foot, which was presented

to Akbar, and finally deposited at a shrine in Gujarāt. From 987 H. (1579-80) to 992 H. (1584-5) the country was disturbed by various risings, until in the latter year Ahmadābād was occupied by Muzaffar Shāh (III), who had escaped from the Mogul court. Shortly before this event I'timād Khān had been appointed viceroy. The narrative breaks off just after the new viceroy had been defeated by Muzaffar Shāh outside the walls of Ahmadābād.

Abū Turāb's style is on the whole easy, though occasionally he is a little archaic and uses peculiar words and constructions. Of course, especial prominence is given to I'timād Khān's proceedings, in which the *beau rôle* is always played by Abū Turāb; if his advice had been followed, this, that, and the other misfortune would have been averted. Making slight allowances for this bias, the record appears a truthful one, and yields us a living picture of the constant intrigues and perplexing instability of Oriental state affairs. Dr. Ross has done his part well, and we are indebted to him for a valuable addition to an interesting period of Indian history. There are still some misprints left unnoticed in his Notes and Corrections, but they are of little importance.

There are, however, one or two words as to which I may offer some suggestions. On p. 14, l. 14, for چپر, interpreted as *chapri*, "bran," I would propose the Hindi छप्पर, چہر چھپر *chhappar*, "a thatch" (Platts, 458), making the passage read, "grass three years old from thatches"; and on p. 29, ll. 3 and 11, *Sūrat* and *Sorath* possibly do not refer to the same place, one being meant for the well-known port on the ocean, and the other for the province in the peninsula of Kathiāwār (see Constable's Hand Atlas, pl. 31, Ba, Aa).

WILLIAM IRVINE.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF EAST INDIA AND PERSIA. By JOHN FRYER. Edited by WILLIAM CROOKE. Vol. I. Hakluyt Society, 1909.

In 1673 the East India Company's fleet carried out, as "chirurgion for Bombay", a young man of the name of Fryer, who had just taken a medical degree at Cambridge. He was seen off from Gravesend by a friend, to whom he made the usual promise of a full and faithful account of all that should befall him in the strange lands to which he was going. In fulfilment of this undertaking, during the nine and a half years that elapsed before Fryer again set foot in England he dispatched to his correspondent seven long letters, and he followed these up with an eighth, written from Dover on his return, bringing the narrative to a conclusion. Sixteen years later (1698) the worthy doctor, now become a Fellow of the Royal Society, published the whole series—probably, as Mr. Crooke conjectures, revised and augmented—under the title of *A New Account of East-India and Persia*.

It is unnecessary to say much in praise of a work so well known to everyone interested in seventeenth century travel. Parts are written in a turgid, affected style, copied, it may be, from Sir Thomas Herbert; but, as his editor remarks, "his pages display many instances of graphic description, terse and vivid narrative; and he can tell a good story with quaint, dry humour." The work is a mine of information about Western India and Persia; and Sir George Birdwood has gone so far as to pronounce it "the most delightful book ever published on those countries".

Fryer's *New Account* was many years ago placed on the Hakluyt Society's list of works to be included in its series. About 1896 the task of editing it was actually undertaken by Mr. A. T. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Madras Government: but his untimely death a few years later left the book again without an editor.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

Recently Mr. William Crooke stepped into the breach ; and the first of the three volumes of which the edition will consist has now been issued to members of the Hakluyt Society.

To those who know Mr. Crooke's work in other fields, it will be superfluous to say that he has discharged his duties in a most painstaking and efficient manner. Besides utilizing his own wide reading and personal acquaintance with India, he has enlisted the aid of several experts (such as Colonel Prain and Sir George Watt for botanical matters), and has diligently sought information from every available source. Further, in an excellent introduction, he has given us a good deal of fresh information about Fryer himself.

The narrative is not an easy one to annotate, and naturally there are some openings for criticism. On p. xxvi of the introduction it is stated that the holding of stock was a necessary preliminary for admission to the "freedom" of the East India Company ; in point of fact the exact opposite was the case, and Fryer must have claimed his freedom (by patrimony) in order to hold the stock which was thereupon transferred to him. The note (p. 105) on the acquisition of Madras requires revision ; and in one on p. 225 the establishment of a French factory at Surat is much antedated. Fryer's error (p. 161) as to the year of Vasco da Gama's voyage is not corrected, and his reference to "Dr. N. G." (p. 296) is left unexplained. These initials stand for Nehemiah Grew, Secretary to the Royal Society, 1677-9. The Oxenden Medal (p. 223) might well have been accorded the honour of a note, materials for which are to be found in J. H. Mayo's *Medals and Decorations* (vol. i, p. 55). The Anglo-Portuguese conflict at Swally mentioned on p. 224 was in 1630, not 1615. And finally, we may express a doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Crooke's identification of the "Naran Sinaj" of p. 199 with the "Narun Gi

Pundit" of the following page, who seems to have been quite a different person (cf. p. 204).

These, however, are but slight blemishes. Most of the notes are excellent; and we shall look forward with some impatience to the issue of the remaining two volumes.

W. F.

THE KATHAKA SAMHITA, Books I and II. Edited by Professor VON SCHROEDER. Leipzig, 1900 and 1909.

The fate of the *Kāthaka Samhitā* has been somewhat peculiar. A MS. of the work is included in the Chambers Collection at Berlin, and it was used by Weber in preparing his *Indian Literature*, and formed the theme of an essay in the third volume of the *Indische Studien*, while much of its lexicographical material was rendered available by Weber's energy to the authors of the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. But publication of this important and interesting text has been long delayed by the absence of adequate manuscript material. It is due to the energy of Dr. Stein that further material has been made available, and even his efforts have not succeeded in obtaining a complete copy of the text, the MS. of Dayārām Jyotsi of Srinagar, which alone can be compared for importance with the Chambers MS., being deficient for a portion of book i and for the whole of book ii.

Despite the lack of manuscript material, the edition of both books is an admirable piece of work, as was only to be expected from the editor of the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*. It is inevitable that the text should here and there remain doubtful, and unquestionably in several places the sense of the original is impossible to discover, but it may fairly be said that the editor has done practically everything that can be done with the materials available. Fortunately the *Kapishthala Samhitā* in the fragments preserved shows

such considerable similarity with the text of the *Kāthaka* that it has served to suggest many corrections of that text and to confirm others.

One general criticism only would we offer on the text, and that is regret that the editor should have declined to adopt a system of punctuation. It is true that he has authority on his side, and in particular Dr. Caland, whose assistance in constituting the text of book ii is acknowledged by Professor von Schroeder, has declared himself against punctuation. But the arguments on the other side are, in our opinion, overwhelming.<sup>1</sup> The editor of such a text as this must while preparing the text make himself master of the sense, and the probability that he will commit a few mistakes in his division of sentences is of no importance compared to the saving of time and trouble to users of the book by the simplification of its study through the adoption of a rational system of punctuation. It is true that punctuation can be overdone, as is the case with Bohtlingk's text of the *Brhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upanisads*, where the punctuation increases the difficulty of the text, but there is no valid excuse for a chapter of two large pages with continuous Sandhi, including the assimilation of sibilants, and without a single punctuation mark or distinction of quotations. Moreover, comparison with Weber's text of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* shows how incomparable is the advantage of using transliteration<sup>2</sup> in dealing with Vedic texts, at any rate if the purpose of editing such texts is the legitimate desire to render readily available their contents.

As Weber had access to the Chambers MS the publication of the text adds little to our knowledge of the subjects with which it deals, though an examination of it adds—if possible—to our admiration of the ability with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lanman in Hertel's *Panchatantra*, pp. xxvi seq.

<sup>2</sup> That Devanāgarī was used in my *Atareya Aranyaka* was due to the exigencies of the Anecdota series of which it formed a volume.

which he handled the *Kāṭhaka*.<sup>1</sup> But it is of some interest to note that the parallel passage<sup>2</sup> to those in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*<sup>3</sup> and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,<sup>4</sup> on which Bürk<sup>5</sup> has founded his theory that the Pythagorean problem was known in India in the eighth century B.C., like the passages themselves, is silent on the most important point, the dimensions of the hypotenuse. It contents itself with saying: *vediṃ vimimāte triṃśata paścāt prakrcmair mimāte sattriṃśatā prācīm caturviṃśatyā 1 urustāt*. No doubt this means that the *prācī*, a line bisecting at right angles the western and eastern sides of the Vedi, is 36 units, and no doubt the hypotenuse of the triangle formed by the *prācī* (36), with half the western side of the altar (15), would have a hypotenuse of 39 units. But there is nothing in the *Saṃhitās* or *Brāhmaṇa* to show that the hypotenuse was ever measured, much less that it was of any importance at all, and even if the measurement of the hypotenuse were given, we would still be as far as ever from a knowledge of the Pythagorean theorem. To put it plainly, if anyone construct a figure with a right angle—one of the simplest figures possible—and then measure the sides, they will, of course, present the result (assuming any correct measurement) that the squares of the numbers representing the sides will equal the square of the number representing the hypotenuse; but to ascribe the knowledge of this fact—much less the knowledge of the theory underlying it—to a man who merely knew the measures of the sides is quite fantastic, and the absurdity of the whole construction is more obvious still when the man, as far as the records go, never even mentions, or knew the length of, the hypotenuse.

Nor does the *Kāṭhaka* support in any way the other

<sup>1</sup> The Mantra material is embodied in advance of publication of the text of xix, etc., in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*.

<sup>2</sup> xxv, 4.

<sup>3</sup> vi, 2, 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> x, 2, 3, 4.

<sup>5</sup> ZDMG, lv, 553-6.

argument<sup>1</sup> on which Burk bases the view that the Pythagorean problem was early known in India. It is perfectly true that like the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*<sup>2</sup>—to which Burk might have added the *Maṭrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*<sup>3</sup>—the *Kāthaka*<sup>4</sup> gives a series of optional forms of the sacrificial fire for the case when a man has some special desire. Burk<sup>5</sup> lays down that in all these forms the space occupied by the fire must be the same as in the normal form, and he deduces 'thence—as one of the optional forms is that of a chariot wheel (*ratna-cakra*)—that the Indians knew at the time of the Saṃhitās how to construct a circle with an area equal to that of a square, and that they could transform one rectilinear figure into another. Unfortunately he does not quote his authority for the statement that the sizes of the figures must be the same, and unless it occurs in the Saṃhitās or Brāhmanas the argument is worthless. But even if there were to be found there a ritual direction that the size must be the same it would be absurd to assume, unless more details were given, that the priests really could make them identical and knew enough geometry to further this result. Empirical measurements would serve to obtain an approximately adequate result. Nor can we make anything out of the fact that the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>6</sup> contemplate the building of successive altars each larger than the other: the exact sense is obscure, and apparently the passage means no more than that each successive altar is to be larger than the former one by one unit (the length of a man) on each of its four sides<sup>7</sup>. We are therefore faced with the fact that no geometrical knowledge like that of the Pythagorean problem can be asserted before

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG, lv, 546 seq.

<sup>2</sup> v, 4, 11, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 4, 7.

<sup>4</sup> xxi, 4

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit, p 548.

<sup>6</sup> x, 2, 3, 18. The reference in Burk (p. 549, n. 1) to Weber's *Indische Studien* is incorrect.

<sup>7</sup> Cf Eggeling, SBE, xliii, 310 seq.

the time of the Śulba Sūtras, the date of which remains doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

The *Kāthaka* was clearly composed in the land of the Kuru-Pañcālas, like most of the Brāhmaṇa literature. This is shown by the references to that people and to Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya,<sup>2</sup> and the special interest shown in the Pañcālas and Kuntis.<sup>3</sup> Unhappily the references are too slight to show us exactly the relations of the peoples, but they lend no support to the view recently adopted by Mr. Pargiter<sup>4</sup> that the Kuru-Pañcāla alliance dates from after the great war. It is quite possible, as Mr. Pargiter argues, that the tradition of the priests as to secular matters was not good, but the utter confusion of the Epic and Purāṇa traditions renders it very doubtful whether it is wise to say<sup>5</sup> that the account of the tradition of knowledge as to Soma-drinking in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>6</sup> is chronologically erroneous. When we can control facts we see something different: we see, as in the Devāpi and Śantanu legend, the misunderstanding of a Vedic tradition.<sup>7</sup>

The style and grammar of the *Kāthaka* offer few surprises: indeed, the work conforms in this regard to the most approved Brāhmaṇa traditions. This is shown strikingly by the statistics of the use of the narrative tenses, figures for which as far as book i is concerned have been given in an earlier number of the Journal.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks, JRAS., 1909, 590 seq., to which I have nothing to add. Professor Garbe very kindly called my attention to the fact that I had not in my note dealt with Bürk's evidence, and this omission I now repair.

<sup>2</sup> x, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvi, 9; and for the Pañcālas, xxx, 2.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS., 1910, p. 51, n. 5. The great war is unknown to the Brāhmaṇas, and it is legitimate to suppose that it was of later date, if it occurred at all.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 53, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> vii, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, pp. 129 seq.; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, i, 272; Macdonell, *Brhaddevalā*, i, p. xxix.

<sup>8</sup> JRAS., 1909, pp. 149 seq.

In book ii (xix-xxx) there are approximately<sup>1</sup> 891 cases of the narrative imperfect: section xix has 49; xx, 49; xxi, 40; xxii, 44; xxiii, 118; xxiv, 88; xxv, 113; xxvi, 63; xxvii, 109; xxviii, 62; xxix, 79; xxx, 77. Against these the narrative perfects are extremely few: *vidām cakāra* occurs in xxi, 4, 9, and xxvii, 5, with *vidām cakṛma* in xxii, 6. In xx, 1, *uvāca* alternates with *vividuḥ* and *veda*; in xx, 8, *upadadhau* and *jagāma* follow; *uvāca* occurs alone in xx, 9, and xxii, 7; *abhyānuvāca* in xxviii, 4; *uvāca* and *ninyuḥ* in xxvi, 7; *uvāca* (bis), *ūcuḥ*, and *jagrhuḥ* in xxx, 2; *ānardha* in xxi, 4. The other perfects which occur are like *āha*, *āhuḥ*, *veda*, *viduḥ* (xxiii, 2), present in sense, and include *ānaśe*, xx, 5, 11; xxx, 4, and *ājagāma*, "it is here," xxvi, 6. Most common is *dādhāra*, xix, 11, 12; xx, 7, 10, 11 (bis); xxi, 3; xxvi, 1; xxviii, 10 (eight times repeated). In this use the form is so predominantly *dādhāra* that we would not hesitate to emend *dadhāra* in xx, 5 (p. 23, l. 10). In xxii, 3, von Schroeder himself has made a similar emendation, because *dadhāra* is followed by *dādhāra*, and in xx, 5, there is no reason to cling to the text of the Chambers MS. In striking contrast are the verse and prose Mantra portions of the work, where, e.g. in xxii, 10, a single verse equates *udāyan* and *ānuśuḥ*.

The aorist is used practically only in the sense rendered by "have" in English, in which it occurs some twenty-three times;<sup>2</sup> curiously enough, the sense of a present, which is so marked a feature of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*,

<sup>1</sup> Absolute accuracy is not aimed at, but the figures are such as to render it needless. The imperfect is in fact the only narrative tense; the perfect is sporadic and rather peculiar (*uvāca*, etc., predominate).

<sup>2</sup> *Acucyavat*, xx, 1; *abhūt*, xx, 7; *abhūvan*, xxiii, 7; xxix, 1; *acaiḥ*, *acaiṣam*, xxii, 6; *aceṣṭa*, xxii, 7, 8; *upāgāt*, xxii, 8; *agan* (bis), xxv, 5; *upāgāḥ*, xxvi, 2; *akramīt*, *avocathāḥ*, xxv, 2; *asprīkṣaḥ*, *āprāḥ*, *adr̥m̐hīḥ*, xxvi, 5; *agām*, xxix, 7; *agāt*, xxviii, 4; *asnihat*, *adr̥psit*, xxviii, 4; *agrahīṣṭa*, xxx, 2; *adabhat*, xxx, 7.

is quite rare; it is found in xx, 9—*yajñasyaivāntau samagrahīt*.

Of the use of the moods there is little to be said: in the Brāhmaṇa proper the optative as conditional, as injunctive, and as optative occurs frequently, but without irregularities of usage. In particular there is not a single irregular conditional sentence in xix—xxx. The subjunctive is found in its usual senses, once in both clauses of a conditional sentence, but it is not common.<sup>1</sup> The injunctive, both affirmative and negative, occurs, but also infrequently.

More characteristic is the distinct advance in the use of the infinitive in *tum*. The use is found more often with *arhati*,<sup>2</sup> but also with other verbs, viz., *anvestum adhriyanta*, xxiv, 7, and xxx, 4, *anvavāntum adhriyuvan*, xxiv, 10; *dabdhūṇi nāsaknuvan*, xax, 9,<sup>3</sup> and *udatisthad hotum*, xxviii, 9. The only other form at all usual is the genitive with *īvara*, as in xxvi, 1 (*abhyusah*); xxx, 5 (*prametoh*), 9 (*parābhavitoh*). On a par with this is the frequent use of the verbal in *tavya*, and the repeated *na nestrā na potrā bhavitavyam*, xxvi, 1, etc.

In the use of the participles there is little of note, except that as to the other Brāhmaṇas, the perfect middle is of frequent occurrence. A good example of the apparent<sup>4</sup> use of the present participle as a finite verb is to be seen in xxi, 2: *devā vai svargam lokam yantas tesāṇi yāni chandāmṣy aniruktāni svargyāṇy āsaṃs twis saha svargam lokam āyan*. Here the writer has recovered the construction after the break, but if he had forgotten it an apparent finite use of *yantas* would have been shown. On the other hand, in xxi, 8, there does occur an interesting

<sup>1</sup> *Ādat* in xv, 9, is a clearly correct conjecture of von Schöeder.

<sup>2</sup> *Āptum arhati*, xxi, 12; xxi, 3, 6 (bis); *qantum arhati*, xax, 9; *samaṣṭum arhati*, xxi, 1; *bodhayatum arhati*, xxii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> So *āsaknuvan prāntum*, xxvii, 3, but *udyamam nāsaknuvan*, xxviii, 7.

<sup>4</sup> See my notes, ZDMG, lxiii, 336 seq.; JRAS., 1910, pp. 226, 227.

example of the development of a real dependent construction<sup>1</sup> in place of the use of the direct speech with *iti*. The sentence is : *ekavikayā juhuyād yadi kāmāyeta ciraṃ pāpmano mucyeteṭi ciraṃ eva pāpmano mucyate | sakṛt sarvān anūdrutyottamayā juhuyād yadi kāmāyetajiram pāpmano mucyeteṭy ajiram eva pāpmano mucyate*. Von Schroeder does not even query the text, yet the ordinary use would be *mucyeyeti*, an easy conjecture, and one parallel to his<sup>2</sup> correction of *syāt* to *syām* in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, i, 11. But the text may well stand as a grammatical irregularity of the legitimate kind, admitting of easy if illogical explanation.

A few small points may be more briefly noticed. It is hardly consistent to let *innvai* stand in the text in xix, 1, when *in nvai* is printed at p. 81, l. 3 ; 99, l. 8. The omission of double letters is a characteristic of every Sanskrit MS., and has no value. In xxii, 8, the name Śarkarākhyā seems doubtful as a proper name, and it is obvious and easy to read Śarkarākṣa instead, or even Śarkarākṣya. The former name is found in the Gaṇa Gargādi, and the latter in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,<sup>3</sup> while Śarkarākṣya occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.<sup>4</sup> In xxix, 4, the Chambers MS. has the form *aṣṭakapāla* ; von Schroeder remarks "in Böhlingk's Wörterbuch mit Sternchen versehen, also überliefert, aber nicht belegt". But in point of fact it is so quoted in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini<sup>5</sup> in the form *aṣṭakapālaṃ brāhmaṇasya*, which is conclusive evidence of its legitimacy. It is more doubtful if the authority of the Chambers MS. is adequate to allow the form in the *Kāthaka*, which has repeatedly *aṣṭakapāla*. Similarly I think von Schroeder attributes too much weight to his MSS. when he reads the incorrect

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii, 13, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> v, 11, 2.

<sup>5</sup> vi, 3, 46.

*ta ārtim ārchanti* in xxi, 6, for the correct *sa-ārchati* of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, xii, 3, 4. Again, in xxix, 8, the text adopted by von Schroeder seems open to objection. It runs: *tasmād utaiko bahū jāyā vīdate naikā bahūn patin upasāyaḥ* |. The form *upasāyaḥ* presents difficulties, and the obvious correction *upasāye* (namely *e* for *o*) restores the necessary parallelism with *vīdate*.

Of the uses of the cases it may be worth while mentioning the ablative of comparison in xxix, 8: *striyaḥ puṃso 'tiriktāḥ*, and the apparent accusatives in xxi, 10: *sa rāstram abhavad yāṃ kāmayaṇa rastraṃ syāt*. The first *rāstram* and the second must presumably be construed alike, and the accusative with *syāt* is even more difficult than that with *bhū*, of which we have written elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Probably in both cases the nominative must be taken to be meant, and the abstract stand for the concrete, royalty for king.<sup>2</sup> In xix, 1, *jīvitamaḥ* must replace *jīvitatamaḥ*, which is most improbable. The *Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* has *jīvitṛtamaḥ*, which is also possible, but nothing is easier than a duplication of *ta*.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA. By MABEL HAYNES BODE. Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

After a short introduction Mrs. Bode begins her review of the Pali literature in Burma with the arrival of the Pali Tipiṭaka in that country. As to the Suttapiṭaka, she states that among the great Nikāyas claiming to be the word of the Buddha the Dīghanikāya is *the best known and the most frequently to be found*. The reason for this preference is, according to Mrs. Bode, that it is

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., 1910, pp. 151 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, xxi, 12, 2: *sa rāstram abhavad arāṣṭram iṭare*.

the shortest among these collections and contains all the essential doctrines of Buddhism.

The Vinaya offers the author an occasion to speak about the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. Here Mrs. Bode might have mentioned the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who were travelling from Utkalā to Madhyadeza with 500 carts, when a deity stopped them and exhorted them to offer cakes of barley and honey to the Lord (Mahāvagga, i, 4). These merchants became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. The story of the Mahāvagga is confirmed by the celebrated inscription of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon (mentioned by Mrs. Bode at p. 78, n. 6), which dates from 1485 during the reign of King Dhammaceti. There is only one difference between the two records. The Mahāvagga states that the two merchants made their way from Utkalā to the Rājāyatana tree on the road (*addhānamaggapaṭipannū honti*), while the Shwe Dagon inscription says that they came by ship. From this we may conclude that the author of the Mahāvagga believed Utkalā to mean Orissa in anterior India, from where they could easily go by road to the Rājāyatana tree. Dhammaceti, on the contrary, the author of the Shwe Dagon inscription, believed Utkalā to be the country from the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill down to the Irawaddy, where there must have been a settlement of colonists from anterior India in very early times. This is the reason why in his opinion the two merchants make their voyage by ship.

If we consider the later Buddhistical literature, we shall find the story of Tapussa and Bhallika in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa to the Vinaya and to the Anguttara-nikāya, which belong to the fifth century A.D. There also the place from where they came, and where they erected a dagoba after their return, is called Asitañjananagara, as in the inscription of Shwe Dagon. It therefore seems to be out of question that Buddhaghosa, the most

celebrated of the commentators, believed the country to be Burma and not Orissa, and that the dagoba was erected in the same place where the merchants had buried the relics which the Buddha had given them.<sup>1</sup> Buddhaghosa's opinion is of the utmost importance for us, because he has written most of his commentaries in Burma after having spent a certain time in Ceylon. Formerly Burmese historians believed him to have been born in Burma, but this opinion cannot hold good against the testimony of the *Mahāvamsa*, according to which he was born in the neighbourhood of the holy Bo-tree, cf. Mrs. Bode, p. 8, n. 1.

From her remarks on p. 10 it seems that Mrs. Bode is not inclined to attach much faith to the story of the Buddhist mission to Burma in the time of Asoka. I should like to say a few words about this matter. The place where the two missionaries, Soma and Uttara, landed in Burma is called Golanagara or Golanittikanagara (*Sāsanavamsa*, p. 38). About this place different opinions have been uttered. Forchhammer believed that it is the same place which is mentioned by the Arabian geographers under the name of Kalah. In the eighth and ninth centuries it was the centre of the trade in aloe, camphor, sandal-wood, ivory, and lead. The ships coming from the east (China) and from the west (Persia) used to meet in Kalah and to exchange their merchandise there. In the neighbourhood of this Kalah there was a group of small islands which may help us in identifying the place. If we take the islands to be the Maldives, or the islands forming the Adam's Bridge, then Kalah must be in Ceylon; in the former case it could be identical with the modern Point de Galle in the south of Ceylon,<sup>2</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> The name Dagon corresponds to the Pali *Tikumbha* (three bowls), and hence the legend originated that Gotama and his two favourite disciples, *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*, had buried their bowls in this place.

<sup>2</sup> This is Sir Emerson Tennent's opinion.

latter it could be the north-east coast of this island. In both cases it cannot be the Golanagara in Burma, where the Buddhist missionaries landed. If, on the contrary, we take the group of islands to be the Nicobar Islands, we might identify Kalah with the modern Queddah in the neighbourhood of Penang in Further India. This is the opinion of the author of the anonymous book, *Ceylon, a general description of the island, historical, physical, and statistical* (London, 1876). He believes that the ships coming from Persia took their way to China directly from Cape Comorin through the Gulf of Bengal to the Nicobar Islands, and touched Kalah afterwards. This opinion seems preferable to that of Forchhammer and Sir Emerson Tennent, because the ships had to pass somewhere in the neighbourhood of Queddah, while they would have been obliged to take a roundabout way to the north if they had wanted to touch Golanagara.

After these remarks I have only little to add. As on former occasions, Mrs. Bode has given here also an excellent specimen of her scholarship. Following her sources, among which the *Sāsanavamsa* and the *Gandhavamsa* are the principal, she gives us a vivid picture of the development of Pali literature in Burma from the eleventh century down to the present day. Chapter ii deals with the rise of Pali scholarship in Upper Burma and the relations between this country and Ceylon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapter iii is divided into two sections, of which the first gives us the Pali literature in Pegu and the Kalyāni inscriptions of King Dhammaceti, while the second contains the literature in Upper Burma from the foundation of Ava to the end of the sixteenth century.

Chapters iv-vi are dedicated to the literature of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively, and in the appendix on p. 101 ff. Mrs. Bode gives us a list of 295 Sanskrit and Pali books from an

inscription dated A.D. 1442. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but most of them (not all) still recognizable. I shall add a few suggestions to the explanations which Mrs. Bode gives in the foot-notes: No. 193, *Vṛndaṭikā*, is mentioned among other medical treatises by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Oxon.*, 311*b*; No. 197, *Dravyagūṇa*, *ib* p 86*a* (cf. No. 254). I do not believe that No. 208 refers to Daṇḍin, because this name occurs again in its right form, Nos. 256-8, but rather to Tāṇḍin. No. 219, *Tarkabhāṣā*, i, a book mentioned by Aufrecht, *l.l.*, 244*a*, and by Westergaard *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Havniensis*, p. 8*a*; Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanskrits et pâlis de la bibliothèque nationale*, fasc i, Nos 296, 884, 885. For No. 253, *Roganidāna*, see Westergaard, *l.l.*, p. 104*a*, No. 265, *Vidagdhamukhamandana*, see Cabaton, *l.l.*, Nos. 529, 686.

I have now reached the end of this review, which is a good deal longer than most of the reviews I have written for this Journal. But I can assure Mrs. Bode that the only reason of my verbosity is that I have found so many interesting points in her valuable book which I could not dismiss without fully discussing them.

E. MÜLLER.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA, ESPECIALLY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Five lectures delivered at Harvard University by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, etc. London: Luzac and Co., 1908.

In this little book of 235 pages we have a history of the recovery of the lost religion of Assyria and Babylon, an account of its gods, its cosmologies, its sacred books, and its myths and epics. It is needless to say that the

picturesque faiths of these two ancient peoples can always be made interesting, and Dr. Rogers has well succeeded in his task. The pictures, though mainly reproductions of tablets and inscriptions, are well chosen to rouse the reader's interest and make him desirous of more light upon the faith of the two nations with whom it originated—a faith which must have had considerable influence upon their near kinsmen, the Israelites.

Naturally the first deity to be treated of is the head of the pantheon, and the author begins (p. 59) with a comparison between the Assyrian Aššur and the Babylonian Merodach. Aššur, he points out, was a local deity, as was Merodach at Babylon: but though Merodach always remained at Babylon, Aššur accompanied his people when the capital was changed to Calah, and then to Nineveh, and thence to Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad), and back again to Nineveh. But when the Assyrians had conquered Babylon they made no attempt to introduce the worship of Aššur into the southern capital, much less to supplant Merodach. And the reason of this is not far to seek—they were themselves the willing worshippers of Merodach, and it might be added, they regarded Aššur and Merodach as one and the same. And here I should like again to speak of the mysterious deity Nisroch, which Dr. Rogers (p. 65, foot-note) suggests may be a malforming of the name of Merodach. I had thought (see Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.) that Nisroch was a malformation of Aššur, or a combination of Aššur with the name of the moon-god Aku (otherwise Sin and Nannar), for the first element of Sennacherib's name being Sin, he would naturally regard that deity as his special protector, and might try to identify him with the national god of Assyria, especially if, as the tablets show, there was a desire to regard them all as manifestations of one and the same deity (in Babylonia Merodach, and in Assyria Aššur).

Professor Rogers's treatment of the subject is historical, and therefore different from what we are accustomed to. This naturally makes a refreshing change, and gives him an opportunity of writing about the gods of the Assyrians from the point of view of the nation itself. When speaking of the conquests of Esar-haddon, therefore, he points out that he ascribed his success in war to Aššur, the great Assyrian deity. The gods of Babylonia could not help him; there was needed the strong bow of Aššur—the great god of war. And even Aššur had never wrought a greater wrong than the sad desolation of Egypt. But on the fall of Nineveh in 608 B.C., the god Aššur went down with his people. "He was but a god of blood and fire, and could not survive the powers of blood and fire which alone had made him great." And here we may make a comparison. The god Aššur, as the author says, was not any better than his people, but how about the Babylonians, the worshippers of "the merciful Merodach"? When Nebuchadrezzar came to the throne of Babylonia, which had taken Assyria's place as a world-power, he, too, conquered the nations, including Egypt. And this reminds us that even Christians have been known to invoke "the god of battles".

Professor Rogers's examination of the religion of Babylonia is closer than that of Assyria, and in the main he seems to follow Jastrow and Sayce. A very interesting section is that in which Yau is treated of (pp. 90 ff.). As is well known, the name Yaum-ilu (the Heb. Joel) occurs on a tablet copied by the present writer for the Trustees of the British Museum some time before 1898, in which year Professor Sayce spoke of it, and Professor Delitzsch referred to it again in his well-known lecture *Babel und Bibel* in 1902. This is naturally not the name Yahwah, but Yah (Jah) simply. Whether Delitzsch is right in reading *Ja-a-pi-ilu* as *Ya-a-ve-ilu* or not is a matter of opinion—the reading is possible, but still better

would be the reading *Ya-a-wa-llu*, which is also a likely one. As I showed, as long ago as 1892,<sup>1</sup> the late Babylonian form of Yahwah was *Yāwa* or *Ya'awa*, and it is hardly likely that any other form existed 2000 B.C.

Professor Rogers's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* gives an interesting insight into the beliefs of those ancient peoples, and will be appreciated by many. His treatment of the Creation and Flood legends is attractive, and quotations from these "sacred books" are given, as well as a selection from the other legends, and numerous hymns, incantations, and chants.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE EARLIEST COSMOLOGIES, the Universe as Pictured in Thought by the ancient Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans: A Guide-book for beginners in the study of ancient literatures and religions. By WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN, S.T.D., LL.D., M.R.A.S., etc. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909.

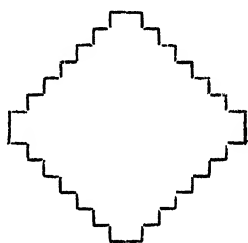
The main object of this interesting work seems to be to try to show what was the most probable Babylonian (and general Semitic) idea of the universe, comparing it with other systems known, at the same time showing that they present certain points of agreement. The first two chapters aim at disproving the generally accepted theories of the Hebrew ideas of the universe as being a flat but more or less rugged disc, arched over by an impermeable vault, with the heavenly bodies and the stars on either the inner or the outer side of the same, and various devices for allowing the waters of the springs and rivers and the rains to enter and fertilize this hermetically sealed abode of living things. In some places the author is genially sarcastic, and probably rightly so,

<sup>1</sup> "Yā and Yāwa (Jah and Jahwah) in Assyro-Babylonian Inscriptions" *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, November, 1892, pp. 13 ff.

## THE EARLIEST COSMOLOGIES

but the writers whom he quotes probably did their best with the material and knowledge at their command, and we must take into consideration that there were many things which they found difficult to reconcile.








Professor Warren contends that the ancients had a much more correct idea of the world and the universe than they are generally credited with, such as the earth's globular form, though the motions of the sun, moon, and stars naturally confused them. With regard to the Babylonians however, he contends-- to all appearance with Professor Sayce--that they thought of the world as a double seven-staged temple-tower within seven concentric spheres, these spheres being the seven heavens, the upper half the region of light, and the lower that of darkness. This double temple-tower was so arranged that its counterpart, reversed, appeared below it; and being, with the spheres of the underworld by which it was surrounded, in darkness, the whole looks like a seven-staged Babylonian *ziggurat* with its seven over-arching hemispheres reflected in the waters of a great sea. The idea is strange and somewhat weird, but an examination of the texts and also the characters of the Babylonian syllabary shows it to be not altogether so improbable as it seems.





As is well known, the staged tower or step-pyramid was a common form of temple (and at the same time, it is supposed, observatory) in Babylonia and Assyria. Probably comparatively few of them had seven stages, the commonest number being no more than three or four. The most noteworthy of them, however, had the full number, seven—that at Babylon, which is described by Herodotus, being the one best known to us. This tower of Babel, which was probably attached to the neighbouring

temple of Bel-Merodach, was called *Ê-temen-ana-kia*, "the house of the foundation of heaven and earth." Another, that at Borsippa (the traditional, though probably not the real, tower of Babel) was similar as to its form, and also, probably, in the number of its steps or stages. This had a similar name, *Ê-ur-imina-ana-kia*, "the house of the seven regions of heaven and earth" (formerly rendered the temple of the "seven spheres") Similarly emblematical, seemingly, was either the temple or the city of Erech, which is called, in the geographical lists, *Ar-imina*, *Da-imina*, and *Gipar-imina*, the seven regions, sometimes with the prefix for "city", leading to the probability that the temple-tower there may either have been in seven stages, emblematical of the seven regions of earth and heaven, or, if in fewer than seven stages, nevertheless typified that number. That Erech was especially a city associated with the seven regions or enclosures is also indicated by the fact that in the Legend of Gilgames it is always called *Uruk supuri*, "Erech of the enclosures," as though that were the city's distinctive characteristic.

Naturally an objection might be made that the elevation of the great temple-tower of Babylon, according to the tablet (all traces of which have now disappeared), which was for a time in the hands of the late George Smith, was not exactly like that of the diagram published by Professor Warren, the lowest and the second stages being about half the height of the whole erection, and the topmost a hall of considerable height. In all probability, however, this does not invalidate the idea, as the proportions, in the main, are preserved, the width, length, and height being the same. What seems really not to agree is the map of the world brought back by Mr. H. Rassam from Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, which he discovered. In that the world appears as a circle, with the salt sea around it, and eight gore-like districts on the other side of that sea, giving the world the appearance of a great

star whose points have intervals between. This map, however, would seem to be late, and perhaps drawn at a time when the ideas of the Babylonians had changed upon the subject. It is doubtful whether anything can be argued in favour of Professor Warren's theory from the ideogram for "earth",  in its ancient form. Though it appears as a kind of lozenge with cross-lines (about five in number) in the middle archaic style, the oldest forms show it with the right-hand side flat, or nearly so, which, as the line-forms of the Babylonian characters have to be turned round to get the true position of the original hieroglyphic, points to something like the following: . This would naturally agree with the author's upper part—the earth proper—but the vertical lines which would then replace the horizontal would in that case require another explanation. More satisfactory, perhaps, would be the ideograph , late form , the meaning of which, like  and , is *kiššatu*, "the universe," "world-all." In connexion with the name of Enlila's temple at Nippur, *Ê-kura*, the common ideograph for "country", , regarded as a picture of three mountains, would naturally come into consideration.

But it is probable that more than one idea of the world existed in Babylonia, and in connexion with this the author's remark that the ancient Semites knew that the earth was a globe is noteworthy. The character  may just as easily have originated in a hemisphere as in a pyramid, and  may have been in reality not a lozenge or double pyramid, but a circle. And in this connexion the words of that important and remarkably perfect tablet found at Nineveh by G. Smith may be quoted. It is a hymn to Istar, and the first three lines read as follows:—

"The light of heaven, which like fire dawneth in the land, art thou.

O Goddess in the earth, in thy fixed abode,

She who, like the earth, stately advanceth, art thou."

Here we have a comparison between Ištar (Venus) and the earth, in which, as a planet, she is said to advance (*šātuqat*, "she is caused to cross," *šuphul* of *étēqu*) like the earth. As the Babylonians knew the phases of Venus, they must have recognized that she was disc-shaped or circular, and to say that the earth was like her is as much as saying that the earth was a globe too.

The Cosmology of the Babylonians is not, however, the only thing of which Professor Warren treats—he speaks also of the Egyptian, the Homeric, the Indo-Iranian, the Buddhistic universes, Homer's Abode of the Dead and of the Living, and many other things, the discussion of which would take up much space and need the pen of a specialist in each branch of study. In more ways than one, therefore, Professor Warren's *Earliest Cosmologies* is a book to attract the student and the thinker.

T. G. PINCHES.

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS.—I. PSALMS OF THE SISTERS. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. London: published for the Pali Text Society, 1909.

This is the second European translation of the collection of stanzas commonly known under the name of Therīgāthā, "psalms of the sisters." The first attempt was made by Dr. K. E. Neumann, who translated this collection, together with the songs of the brethren, into German verse in 1899, just ten years ago. The principal difference between Neumann's work and that of Mrs. Rhys Davids is that the former is totally independent of any commentary on the brethren's verses and treats the commentary on the sisters with utter scepticism, while the latter professes her indebtedness to Dhammapāla's work in a great many instances. Mrs. Rhys Davids even tells us in her introduction that the principal reason why she translates the psalms of the sisters before those of the brethren is that the commentary on the Therīgāthā is ready at hand in

my edition of 1893 published by the Pali Text Society, while she could only procure a single manuscript of the commentary on the Therīgāthā through the exertions of Professor Charles Duroiselle of Rangoon College.

If the first European editor of the Therīgāthā, Professor Pischel, acknowledged the help he derived from Dhammapāla, it seems to me that the translator should be even more thankful for this help, and in this respect I entirely agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids when in many ambiguous terms she has been determined by the ruling of the commentator without accepting it in blind faith.

Another question treated in the introduction is that about the identity of the sisters. One of the most interesting persons is the therī Uppalavannā, whom we find not only in our Therīgāthā but also in different passages of the Vinaya, and who, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids, is "as difficult to identify as our own St. George" I have tried to give some information about this therī in the introduction to my edition of the Paramatthadīpanī (xiv f), and I will add a few more notes here:—

Uppalavannā seems to be identical with Padmāvati in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Rājendralālamitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal*, p. 65). The story of Ummādinī is also related in the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney's translation, i, 104, ii, 322); and the story of the therā who married his own mother and sister (Paramatthadīpanī, p. 195 f) occurs again in Ralston's Tibetan Tales, translated from the Kah-gyur (London, 1893) as No. X. With regard to Paṭācārā, Mrs. Rhys Davids states (p. xxi) that "of the two poems attributed to her one has been lost or merged with that of Kisāgotamī". Indeed, there seems to have been a confusion between the stories of Paṭācārā and Kisāgotamī, as the tale which is related of Paṭācārā in the Paramatthadīpanī occurs again in Ralston's Tibetan Tales as No. XI with the title Kisāgotamī. Moreover, the same story is related in the

twenty-fifth chapter of the Dsanglun with the title Uppalavaṇṇā (see T. T. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, pp. 206 ff.).

The translation reads very well. Mrs. Rhys Davids has not attempted to adhere more literally to the Pali text than her predecessor, Dr. Neumann, and, besides, the peculiarities of the English language have compelled her in some instances to adopt even a more independent rendering. In the following lines I shall give my opinion on some details that have struck me in the translation and in the notes:—

Page 29, note 1, we read *mittā* = *amica*, which is certainly right, but the derivation of the names *Mittā* and *Mettikā* from the Vedic Sun-god seems to me far-fetched and totally unnecessary. p. 61, instead of *Manoratanapūraṇī* read *Manorathapūraṇī*. p. 122, stanza 258, *upakūḷita* is correctly translated by “seared”. The same word occurs Jāt. i, 405, where Chalmers has “nigh roasted”. In Sanskrit we find *kūḷita*, *Suśruta*, 2. 435. 20, *kūḍayati*, *Rigveda*, 8. 26. 10, *kundate*, *Dhāt.* 8. 17, all with the meaning “to burn”.

The translation in stanza 265, “They with the waste of the years droop shrunken as skins without water,” is based on Kern’s suggestion (*Bydragt tot de verklaring van eenige woorden in Pali geschriften voorkomende*, p. 15 f.) to read *ritī* instead of *rindī*, and to identify this with Sanskrit *ḍṛti*, “a leather bag.” This suggestion is confirmed by the commentary. Neumann reads *ritī*, and translates accordingly. As far as the meaning of the whole stanza is concerned, both renderings are equally good. In stanza 267 I cannot understand why Mrs. Davids follows Neumann and not the commentary. The comparison of a woman’s thighs to the trunks of an elephant is very frequent in Indian erotic literature. See, for instance, Weber, *Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, stanza 925.

In the translation of stanza 419 I agree in principle

with Mrs. Davids, who follows the ideas of Kern (*U.L.*, p. 21). Perhaps it would have been better to say, "Alas! we have lost the pretty luck," instead of "We are beaten, pretty luck." At any rate, this translation is preferable to Neumann's, who treats the text with the utmost violence. Stanza 443 is a very difficult passage, and neither of the two renderings seems to me quite satisfactory. If I give the preference to that of Mrs. Davids it is on account of *Mahāvagga*, i, 46, where we find nearly the same words as in the commentary to this stanza.

In stanza 458 Mrs. Davids translates the words *kāya-kalinā asarena* by "in this poor body, froth without a soul", with special reference to *Jāt.* v, 134. If we look at the Cambridge *Jātaka* translation we find that the word *kali* in this passage is rendered by "sin", and thus I should prefer to say here also, "in this sinful body without a soul."

In stanza 504 *kuthitā* is translated by "boiling", while Neumann puts "Stank" instead. I think the best would be "distressed", just as it is rendered by Rhys Davids in a similar passage, *Milindapañha*, p. 250.

In stanza 509 both translators agree in reading *kāhinti*, instead of *khāhinti* proposed by Pischel and translated accordingly. I confess that both readings seem to me equally good, and that I cannot give the preference to either of them.

I conclude this review with best thanks to Mrs. Rhys Davids for the capital work she has given us in her translation of the psalms of the sisters, and hope that the psalms of the brethren will follow soon. The reader has seen that in going through this book of 200 pages I had only a few remarks to make, and that even of those remarks most were in favour of Mrs. Davids' readings of the text and of her translation.

E. MULLER.

BERNE, March, 1910.

AUF NEUEN WEGEN DURCH SUMATRA. Forschungsreisen in Ost- und Zentral-Sumatra (1907). Von MAX MOSZKOWSKI. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1909.

This is a well-illustrated and interesting account of travel by land and water through some little-known parts of Siak and the Rokan (or Rēkan) States. The author is a keen observer, and writes sympathetically and graphically of the things and people he has seen. In fact, the book is very suggestive, and raises a number of interesting points which it would be impossible to discuss fully in the space here available. I must confine myself to noticing a few of those that have struck me while reading it.

A considerable part of the book deals with the primitive jungle-tribes visited by the author, and as he has given an account of these in a paper published in the *Journal* for July, 1909, I need not recapitulate the facts he has recorded. Referring rather to his mode of presenting those facts and to the inferences which he has drawn from them, I am inclined at times to differ from his judgment. For instance, his view appears to be that the Sakai tribes have practically no material culture of their own, the little that they possess having been borrowed during the last few years from their Malay neighbours. Against this, however, there are several weighty arguments. In the first place, their Sakai relatives in the Peninsula (assuming the Sumatran tribes to be really of the same race) undoubtedly have some elements of material culture which they have not derived from the Malays, but appear to have possessed for many centuries; for they are things that the Malays either do not possess at all or only in some other form, and the Sakai names for them are quite unconnected with the Malay ones, and point back to a long distant past when the Sakais were connected with Indo-Chinese races. Secondly, the Siak Sakais now

speak only Malay. But if they are really related to the Peninsular Sakais, they must have had a language of their own formerly, and it takes some time for a language to disappear completely; the Peninsular Sakais have still in a great measure preserved theirs, though Malays have been hemming them in with ever-increasing persistency for the last five centuries or more. Moreover, the Malay spoken by the Siak Sakais is not the dialect of their Malay neighbours, but the remoter Menangkabau Malay of the West Sumatran uplands. It is evident, therefore, that they must have come under the direct influence of a Menangkabau-speaking community a long while back, before they settled in their present locations; at what period they left the uplands and came down into the lowlands of East Sumatra is unknown, but the event cannot possibly be a very recent one, or there would be some better recollection of it than the "old legend" with which the author (no doubt rightly) connects it.

So far as I can judge, it seems to be true that the Sakais of Siak have to a great extent borrowed their existing material culture from Malays, but probably this borrowing occurred in a much more distant past than he appears to suppose. It is likely enough that a good deal of racial admixture also took place, and that this accounts for the change in culture and language. But that in no way proves that the Sakais never had any culture of their own, though I admit that it must have been of a very primitive kind. One might just as reasonably argue from the same facts that they never had any language of their own, which surely would be a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Similarly in the matter of religion. Dr. Moszkowski spent some time amongst these people and made many inquiries, yet failed to find among them any original religious ideas. From this fact he is inclined to infer, first, that they have no such ideas now, and secondly, that

they never had any. Neither inference is absolutely safe. The religious ideas of a shy and primitive people are about the very last things which they are likely to communicate to a foreigner sojourning for a few weeks in their midst, however sympathetic he may be and however much trouble he may take to investigate such matters. On the other hand, all *a priori* theories on these subjects (of which we meet with so many nowadays, particularly in German works) are just as likely to mislead as to help us. Dr. Moszkowski has, if I understand him aright, the view that primitive races fail to form religious conceptions because, amongst other reasons, they are deficient in a sense of causality; they do not ask themselves "who created the world?" and so forth, for the reason that the perception of a causal nexus in events has not occurred to them. This is an opinion hard to reconcile, as it seems to me, not only with the exuberance of the mythopoeic imagination amongst many savage peoples, but also with the common fact that even very young children (whose individual development in so many respects seems to reflect the past evolution of the race) are continually and quite spontaneously asking "why?" and in default of a satisfactory explanation from their elders as to the cause of what they see, very frequently make up some sort of childish explanation for themselves.

How extremely unsafe it is to rely on inferences drawn even by careful and scientifically trained observers from comparatively simple facts may be aptly illustrated by an instance out of the work now under review. One of the leading cases of what has been called "protective mimicry" is the Kallima butterfly in its various allied species. Wallace in his standard work on the Malay Archipelago draws special attention to it as an instance of the way in which variation and natural selection may give rise to forms which serve to give a special degree of protection to the individuals that embody them, by reason

of their close resemblance with their usual environment. Dr. Moszkowski, on the other hand, uses this very butterfly as an argument against any such directly protective adaptation, holding that such protection as may in fact be afforded is merely a secondary by-product not traceable to natural selection at all, and having no real connexion with the efficient causes which have given rise to these particular forms of variation. It is certainly not the business of a mere layman in these matters to express an opinion on a technical point of this kind; but it seems to me to afford an illuminating commentary on the touching faith in the "results of modern science" displayed by a number of estimable people who have not been trained to distinguish between facts and theories. Dr. Moszkowski's remarks on these subjects, whether we agree with them or not, at any rate conduce to clearer thinking.

Another trifling point may be mentioned in illustration of the same principle, and it happens to be a case in which one can come to a definite issue with our author. Finding that a small species of bee, called by the natives *damar-damar*, is concerned with the outflow of resin from certain trees, which it facilitates by its boring operations in their trunks, he infers that the native word for resin, *damar*, is derived from the name of this kind of bee. In fact, of course, it is the other way about, the little bees taking their name from the product with which they are associated. In numerous languages of the Archipelago the word *damar* (or its phonetic equivalents) bears such meanings as "light, torch, resin", and one of these must be its primary meaning: I am not concerned at present to inquire which one it is. The transference of the name to the bees is clearly secondary, as the form itself, being doubled, serves to show. I cannot find this last in the Malay dictionaries on my shelves, so I presume that it is a local word. The ordinary name for the tiny bee (or at least one species of it) is *kélulut*.

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Unfortunately it is not always possible to test our author's theories so easily. His view of the relation of the white race to the coloured races is that the latter are inferior beings whose evolution has come to a standstill, like that of the anthropoid apes, while the white man still has long vistas of progress before him. Well, every conception of superiority seems to me to involve a reference to some end; in other words, it implies some particular form (or forms) of efficiency. And my own experience, such as it is, has convinced me that if the white man is more efficient in some departments (as he undoubtedly is), the coloured man surpasses him in others. Besides, who can tell for certain that the coloured man's evolution has already come to an end? We none of us have the gift of infallibility in matters of that kind. But I can well imagine that if some cultured Egyptian or Babylonian of (say) three thousand years ago had come into contact with our Teutonic ancestors in their native forests, he might very probably have uttered much the same sort of opinion about them as Dr. Moszkowski has expressed about the coloured races, namely, that the idea of ever educating them to our level is just as utopian as the idea of turning an ape into a man by some process of training. It would have been a singularly unfortunate *obiter dictum*. but what guarantee have we that Dr. Moszkowski's view may not in some distant future be negated with equal conclusiveness by the course of events?

It must not be supposed that the book is full of theories like these if I have singled out some for criticism, it is because I find the author's views stimulating and suggestive, even when I cannot bring myself to agree with him. But there is much more in his book that I should like to mention if there were room to do so. His descriptions of his journeys through tropical forests, of the native inhabitants, their social and political organization, customs, superstitions, and religion, their

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material culture, and so forth, all make very interesting and instructive reading. I can cordially recommend the book.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1906-7; pp. 267; 74 plates, and numerous text-illustrations. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India; 1909.

The publication of this volume so soon after the preceding one has done much towards bringing the issue of the series up to date.

The first part of the volume, pp. 1-33, with 11 plates, deals as usual with conservation in which line some specially important work was done at Jaunpūr, Agra, Lahore, and Shāhdara, in addition to good progress having been made at other places in India and in Burma.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to exploration and research: pp. 34-205, with plates 12-74. Operations were continued at Kasiā by Dr. Vogel (pp. 44-67), and at Sārnāth by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Konow (pp. 68-101). Some valuable discoveries were made at Sahribahlol by Dr. Spooner (pp. 102-18), including, notably, a fine group of Kubēra and Hāriti with attendant figures (plate 32, c), and a beautifully executed seated Buddha (plate 34, a). The latter article is followed by a second note by the late Dr. Bloch on his excavations at the funeral mounds at Lauriya (pp. 119-26). And Mr. Taw Sein Ko has given us, from the excavations at the Pet-leik-paya pagoda near Pagan in Burma, another series of the curious terra-cotta plaques illustrating the Jātaka stories (pp. 127-36).

We have next the first instalment of an article by Dr. Vogel on the Mathurā school of sculpture (pp. 137-60). What he may have to say on this topic will naturally be best understood and weighed when we have the

complete article before us. Meanwhile it appears from Mr. Marshall's résumé on p. 43 that the results so far are, that the Mathurā school was largely dependent on that of Gandhāra, though it did not owe its origin to that school; that its existence is carried back to at least the second century B.C.; that it had come under the influence of the fully developed Gandhāra art in the time of the early Kushan kings; and that, consequently, "the art of Gandhāra itself must be pushed back to a considerably earlier period; sufficiently far, that is, to account for the relatively great decadence of the Mathurā as compared with the Gandhāra work."

A contribution on Muhammadan architecture in Kashmīr by Mr. W. H. Nicholls comes next (pp. 161-70). Then follows one by Mr. Cousens on the temple of Brahma at Khēd-Brahma (pp. 171-8). And then a contribution by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the Lakulīśa form of Śiva (pp. 179-92), in which he has very usefully given us a brief abstract of the Kārvān Māhātmya, and the text with translation, of an extract from a Jain work entitled Tarkarahasyadīpikā, which presents a summary of the Śaiva doctrine of the Naiyāyikas: regarding Lakulīśa something has already been said in this Journal, 1907 419-26.

The remainder of this part of the volume (pp. 193-205) is occupied with some notes by Pandit Daya Ram Sahn on the results of a short tour of inspection made by him in the Gorakhpūr and Sāran Districts under instructions given by Mr. Marshall on a request made by the writer of this notice. The request was largely based on "information received" which does not seem to have been of a very reliable nature, since various reported indications of stūpas and other remains were not found to exist. The results however, are not wholly unremunerative, though they have not at all come up to what was expected. And they do not upset the writer's belief that Kusināra, where

Buddha died, is to be looked for somewhere near Pachrukhi, a railway station about 32 miles north-west-by-north from Chhaprā.

The epigraphic portion of the volume contains a general progress report for the year written by the Epigraphist, Dr. Konow (pp. 206-16), and a comprehensive monograph on the Pallavas by the present Epigraphist, Mr. V. Venkayya (pp. 217-43), which is a very useful addition to previous treatments of the history of that great ruling family of Southern India.

On p. 210 Dr. Konow has brought to notice, apparently from the Hazārā District, an interesting date recorded in the *Laukika* or *Lokakāla* reckoning which is well known in connexion with Kashmir, the Kāngra District, and some of the neighbouring Hill States. The characteristic feature of this reckoning is the omission of the hundreds (both centuries and millenniums); so that, e.g., "the year 38" may mean also any such year as 138, 238, 338, and so on, up to 4938 (we have not yet come to the year 5038). In this new inscription, the year is stated in figures as simply *Samvat* 38, in the usual fashion, but also fully in words as *Laukya-* or *Lōkya-samvat* 538. The other given details are *Kārttika* *śukla* 13, Saturday. And they place the record on Saturday, October 17, A.D. 1461.

The interest attaching to this date lies in its stating the century, and in the point that according to the usual reckoning the date should fall one year later, in A.D. 1462. We find the explanation of the matter in *Albēri's* account of the *Lōkakāla*: see his *India*, translation by Sachau, 2. 8. He has told us that his gauge-year *Śaka-samvat* 953 expired, = A.D. 1031-2, was the year 6 (expired) according to the Kashmir custom, but was counted by the people of Bardarī and Mārigala (*Taxila*) as the year 110 of an era of their own, and by the

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people of Nirahara, "behind Mārigala", and of Lanbaga (Lamghān) as the year 108. From that we see that the reckoning had been introduced into countries outside Kashmir at some time between A.D. 925 and 1025; and the people of the territories named by Albērūnī, not recognizing its purely centennial nature, had continued the numbers of that century into a new century instead of beginning again with a fresh year 1. The people of Nirahara and Lanbaga had dislocated the reckoning to the extent of four months, by using it with a year which began with the Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 preceding the Chaitra śukla 1 with which the year of the same number began in Kashmir. Subsequently, their reckoning must have been further dislocated, by eight months more, by an adoption of the Chaitra śukla 1 preceding Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 as the initial day of the year. And so it came about that Kārttika of the year 538, in which numbering we recognize a continuation of the era set up by the people of Nirahara and Lanbaga, fell in A.D. 1461 instead of 1462.

J. F. FLEET.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1910.)

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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### WILHELM AHLWARDT<sup>1</sup>

WITH the death of Professor Wilhelm Ahlwardt on November 2, 1909, at the age of 81 years, Arabic studies have lost another of the chief representatives linking us to an earlier generation.

Born in Greifswald on July 4, 1828, the son of Christian Wilhelm Ahlwardt, who was Professor at the University, he lost his father when only 5 years of age. After a course at the gymnasium there, he studied during 1846-8 at the University of his native town, among others under Kosegarten; from 1848 to the autumn of 1849 he studied at Göttingen under Ewald, and again from 1849 to the autumn of 1850 at Greifswald, where on February 6, 1851, he received the degree of Ph.D.

After this he spent several years studying and copying, in a beautiful hand, MSS. in the libraries at Gotha and Paris. The copies made by him during this period, filling close upon a hundred volumes, will, it is to be hoped, find their way intact into the University Library of his native town.

At Easter, 1856, Ahlwardt received the post of assistant librarian in the University Library of Greifswald; and in this year appeared his first, as far as I know, printed work, *Über Poësie und Poetik der Araber*, dedicated to the University upon its jubilee.

On May 5, 1857, he took up the position of Privatdozent at Greifswald, and on February 11, 1861, he was

<sup>1</sup> His full name was Friedrich Wilhelm, and it is so entered in his own hand in the Album of Professors at Greifswald; but in his published works he used only the second name, and appears with it alone in the catalogue of professors and scholars published in Germany.

## OBITUARY NOTICES

appointed Professor of Oriental Languages, which post he held till the time of his death. From February, 1861, to 1865 he was also second librarian at the University Library. During the summer of 1867 and winter of 1867-8 Ahlwardt was on furlough for scientific researches in Paris and Oxford.

On February 22, 1892, he was appointed Privy Councillor (Geheimer Regierungsrat). On his 80th birthday he was decorated with the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, 2nd Class with oak-leaves, and upon his jubilee as Ph.D. with the same Order, 3rd Class, with the number 50; he had also received the Prussian Order of the Royal Crown, 2nd Class, and the Order of Henry the Lion of the Duchy of Brunswick.

Ahlwardt married in Berlin on July 4, 1861. After losing his wife he had the sorrow of losing his only son, who had entered on a juristic career, at the age of 30 years. The ill-success of his German translation of the *Diwān* of Rūba, moreover, had made him resolve not to publish any further works: he showed me the manuscript translation of the *Asma'īyyāt*, and he had also done a great deal towards the translation of *al-'Aǧǧāǧ*; both works will probably be found among his papers.

I have indicated above that his first book was published in 1856 under the title *Über Poesie und Poetik der Araber*; it showed that the branch of Arabic studies which chiefly interested him was that of poetry. This work was followed in 1859 by *Chalef el-Ahmars Qasside*, which put the literary activity of Joseph von Hammer under a glaring searchlight. In 1860 he edited *El-Fachri, Geschichte der islamischen Reiche*. In 1861 he published *Abū Nowas, Weinlieder*, promising a complete edition of the whole *Diwān* and also a work on the social conditions under the Chalifate; unfortunately these promises were not fulfilled.

In 1870 appeared *The Diwāns of the Six Ancient Arabic*

*Poets*, containing the poems of an-Nābiga, 'Antara, Tarafa, Zuhair, and 'Alqama in the recension of al-A'lam, and the poems of Imru'ul-Qais after the recension of as-Sukkari. This is the most frequently cited work of Ahlwardt's. It is a pity that he pursued in it a plan to which he adhered to the end; i.e. rearranging the poems according to the rhymes and omitting the commentaries. The former practice separates poems which belong to the same classes; for though no plan may be apparent in the way the Diwāns of the ancient Arabic poets are arranged, it is certain that there is a reason underlying the arrangement, which it is to be hoped will lead us some day to trace the sources from which the ancient texts were derived. The commentaries, however meagre and poor, are often a very valuable help for understanding the difficult texts of early Arabic poetry. Ahlwardt remedied these defects to some extent by the publication in 1872 of his *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, in which he critically considers the texts published as to their genuineness and completeness.

After this Ahlwardt was for many years prevented from following his favourite studies, having been entrusted with the cataloguing of the Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library, Berlin. The work of these years is embodied in ten stupendous volumes, published between 1887 and 1899. Here he brought together rather more than is desirable, and the work is awkward to use on account of its enormous size. Moreover, in giving the dates of the authors, Ahlwardt not infrequently differs from other authorities, and as he does not quote his own sources, the correctness of his statements cannot be ascertained. As the compiling of this huge catalogue took a long time, he published intermediately several hand-lists:—(1871) *Verzeichniss Arabischer Handschriften* (on poetry, belles-lettres, literary history, and biographies); (1885)

## OBITUARY NOTICES

*Verzeichniss Landberg'scher Handschriften*; (1887) *Verzeichniss Glaserscher Handschriften*. During this period he published also in autography (1883) the ninth volume of the Chronicle of al-Balāḍuri after an old MS. preserved in the Berlin Library.

Late in life he was again able to turn to his favourite study of poetry, and in 1902-3 appeared his *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, containing (vol. i) the *Aṣma'īyyāt* after the Vienna MS. and five poems abounding in difficult words, and later (vols. ii and iii) the *Diwāns* of the very difficult *Rağaz* poems of al-'Ağğāğ and Rūba, again without the commentaries, which are absolutely necessary for the understanding of these authors. He intended to make these poems more accessible by the publication of German translations; that of Rūba appeared in 1904, but the interest in it which Ahlwardt had expected was not shown.

Moreover, in the latter part of his life his eyesight began to fail, and he frequently expressed his fear of becoming blind; that, however, his enthusiasm survived till the last is demonstrated by the fact that he had actually announced a course of lectures for the winter term 1909-10. A gathering on the tongue, from which he suffered about a week, took him gently away.

Working from an early age with enthusiasm and conscientiousness, he always aimed at a very high standard of correctness, a model for succeeding generations. Though I am probably the latest friend Ahlwardt made, I am proud to write these few lines in his honour. After making inquiries in several quarters in vain, I received, through the kindness of Professor Hausleiter of Greifswald, some particulars supplementing my own knowledge, for which I thank him here publicly.

FRITZ KRENKOW.

## WILLIAM HENRY ROBINSON

THE study of Eastern philosophy and languages is not always calculated and deliberate; sometimes it is spontaneous and irresistible. This was the case with William Henry Robinson, who died recently at Edmonton at the age of 81. He began and ended life a poor man, but in him there burned the flame of devotion to Oriental lore, even though at the last that flame had to be kept alive by means of an Old Age Pension. It was not in University or College that Mr. Robinson was inspired to study; it was when he had reached middle life that the fascination of India's literature fell upon him. Henceforward the British Museum was his workshop, and his enthusiasm the driving force, by which he taught himself Sanskrit and delved into the treasures of the East.

His education, begun in the early thirties of last century at a dame's school in Westminster, had been continued and extended by his own exertions. For some years he followed teaching as a profession; then the claims of a growing family compelled him to seek more lucrative employment in various offices of trust, as well as in journalistic and philanthropic work. But once he had fallen under the spell of the East he could not devote himself seriously to other interests. He seems to have grown poorer financially as he grew richer in Oriental learning; and life was one long struggle to make ends meet. The death of his wife in 1889 after more than forty years of companionship was a great sorrow to him. Some years later a serious street accident impaired his physical powers; and for the last five or six years of his life he lay on his back in bed. Surrounded by his books, he would work day after day with interest born of undying enthusiasm at his *Golden Legend of India*. It was his solace through days and nights of weariness and pain, and though he did not live to see its publication,

the proofs submitted to him were a foretaste of an unrealized joy.

A musician, a practical social reformer, an authority on architecture, a keen debater in the Shakespeare-Bacon theory, an enthusiast for poetry, a devoted student of religions, a man with a keen intellect and innate humility, full of generous impulse and love for his fellows—such was William Henry Robinson, called, it seems, to hold aloft the torch of Oriental learning in lowly places, finding in the old Indian philosophies a foreshadowing of Christian truth.

*The Golden Legend of India* is a versified paraphrase of the story of Śunahśepa, as told in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, giving the full ritual setting of the story and a literal translation of the hundred *Rk* verses which were employed in conjunction with it. Mr Robinson seems to have been justified in his claim that his work supplies the first complete reproduction of the whole drama in a European version; and his astronomical interpretation has the merit of originality and may prove to be a genial intuition. The work has been shown to a few scholars, and it is hoped that there may be little difficulty in raising the modest subscription needed to guarantee its publication.

A. A. S.

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*For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with  
each forthcoming number of the Journal.*

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.



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 OXFORD. QUEEN'S COLLEGE.
- 70 PARIS. INSTITUT DE FRANCE.  
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.  
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

- PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore.  
 PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY.  
 PITTSBURGH. CARNEGIE LIBRARY.  
 PRAG. DEUTSCHE UNIVERSITÄT.  
 PRATAP SINGH MUSEUM, Srinagar, Kashmir.  
 PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A., THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.  
 RICHMOND WESLEYAN COLLEGE.  
 80 ROSTOCK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 ST. PETERSBURG. IMPERIAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.  
 SEATTLE. UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARY.  
 SHILLONG PUBLIC LIBRARY, Assam.  
 SIMLA. DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.  
 STOCKHOLM ROYAL LIBRARY.  
 STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 STRASBURG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 SYDNEY FREE LIBRARY.  
 TOKYO. FUJITA SOCIETAKA.  
 90 TOKYO. IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.  
 TOKYO. SHŪKYO-DAIGAKU LIBRARY, Omotecho, Koishikawa.  
 TÜBINGEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, South Kensington. •  
 WASHINGTON CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 WÜRZBURG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.  
 96 ZÜRICH STADT BIBLIOTHEK.

*Note.*—There are many other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending him their names to be added to the above list.

## SUMMARY OF MEMBERS.

	Resident Members.	Resident Compounders.	Non-resident: Members.	Non-resident: Compounders.	Library Members.	Honorary and Extraordinary Members.	Subscribing Libraries.	Total.
1905 ...	90	24	304	68	12	31	67	596
1906 ...	86	22	313	65	12	29	72	599
1907 ...	80	19	313	68	7	31	82	600
1908 ...	94	16	326	67	4	30	85	622
1909 ...	90	15	367	66	1	30	88	657
Deaths ...	4	1	6	3	...	2	...	16
Resignations	5	...	31	1	...	...	2	39
Elected since	81	14	330	62	1	28	86	602
	7	...	69	...	...	2	10	88
Transfers ...	88	14	399	62	1	30	96	690
	+4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	-4	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 20, 1910	92	14	395	62	1	30	96	690

